STUDIES IN NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

MEMORIAL VOLUME OF KAREL PETRÁČEK

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EDITED BY
Petr ZEMÁNEK

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Preface

Professor PhDr. Karel PETRÁČEK, CSc. (26.2.1926 - 1.7.1987)[1] is one of the most distinguished scholars of the Czech Oriental studies, whose activities covered many fields, comprising Arabic and Semitic studies, Hamito-Semitic (Afroasiatic) comparative linguistics, Ethiopic and African studies, mostly concentrating on language and literature, but also the study of modern Arabic thought. This immense coverage is also reflected in the present volume.

The manuscript of this volume, containing papers dedicated to the memory of Karel PETRÁČEK, was completed in 1992. Unfortunately, because of many unforeseen complications and problems that occurred during the creation of a new structure and organization of the scholarly and university life in this country, the publication of this memorial volume was possible only now.

I apologize to all contributors to this volume for this unhappy delay and I would like to express my gratefulness for their papers, but also for their understanding and patience.

I express my special thanks to Doc. PhDr. Petr VAVROUŠEK for his help during all the stages of the preparation of this volume. Without his support, the publication of the volume would not be possible.

After many difficulties in the past, the publication of this volume was taken over by Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic. I am indebted to Doc. PhDr. Blahoslav HRUŠKA, DrSc., the editor-in-chief of Archív Orientální, for his kind support and willingness to take over the publication and for his personal support to this project.

Petr ZEMÁNEK

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[1] Cf. Jaroslav OLIVERIUS and Petr VAVROUŠEK: In memoriam Karel Petráček (1926 - 1987) and Die Bibliografie von Karel Petráček 1948-1985. Archív Orientální 56, 1988, nr. 2, 159-171, nr. 3, 257-266.

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The position of Agaw within Cushitic

David L. APPLEYARD

1. Introduction

The aim of this short study is to look again at the criteria for the closer classification of the Central Cushitic, or Agaw, group of languages in relation to the other, principal members of the Cushitic family. Since the first serious attempt to identify and classify the Cushitic languages was made by REINISCH and later refined by MORENO (see in particular MORENO 1940: 315-21), there has of course been no hesitation about the inclusion of Agaw within Cushitic. It has also been generally accepted that Agaw forms of distinct branch of 'nuclear' or 'orthodox' Cushitic (see, for example, the treatment in TUCKER & BRYAN 1966: 495 ff.; also TUCKER 1967), with no readily observable or special genetic proximity to any other branch, whatever the continuing arguments may have been about the sub-classification of other branches. This standard view is maintained in all the basic 'textbook' descriptions of Cushitic (e.g. EHRET 1976, SASSE 1981, COHEN 1988). The only tentative suggestion of another view of which I am aware was made by HETZRON (1980), and it is principally in response to that article that the present study is made. I do not mean to attack HETZRON for his proposal here, which after all, as he himself says, was not argued 'aggressively' or with full commitment. My objective is simply to test the criteria that HETZRON put forward and to see whether alternative explanations may be suggested.

HETZRON's 1980 article was itself written as a sequel to TUCKER's 1967 study and is meant primarily to establish a set of morphological criteria by which a Cushitic language can be identified and goes on to apply those criteria to various languages about whose membership of the Cushitic family there have at times been questions, in particular Beja, 'Southern Cushitic', and Ik. At the same time, however, Hetzron had occasion to re-examine the relationship of two 'orthodox' groups, Agaw and his 'Rift Valley Cushitic' (i.e. Highland East Cushitic), prompted by his observation that they appear to have a number of morphological features in common. At all times, HETZRON righlty insists on employing morphology rather than the much-used lexicon as his field of operation. There is no need to rehearse here the reasons why a close morphological comparison must necessarily provide a more reliable picture of classification than one based solely on vocabulary, and then not infrequently on a small set of 'basic' vocabulary items.

None the less, lexical comparison does have a rôle to play as a means sometimes to verify, and sometimes, it must be admitted, to raise new questions about the finer details of a morphologically based classification, perhaps highlighting areas of earlier contact and influence between languages that the more conservative morphology is less likely to show so readily. Indeed, I shall have occasion briefly to return, towards the end of this study, to a question of such influence, which HETZRON raises and which recent comparative lexical work has focused, namely the question of Omotic influence on both Agaw and Highland East Cushitic. For major questions of classification, however, it is the diagnosis of shared retention and innovation of morphological criteria that must take precedence. When examining certain morphological features which typify Cushitic, HETZRON drew attention to a number of morphemes and morphological patterns which seem to be shared by Highland East Cushitic and Agaw. He was thus led to suggest that Highland East Cushitic and Agaw might share a closer relationship than the usually accepted classifications showed, suggesting that Highland East Cushitic was a misnomer and proposing the new name of Rift Valley Cushitic.

2. The Cushitic characterisation of Agaw

Before taking a closer look at these features which prompted HETZRON's alternative classification, it would be as well to identify how the 'typically Cushitic phenomena' (HETZRON 1980: 10) are realised in Agaw, to see what makes Agaw a member of the Cushitic family, and how and where Agaw differs from the other members of 'orthodox' Cushitic. In line with the priority that is to be given to the morphology, only the major morphological features will be looked at here.

3.1. The suffix conjugation in verbs

It is of course a well known diagnostic of Cushitic languages that they all have systems of verb inflection in which the elements marking person, tense, mood, etc., are suffixed to the lexical stem, and it is the generally accepted view that this pattern derives from an earlier prefix-inflecting auxiliary suffixed to an invariable verbal noun of some sort. Some languages, including Awngi from the Agaw group, also have survivals of the older prefix-inflecting pattern, where the basic markers of person, at least, precede the verbal stem; Awngi has only five verbs of this latter type, and even here there is some interference from the dominant suffix-conjugation; Standard Somali has only four such verbs, while both Saho and Afar both have very extensive and possibly open, productive sets as these include loanwords from Arabic which, with its similar and ultimately cognate prefix-conjugations might, therefore, have provided the impetus for the expan-

sion of what is elsewhere in Cushitic now a highly restricted and closed pattern. Many other Cushitic languages, Oromo and all the Highland East Cushitic languages, for instance, have only the suffix-conjugation pattern.

Throughout Lowland East Cushitic this underlying prefix-inflecting auxiliary element now appears in the form of a vowel, typically with threefold ablaut in the respective functions of imperfective, perfective, and jussive/subjunctive. The last of these is also generally used both in certain types of subordinate construction and as a negative imperfective. The three members of this ablaut set also generally show similar forms: a low central vowel for the imperfective, a front vowel or diphthong for the perfective, and a back rounded vowel for the jussive, etc. This may be illustrated by the following Oromo forms:

	Imperfective	Perfective	Jussive/Imperf.Negative
Sg.1	*deem-a*	*deem-e*	*deem-u*
Sg.2	*deem-ta*	*deem-te*	*deem-tu*
Sg.3m.	*deem-a*	*deem-e*	*deem-u*
Sg.3f.	*deem-ti*	*deem-te*	*deem-tu*

In Highland East Cushitic the picture is much less clear and far more complicated, as further auxiliary or pronominal elements appear to have been added to the underlying form, but generally speaking similar vocalic alternations are recognisable. Compare the Sidamo forms corresponding to the Oromo given above:

	Imperfective	Perfective	Jussive
Sg.1m.	*it-eemmo*	*it-ummo*	*it-o[ni]*
Sg.2m.	*it-atto*	*it-itto*	----
Sg.3m.	*it-anno*	*it-í*	*it-o[na]*
Sg.3f.	*it-tanno*	*it-tú*	*it-to[na]*

In Agaw, however, the situation is further complicated by a fundamental formal contrast between main and subordinate verb forms, where the former incorporates a different 'auxiliary' which is identifiable with the Proto-Agaw root *-ak* 'be'. Compare the following Bilin and Awngi forms[1]:

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[1] The paradigms are not precisely cognate, as can be seen, for instance, by comparing the imperfective sets. For details and a fuller discussion of the history of this inflection see APPLEYARD 1988(a):587-9.

	Bilin		**Awngi**	
	Imperfective	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfective
Sg.1	*gäb-äk^{w}ən*	*gäb-x^{w}ən*	*des-áɣa*	*des-ɣ^{w}à*
Sg.2	*gäb-räk^w*	*gäb-rəx^w*	*des-táɣá*	*des-təɣ^{w}à*
Sg.3m.	*gäb-äk^w*	*gäb-əx^w*	*des-áwí*	*des-ɣ^{w}à*
Sg.3f.	*gäb-ätí*	*gäb-ti*	*des-tátí*	*des-təɣ^{w}à*

While most subordinate forms, on the other hand, are probably built on the same monovocalic auxiliary as in East Cushitic, the simple inflection pattern is further disguised by the accretion of various suffixed elements, the basic forms, as it were, only appearing in a few specialised constructions, and not in all languages. The vocalic ablaut patterns, at least the imperfective : perfective contrast, are identifiable as (e.g. in Bilin) *ä : ə*, which are the regular reflexes of Proto-Cushitic **a* and **i* or **u* respectively[2]. It is not clear to me whether the forms vocalised in *u* and *o* that occur in Bilin and Kemant are cognate with the East Cushitic jussive; the meaning of such forms as Bilin *gäb-ú* 'while he refused', *gäb-o* 'he having refused', and Kemant *was-o* 'he having heard' is not immediately compatible with that of the jussive[3]. In Awngi, on the other hand, the vowel *u* is frequently a mark of the perfective aspect[4] and as such appears in a number of subordinate forms: *des-únà* 'they studied', *des-ún-u* 'which they studied', *des-úni* 'if he studies', *des-uta* 'as soon as he studies', *des-us* 'while he is/was studying'.

The original Cushitic suffix-conjugation pattern, therefore, survives in Agaw chiefly in subordinate verb forms, where it is further disguised by the addition of suffixed elements marking the nature of the subordination. In the relative verb,

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[2] For a fuller discussion of the question of aspect and ablaut in Agaw see APPLEYARD: forthcoming (b).

[3] In this latter function the Agaw languages have a quite different, heterogenous set of formatives: Bilin *gäb-ən*, Khamtanga *k'äb-ná*, Awngi *des-əs* - Kemant *was-du* 'let him hear' does indeed involve a back rounded vowel, but there is the further problem of the dental infix.

[4] Thus the labialisation in the suffix *-ɣà* of the Awngi perfective forms in the table above is likely to be due to the presence of the underlying stem vowel *u* of the 'auxiliary'. The labialisation of the corresponding 'auxiliary' in Bilin and the other Agaw languages probably has a similar origin in the perfective and then spread by analogy to the imperfective. The consonantal ablaut between (in Bilin) *k* and *x* in main verb inflection is a feature of the Northern Agaw languages (i.e. all except Awngi) and may be of ancient origin (see APPLEYARD 1988(a):588 and fn. 18).

these may take the form of gender agreement markers: Awngi *kant-á-w aqí* 'the man whom I see', *kant-á-t γuna* 'the woman whom I see', *kant-ə-γᵂ aqí* 'the man whom I saw', *kant-ú-t γuna* 'the woman whom I saw'. In adverbial subordinates, the added elements are less readily identifiable, but sometimes resemble nominal case markers: Bilin *gäb-ä-sänä* 'just as I refused' (cf. nominal postposition *sänä* 'like'). The monovocalic auxiliary can also be recognised in some negative main-verb-forms: Bilin *gäb-ä-lí* 'I do not refuse', *gäb-lí* 'I did not refuse' (<*gäb-ə-lí* according to syllabification rules). It is also likely that the Awngi so-called indefinite main verb forms (HETZRON 1969: 13) contain the monovocalic auxiliary. Indeed, the indefinite imperfect forms may continue the unaugmented paradigm directly: *des-é, des-té, des-é, des-té*, etc.[5], as Awngi *e* regularly corresponds to Bilin and Proto-Agaw *ä* and thus to Proto-Cushitic *a*.

The main verb conjugation by means of the auxiliary **ak* (or better, **Vk*, where *V* = the ablauting vowel) is, however, a purely Agaw innovation, and one that must necessarily date from a period both when the prefix-conjugation was still generally current, and when the verbal noun + auxiliary constituence of what was to become the suffix-conjugation was still recognised.

3.2. Gender marking and the *ku : ti* elements

Most Cushitic languages either have agreement markers associated with determiners (definite articles, demonstratives, referent particles in genitive constructions, possessive pronouns, etc.) of the form m. *k[u] :* f. *t[i]*, or at least show traces of such. The only exception is Beja, whose precise affiliation to the Cushitic family has in any case sometimes been in dispute, and where the corresponding formatives may be characterised as m. *w* :f. *t*[6].

In Lowland East Cushitic, except for Saho and Afar where only traces remain[7], for instance in the personal pronouns of the 3rd person, the typical situation may be represented by Somali. Here *k- : t-* elements (appearing as *k~g~h* and *t~d~s*, respectively, according to regular morphophonemic rules) occur as a suffix-

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[5] The Pl.2 and Pl.3 forms are *des-tánà* and *des-ánà*, respectively, where the Agaw vowel *a* often corresponds to Proto-Cushitic long **aa*.

[6] Attempts have been made (see HETZRON 1980: 118 fn. 107) to derive the Beja masculine formative from something such as **kᵂ-*, thus relating it directly to the 'orthodox' Cushitic formative, but in the light of our comparatively poor understanding of the history of Beja phonetics such a derivation cannot be supported.

[7] For details see HETZRON 1980: 20.

ed definite article added to nouns: *nin-ku, nin-ka, nin-kii...* 'the man' : *naag-tu, naag-ta, naag-tii...* 'the woman'; as an infixed element in pronominal possessive suffixes: *aabba-ha-y* 'my father' : *hooya-da-y* 'my mother', which when added to most nouns further have the article added: *awr-k-aa-ga...* 'your camel' : *magaala-d-ee-da...* 'her town'; similarly, as infixed elements in suffixed demonstratives and interrogatives: *nin-ka-n* 'this man' : *naag-ta-n* 'this woman'; *nin-k-aas* 'that man' : *naag-t-aas* 'that woman'; *nin-k-ee* 'which man?' : *naag-t-ee* 'which woman?'. They also appear as initial elements on free-standing articles and demonstratives.

In Highland East Cushitic a more reduced but not unsimilar distribution occurs. Thus, in Sidamo, in the demonstratives: *kuni manči* 'this man' : *tini mančo* 'this woman'; *kuuʔu manči* 'that man' : *tiiʔi mančo* 'that woman' (all subject case). In Kambaata, these gender particles are also incorporated in genitive constructions with pronominal possessors in agreement with the head noun: *isi-ha hizoo-(ha)* 'his brother' :*isi-ta hizoo-(ta)* 'his sister', as is the case with nominal possessors in Burji and Gedeo: Gedeo *lali-n-ka goga* 'a cow hide' : *warši-n-t'a isso* 'dog's teeth'.

In Agaw, the reflexes of the Cushitic *ku:ti* gender pronouns[8] most commonly occur as gender concord suffixes. These are added to complemental relative verbs, i.e. were the head noun upon which the relative is dependent is not identical with the subject of the relative clause, as in the Awngi examples cited earlier: *kant-ə-γʷ aqí* 'the man whom I saw' : *kant-ú-t γuna* 'the woman whom I saw', or in Kemant *xal-a-γ ir* 'the man whom I see/saw' : *xal-ä-y iwəna* 'the woman whom I see/saw'. They also occur on free-standing possessive pronouns: Awngi *yí-w firísí* 'my horse' : *yí-t angučča* 'my cat' ; Bilin *gərəwá yə-xʷ* 'my man' : *ʔəxʷína yə-rí* 'my woman', as well as on the independent numeral 'one': e.g. Bilin m. *la-xʷ* : f. *lá-ri*. A further common use is in the agʇeeing genitive construction, where the possessor noun carries gender agreement for the head noun. This construction is the norm in Awngi: *aqí-w dúri* 'the man's cockerel' : *aqí-t dúra* 'the man's hen' , and is also compulsory in definite noun phrases in Khamtanga: *əjər-íz-u ŋən-d* 'the man's house' : *əjər-íz-t áwčəna* 'the man's cat'. In Bilin, too, they are used in the genitive construction when the possessor follows the head noun: *gərəwa kädän-əxʷ* 'a man of the forest' : *ʔəxʷina kädän-rí* 'a woman of the forest'.

HETZRON (1980: 20) notes that archaic looking forms of the gender particles also occur in the Awngi presentative pronoun: m. *ənní-ku* :f. *ənní-ti* 'here he/she is!'. Finally, there are a few traces of the feminine particle, at least, in prefixed

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[8] These are Bilin *-x : -rí*, Khamtanga *-w : -y*, Kemant *-γ : -y*, Awngi *-γ~-w : -t*.

position: Kemant *an* 'grandfather' : *tän* 'grandmother', *zän* 'brother' : *sän* (*<*t-zän*) 'sister', *adärä* 'lord' : *tädära* 'lady, mistress'[9]. It should also be noted that the gender particles do not enter into the inflection of the demonstratives, unlike in either Lowland or Highland East Cushitic.

The feminine marker in *t* is not of course by any means restricted to Cushitic amongst the members of the Afroasiatic phylum, nor, in fact, is a corresponding masculine form in a velar. However, HETZRON (1980: 21) suggests that the vocalisation **ku : ti*, and in particular the feminine in *i*, is a Cushitic innovation. Such forms in Proto-Cushitic would be expected to produced Proto-Agaw **γ^w : *-t* as suffixes in word final position, dropping a final vowel **ə* and thence the forms as recorded in each language. There are, however, instances of the feminine suffix with vocalisation in *i*, which normally must derive from Proto-Cushitic long **ii*: e.g. Bilin *yə-rí, lá-ri*, cited above; note also the Awngi suffixes of the presentative pronoun, where both the masculine and the feminine suffixes are vocalised[10].

3.3. The case system in nouns: subject v. object

It is generally accepted that the reconstructable Proto-Cushitic case system, *sensu stricto,* contained at the very least two terms: a subject case in **-i* or possibly also in **u*[11], and an absolute case in **-a*, and it is further conjectured that this system operated only on masculine nouns, while feminine nouns left the distinction between subject and non-subject (absolute) unmarked (SASSE 1984: 117). Other cases can almost certainly be reconstructed, most notably a genitive case (see APPLEYARD 1988(a): 585, and especially 1988(b): 370-72), but I shall leave these out of discussion here for economy of space.

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[9] PLAZIKOVSKY-BRAUNER's recorded form *koderá* 'master of the house', cited by HETZRON (1976: 45 fn. 28) could conceivably represent an example of a prefixed masculine marker, too, but it could also be simply a contraction of *käw adära* 'master of the village', which I noted during my collection of Kemant data.

[10] Similarly, the sg. 3f. suffix of the affirmative main-verb forms in Northern Agaw (Bilin, Khamtanga, Kemant) all contain the feminine suffix **-ti* (i.e. *<*tii*) substituted by analogy where the corresponding masculine form, Imperfective **ak*, Perfective **-əγ*, was interpreted as containing the gender particle; so, Bilin *was-äti, was-ti*, Khamtanga *was-äč, was-eč*, Kemant *was-ät(i), was-(ə)t(i)*.

[11] Unless, as HETZRON (1980: 15) suggests, such occurrences of a subject case in *-u* are due to interference from the masculine gender vowel *-u* that occurs in various pronominal forms alongside feminine *-i;* cf. the vocalic alternation in *ku : ti*, discussed in the preceding section.

In most East Cushitic languages this system survives to varying degrees, though nowhere does the pattern as reconstructed occur intact. The most complete survival is perhaps found in Afar, where masculine nouns that end in a vowel, any vowel, in the absolute replace that vowel by -í in the subject case, while feminine nouns, which are mostly vowel-final, do not differentiate the two cases, nor do masculine nouns that end in a consonant:

	masc.					**fem.**
subj.	*awkí*	*arí*	*urrí*	*idaltí*	*danan*	*awka*
abs.	*áwka*	*ári*	*úrru*	*idáltu*	*danan*	*awka*
	'boy'	'house"	children'	'old man'	'donkey'	'girl'

In Somali the situation is completely reversed as far as the distribution of the suffix -i is concerned, as this only occurs on (indefinite) feminine nouns which end in a consonant in the absolute case. Otherwise, the subject case is marked by low tone[12]:

	masc.				**fem.**
subj.	*inan*	*libaax*	*nin*	*gabdho*	*naagi*
abs.	*ínan*	*libàax*	*nín*	*gabdho*	*náag*
	'boy'	'lion'	'man'	'girls'	'woman'

The subject case of certain determiners, however, is marked in -u or -i in both masculine and feminine: *nín-ku* 'the man' (subject): *nín-ka* (absolute); *náag-tu* 'the woman' (subject) : *náag-ta* (absolute); *nín-kanu/-kani* 'this man' (subject) : *nín-kan* (absolute). In other Lowland East Cushitic languages, such as Oromo, the older pattern of subject case marking has been in part replaced by a new one (m. -*ni, -i:* f. *-ni, -ti*, with variation between dialects) which probably derives from suffixed demonstratives, while in the Dullay languages, for instance, the Cushitic system of a marked subject case has been replaced by a new one in which the direct object is marked and the subject unmarked. All the Highland East Cushitic languages have a subject case in -i or -u, though with varying distribution between individual languages (see HUDSON 1976: 253 for details). Only Sidamo, however,

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[12] SASSE (1984: 116) has demonstrated how the current Somali forms in which low tone is the mark of the subject case can be derived from the same origin as, for instance, the Afar forms (i.e. with a reconstructed ending *-í) through the regular loss in Somali of final short vowels, leaving only the tone pattern as the sign of the subject case in one class of masculine nouns, which then spread to others.

seems to show the older restriction of only marking the subject case : absolute case contrast on masculine nouns.

In Agaw the situation is complicated by the development of a marked object case, apparently as a separate process in Northern Agaw and in Awngi. Initially, this gave rise to a three-term system, at least in some masculine nouns where the original Cushitic inflection was inherited: marked subject - unmarked object (absolute) - marked object. This pattern survives in Kemant on masculine nouns whose absolute or citation form ends in *-a*:

subj.	*farz-i kidəzəγ*^{w}	'a/the horse died'
abs.	*laγä farzä xaləγ*^{w}	'I saw a horse'
obj.	*farzä-s kəznu*	'let us sell the horse'

Other classes of noun do not mark a separate subject case. In Bilin and Khamtanga the old subject case has been lost so that the resultant pattern is two-term: absolute (subject and unmarked object functions) - marked object. A similar process has occured in Awngi, only that the old masculine subject case in *-i* (on vowel-final nouns) survives as the new absolute, contrasting with feminine nouns in *-a*. As regards the new object case suffixes, both Bilin and Kemant have a suffix in *-s* in the masculine and *-t* in the feminine, whilst Khamtanga only has *-t* for feminine nouns. Interestingly, all pronouns, in Bilin, Kemant and Khamtanga, appear only to use the ending in *-t*. Awngi, again typically quite different from the other languages, employs *-wa* as its object case marker, perhaps connected with the Kemant nominal postposition *-wä* 'towards'.

Bilin

subj.	*färda kərəx*^{w}	'a horse died'
obj.	*färda k'*^{w}*alx*^{w}*ən*	'I saw a horse'
	färdäs k'^{w}*alx*^{w}*ən[əllu]*	'I saw the horse'
	ləwít ʔəngəsəx^w*[əlla]*	'he milked the cow'

Khamtanga

subj.	*fírzä kəru*	'a horse died'
	fírzä-d kəru	'the horse died'
obj.	*fírzä qálun*	'I saw a horse'
	fírzä-d qálun/fírzä-dyän-t qálun	'I saw the horse'

From these brief remarks about how a few 'typically Cushitic phenomena' are reflected in various 'orthodox' Cushitic languages, it can be readily seen that Agaw, while indubitably preserving this Cushitic heritage, is quite distinct from either Lowland or Highland East Cushitic. In the matter of the nature of the suffix-conjugation in verbs it has innovated at an early stage, creating a clearly marked dichotomy between main and subordinate verbs and building a system far more complex than is seen elsewhere in Cushitic. It maintains the Cushitic *ku : ti* gender particles, but with a distinctive distribution. It also continues, in some languages, the forms of the old Cushitic subject case, but has again innovated, separately in Northern and Southern Agaw, and created a new marked object case.

4. Agaw and Highland East Cushitic

Turning now to the features which HETZRON noted might suggest a closer link between Agaw and Highland East Cushitic (his Rift Valley Cushitic), the questions need to be asked, how major and decisive are these features, and how might they be explained? In attempting to answer the latter question, a further complication factor has to be brought into the discussion, a factor which Hetzron himself remarked on: the influence of an Omotic substratum. From a cultural point of view it has long been realised that most of the peoples of the Rift Valley and the regions along its western side who now speak various Highland East Cushitic, Omotic (especially Ometo), and even Ethiopian Semitic ('Gurage') languages share many aspects of a common tradition. Continuing research on the languages of these peoples now shows that there has been much linguistic interaction, too, and the impression arises, for instance, that a number of the particular features of Highland East Cushitic may be due to an Omotic substratum. If features apparently shared by Agaw and Highland East Cushitic are also to be explained in this way, then we have to account for an Omotic substratum in Agaw. At first sight, this would seem far more unlikely, given the present geographical distribution of Agaw. Only the southern extension of Agaw, Awngi, is spoken in a region where this would make sense from present-day geography, and indeed Awngi does show a certain amount of vocabulary that is of Omotic origin. Recent research, however, has shown that a possible link between Agaw and Omotic at the level of the lexicon goes back to the Proto-Agaw stage (APPLEYARD, forthcoming (a)). It is, therefore, more probable than it might at first seem that Omotic should have influenced Agaw as a whole.

The features that HETZRON adduces as connecting Agaw and Highland East Cushitic are as follows:

    1. a negative marker *-ti-* (Awngi and Sidamo)

2. a labial element (the vowel *u*) in past-tense marking and a velar element in the pl.2 and 3 (Awngi and Hadiyya)

3. the root *Vnt* 'come' (all Agaw and Burji) as against *-(V)mVt-* (other Lowland Cushitic)

4. *n-* metathesis

5. a 'definite accusative' case (i.e. marked object case - all Agaw and Burji)

6. adjective agreement

7. genitive agreement (i.e. the possessor noun showing gender concord with the head noun in a genitive phrase).

These criteria are of quite disparate nature and, taking the hint offered by HETZRON himself, some could hardly be called decisive. He sees the last phenomenon as 'the strongest isogloss connecting Agaw and RVC', yet as a structural rather than a formal feature it is perhaps of slightly less importance. Indeed, the construction whereby the possessor shows concord with the possessed head noun is not universal to all Agaw and Highland East Cushitic languages, and even where it occurs the restrictions on its use differ from language to language. In Awngi, as we have seen, it is the usual pattern, the possessor preceding the possessed: *aqí-w dúri* 'the man's cockerel' : *aqí-t dúra* 'the man's hen'. In Bilin, on the other hand, there is only agreement between the possessor and the possessed when the latter precedes the former, exactly opposite sequence of what occurs in Awngi: *gərəwa kädän-əx^w* 'a man of the forest' : *ʔəx^wina kädän-rí* 'a woman of the forest'; otherwise there is no agreement: *danəd ʔək^wí* 'brother's wife', *ʔənk'ak'a gäna* 'a mother of the girls', *ʔaräsí ʔək^wər* 'the farmer's sons', where *danəd*, *ʔənk'ak'a* and *ʔaräsí* are the possessor nouns in the genitive case form without any concord particle. Different again, in Khamtanga the possessor and possessed head noun only show gender concord in a definite noun phrase: *əjər-íz-t áwčəna* 'the man's cat', where the feminine particle *-t* is added to the definite genitive *əjəríz* 'of the man' agreeing with *áwčəna*. In Kemant, I have not recorded any examples of agreement in genitive phrases. Similarly, not all Highland East Cushitic languages exhibit the feature; only Burji and Darasa (Gedeo) regularly mark agreement in this way (see HUDSON 1976: 254 for details). The interesting common feature about all these various constructions is that the gender particle is suffixed, whereas elsewhere in both Highland and Lowland East Cushitic the *ku : ti* elements occur as prefixes, e.g. in the demonstratives, and in pronominal possessive phrases: Oromo (Eastern) *obbolesa xiyya* 'my brother' : *obboleettii tiyya* 'my sister', and thus also Somali *aabba-h-ay* 'my father' : *hooya-d-ay* 'my mother', where the pronominal possessor and gender particle (*-hay, -day*) are together suffixed to the head noun. The differences between, say, the Somali and

the Agaw patterns is, therefore, not so much that in one it is the possessed and in
the other it is the possessor which carries the gender particle referring to the head
noun, and thus to the whole noun phrase, as that in one the particle is prefixed
while in the other it is suffixed.

Of the other features shared by Agaw and Highland East Cushitic, nos.
1,3,4,5 and 6 cannot be considered as decisive, either because they are of restricted
occurence and are not universal within each language group (nos. 1 and 3), or
because they are of too general a nature in linguistic terms (nos. 4 and 6), or
because the forms reflecting the structures are heterogeneous and not common
(no.5). In the case of feature no.1, whilst the negative formative -ti- occurs only in
Awngi, two other Agaw languages, Khamtanga and Kemant, have a special
negative imperative (prohibitive) marker in -t-: Kemant sg. was-ta, pl. was-täna
'do not hear!'. HETZRON (1980:111, fn. 56) suggests that this -t- is, rather, a
personal marker. However, the Proto-Agaw 2nd person marker *-t- appears in
these two languages as -r- (or, in certain environments -d-) and -y-, respectively,
except where they follow a stem-final -t-; this, then, leaves the probability that
there is still a prohibitive marker -t- in these languages. The first half of feature no.
2, however, deserves a little more comment. Past-tense (perfective) vowel ablaut
in *-u- as against *-i-, etc., is not ubiquitous throughout either all of Agaw or all
of Highland East Cushitic, as can be seen from the data given above, in section
3.1. There is good reason for reconstructing perfective aspect ablaut in *-ə- in
Proto-Agaw (reflecting both Proto-Cushitic *i and *u), and there is even somme
slight evidence for Proto-Agaw *-i- (i.e. Proto-Cushitic *ii) here, too (see APPLE-
YARD, forthcoming (b)). Perfective aspect ablaut in both high vowels needs to be
reconstructed for Proto-Cushitic, as SASSE (1980: 169-71) has shown. The occu-
rence of perfective *u in Agaw and Highland East Cushitic has a different distri-
bution, which suggests separate development in each language group of common,
inherited Cushitic material rather than a shared feature.

In conclusion, therefore, there is no really sound evidence for a special
genetic link between Agaw and Highland East Cushitic, or for that matter between
Agaw and any one other branch of Cushitic. Although this discussion has been
based entirely on morphological criteria, and for the reasons that were outlined at
the beginning, it is apposite here to see what lexical comparative work might
reveal. While only a preliminary study has been undertaken on comparing Agaw
with other branches of Cushitic in this respect (APPLEYARD, forthcoming (a)), the
picture that emerges is one in which Agaw stands apart from both Highland and
Lowland East Cushitic much more so than they do from one another, and which
suggests both the "differentness" and the separation and isolation of Agaw from
East Cushitic.

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Afrasian/Indo-Hittite "Reciprocal" Relations

Yoël L. ARBEITMAN

I The *d*- Root

0. This article will consist of scrutinies of the three major communalities in the terminology for "trade, give, take, exchange" and for the partners who do such acts. Each of these three sets has its own communality, distinct from any other set. It is their major semantic field, not their morphology, alone which causes them to be but together here under my "reciprocal" umbrella. The connexions between different languages and/or different language family etyma, arrived at, will often result in the need for cover symbols, "archigraphemes", *K, P, T* resp. for any guttural (velar, tektal), labial, and dental stops; *Y* for either the palatal or the labial glide (/y/, /w/), and *H* for any laryngeal or laryngealoid. Similarly, within a given lexeme of a single language or of a reconstructed word, only the core etymorrhiza will be indicated in lower case bold face when useful[1].

I intentionally eschew KURYŁOWICZ's terms "prefix", "determinative", and "extension", since those terms have special content in his use of them, terms and contents which cannot be pursued here. In his magisterial (1973:8) he does note, however:

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[1] A display exemplar of an IE tripartite verb with minimal core radical appearance is Latin *pōnō*, where *pŏ-* is preverb (our "intension"), *-nō* is extension and the radical **si-* has left its mark only in the length in *pō-* rather than *pŏ-* of the preverb/intension. Only in the other "principle parts", as Latinists say, the perfect *pŏ̄-s-u-ī* and the p.p.p. *pŏsitus, a, um,* does this latent root of the verb display itself. And, beyond hiding the root altogether, the present marker *-n(-ō)* is only one of various vestigial remains of present classes which, in the Latin we can trace, serve no semantic distinction/coloration at all, as do indeed some of these class markers in e.g. Old Indic. *Prendre, je prends* in French, is a superb example likewise, as it derives from Latin *prae-* (prev.) + *he-n-d(-ō)* (*hed* is the root representative, cognate with English *get*) and the medial infix *-n-* is, within IE itself, a facultative class marker, used, one must hope, in some presential etyma, in Early IE times, with some semantic differentiation. So while this **ghe(n)d-* appears well preserved in English (from Norse), in the French items *d* alone (*re-*) presents the root! And in *pris*, etc., we needn't enquire.

The consonants *t, n, s*, (Ar. *š*), ', *h* are prefixes which continue to be productive in historical word formation...To this list let us add *u̯-*, a notorious prefix represented by numerous verbs with R₁ = *u̯* like Ar. *u̯alada : i̯alada*, Heb. *i̯ālad*, *i̯elẹd*. Synchronically the hallmark of such verbs, those built of an "intension" (opp. "extension") prefixed to the biliteral root, as KURYŁOWICZ would have it, is a set of features (lack of the intension in the impv. and in the inf. plus a feminine inf., i.e. + *t*. Heb. *yālad* [my transliteration differs from K.'s] has the two criteria for the inf.: *ledet* [construct] and a hapax alternative, *[la-]lat [...*lidt].*).

1. It is to his lasting merit and credit that C.H. GORDON (1957:273) made a healthy connexion between the "Nostratic" (his word) items of the verb *X-t-X* (in my terms given above, both *X-t-X* and *X-T-X* (and items of the "hand" noun field (*d*) in the assembly of Afrasian and Indo-Hittite languages.

His section vi (1957:273) bears the heading "*d/t-* 'to give' and its reduplication". He lists the following items: uniconsonantal noun *d-* "hand" in Egypto-Semitic, contained in Arabic *'aday* "at the hands = in the presence", Hebrew *day* "enough", derived from the meaning "two hands (full)" (the dual). In Ug. *bd* and Syr. *bad* "in the hand of" = "through". Extended in Semitic also to *yad-* "hand", as in Arab. *yad*, Heb. *yād*, or to *'īd-* (Syriac and dialectal Arab.) or ballasted by the doubling of the *d*: Heb. *baddîm* "in the hands = handles" and Mandaic *badde(h)* "on his hands" (cf. GORDON 1964: 408, item #1072 also p. 383, item #633)²/³. He further spins out the tale with: "It is this primitive noun which is widely used also verbally as 'to hand = to give' in Nostratic; e.g. Latin *dō* 'I give', Egyptian *(r)di* 'to give', Akkadian *nadânu* 'to give' (and perhaps also *nadû* 'to throw'), Hebrew *ntn* 'to give', Phoenician and Ugaritic *ytn* 'to give'." He continues to observe that inasmuch as Egyptian has what I call an "intension", *r-*, while Akkadian and Hebrew have the intension *n-*, Ugaritic and Phoenician *y-*, these "additives" (his term) must needs be not oly post-Egypto-Semitic, but indeed

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² Cf. BROCKELMANN 1908:338 on individual language developments.

³ On the secondary meanings, "penis" and "monument" see GORDON 1965:409, DELCOR 1967:230 ss., and ARBEITMAN 1980:82-86.

post-Primitive-Semitic. I wish here to note, in my own perspective, it is not only a *t/d* variation that we have here, but rather a triphonic *T* variation, as shown by the Hebrew evidence. There is a set of theophoric anthroponyms which are Egyptian and rendered in Hebrew script by *ṭ* for written Egyptian *d*: the two Egyptian variants(?)[4] (1) Egyptian *p' dy p' r(ᶜ)* and (2) *p' dy*. These are transcribed in Hebrew as *pû/ô ṭi p(e/a) r(aᶜ)* and *pû ṭi + 'ēl*[5]. Literally: "He" "gives" "whom" "Ra(ᶜ)" & "He" "gives" + Native Hebrew "El, God". The last item is a "Mischname Theophore" (ARBEITMAN 1982: in toto). The names mean resp., once the syntax is unscrambled for us, "He Whom Ra(ᶜ) Gives" and "The Given of El:God" or "(He) Whom El/God Gives". Thus we have a full panoply of the *T's*, i.e. West Semitic *t*, Akkadian (and Latin!) *d*[6] and Egyptian phonetic *ṭ* (/t'/). I also disagree with the consequences of GORDON'S maintenance that: "Egyptian *(r)dỉ* and (if related) Akkadian *nadû* are tertiae infirmae versus *n/ym* which has final -*n*." For, while the semi-vowel nasal -*n* is here fully consonantal, the root in Semitic thus being *Tn* (with its extension) and while, indeed, the Egyptian cognate *(r)d(ỉ)* belongs to the tertiae infirmae class whose "extension" is of "weak consonantal nature", this, in no wise, can be said of the Indo-Hittite "extension" -*O/Aʷ* (see POLOMÉ pp. 24, 33, 41, PUHVEL pp. 89, 90, 92, COWGILL

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[4] There is no reason not to assume that this third member of the AA dental triad, *ṭ*, in the verb *nṭy* is any other than the same proto-verb's current appearance, to wit *n-t-n*, *n-d-n*, etc. and *nṭy*, three representations of **n-T-n/-y/-ỉ/-O*, the penultimate in Eg. *r-d-ỉ*, the ultimate in IH **de-O > d(e)ə₃- > dǎ-/dō-* respectively.

[5] On the two names of two different personages in the Egyptian pericope of Gen, resp. *Poṭi peraᶜ* and *Poṭipar*, there can be no consensus that they are one and the same name: the former certainly represents Egyptian *p'-dỉ p'-Rᶜ* "[He] Whom-Gives The-Rᶜ". There is also in Ex, *Poṭi'ēl*, an Egyptian-Hebrew *Mischname* theophore (cf. ARBEITMAN 1982 for this concept and exx.).

[6] RÖSSLER (1971: 273, 279, 276-86 esp.), in a rigorously symmetrical manner, has devoted a magisterial monograph to the phonetically allowed series of *T*, *T'*, and *D* in each set of the obstruents and the fricatives. And, in accordance with these correspondences, he has worked out between Egyptiaon on the one side and the Semitic languages on the other, he allows or disallows etymological connexions. On the basis of his series, only Egyptian *ᶜ*, in no wise whatsoever an Egyptian *d*, can = a Semitic *d*. Now there is an Eg. "hand" hieroglyph *d* (GARDINER D 46), but *pace* RÖSSLER, this item is far rather "arm", side" while another one of the various "hand" hieroglyphs (GARDINER D 36) is *ᶜ* and this both means the hand proper and its sound, /ʕ/, does = Semitic *d* in cognates!

p. 145 *et passim*, all in WINTER 1965). The extension in IH *deO/deA*ʷ is, in my view, no less a consonantal extension than is *-n*⁷.

As to GORDON'S final telling point: "The reduplication of the uniconsonantal root *d/t-* 'to give' is also Nostratic, Egyptian *dd* and δίδωμι ... are familiar enough. But Semitic is also brought into the picture by the anomalous infinitive (sic!) *ttn* 'to give' in I Kings 6:19 and 17:14 with the same reduplication".

Alas, GORDON has hodge-podged some better kept in their proper class items: Lat. *dēdi* has only perfect reduplication. Greek δίδωμι shows presential reduplication. The commonness of reduplication as a morphological formant in the Latin "perfect" and, occassionally, in original aorist forms (v.BUCK 1933:291-293) and for the Greek reduplicated perfect (with a discussion of its relationship to the few verbs with the normally specific to perfects -x, used also in a few aorist stems: ἔϑηχα, ἔδωχα, ἦχα and

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⁷ To further complicate matters, there is a 3ʳᵈ verbal root with a noun also with the "hand" and its activities, viz. what GARDINER gives as *ḏ'* "stretch forth; arm (different ideographic determinatives)". VYCICHL (1983:219-220) gives the Coptic (all dialect forms) outcome of the Egyptian word: "tōre (SAL), tōri (B), tōli (F), followed by the etymology: "f. primativement 'main'...: pyr. *ḏr.t* 'main' (Hand), dém. *tr.t* 'main' (Hand) et 'houe' (Hacke).... L'état pronominal **toot** = (S), **tot** = (B): **ḏar.t=*, puis **da'.t=*, sert à la formation de verbes et de prépositions [followed by many exx. YLA]. Pour les formes *ḏr.t* 'main' et *ḏ'.t*... structures **ḏāre.t* ou sim. et **ḏa'tef* au lieu de **ḏartef*, aussi le pluriel est *ḏ'-w.t*, prob. **ḏa'wet* au lieu de **ḏarwet* (*r* en fin de syllabe passe à *aleph*). Ancient participe *ḏāri(ya).t* comp. xviii *ḏri* adj. 'dur, excellent', prob. 'celle qui tient' ou sim." BOMHARD'S (1984:218) connection of this with the IE root **dher-* is expected, given the rules, and quite attractive, esp. in regard to the Toch nouns for "hand". But also, by these rules, Akk. *na-da-nu* would predict IE **dhē-* which BOMHARD does not give at all, thus leaving out of his Proto-Nostratic common vocabulary Semitic *na-da-nu*, and worst of all (op.cit.:111 and 212), lumping together, *s.r.* PAA *t'əw/t'aw*, all the IE derivatives of **dō* and the Anatolian Pan-Luwian, all dialects, word for "place, put, lay". Then he proceeds to offer, as the sole AA cognate, Eg. *d, dw* "to give, put, place" (p. 212) and, even "worster", I make bold to say, leaving Heb. *n-atan*, Ugaritic and Phoenician *y-tn* for the p. 209 entry **tən-/*tan-* "to stretch". Not only does this exclude the inner AA and Indo-Hittite connexions and non-connexions, but he divorces Macro-Luwian *tuwa-, tiya* both from its Anatolian cognates (e.g. Hittite *dāi-/tiya-*) and from its entirety of non-Anatolian cognates (e.g. Hittite *dāi-/dadhāti*, Greek τίϑημι, Latin *facio*, etc. In spite of such tendencies by other Indo-europeanists, I firmly reject such a disconnexion and find that the "stretch" etymon unsuitable for *y-tn* and *n-tn*, entirely unsuitable altogether the alignments of "place, put" and of "give, take", etc.

ἔστηκα) where this extension "is in origin a root 'increment' or extension, like that in Latin *făcio, fēci* [8]..." trivializes any formal connexion.

We note that the four Greek verbs with aoristic -κ also have reduplication in the present, τίϑημι, δίδωμι, ἵημι, and ἵστημι, this reduplication somewhat concealed in the last two which < resp. **yiyēmi/sisēmi* (cf. Latin *sero* < **seso* and *iăcio, iēci* < resp. **ya-k-yo, yē-k-* [i.e. farther back < **yeE-k-]*). On this -κ extension portrait see BUCK, pp. 284, 289 and ARBEITMAN 1987: 21-25, where a different conceptualization is taken, but not that different!

Thus the reduplication is of totally non-probative value and the same, alas, must be said of the Egyptian *dd*, whose doubling is the function of a specific morphological category, for which see GARDINER (1950: 207-209 and 357-358) and THACKER (1954: 195-197 and 205)[9].

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[8] From the IE **dhē-*, as well known, derives, *inter alia*, the barely recognizable Latin *fa-k-i(-ō)*, (intentionally with *k*), on which I have written in detail in ARBEITMAN 1987:21ss. Thus, it is one of the more peculiar exoticisms when MANN (1984-87: 1463) assigns this item to the etymon "tu̯akō, i̯ō (tu̯aks) (1) 'do, make, perform'." His entry carries some Old Indic, Avest., Old Persian, etc., lexemes and/or radicals; but then he includes not only, as noted, the Latin *facio*, but the cognates in Oscan and Old Latin *faxō* plus the now notorious (as pointed out by WATKINS, orally) reduplicated putative Early Italic item *fhefhaked*. I have given the Oscan, Umbrian and Venetic with the Phrygian forms in (ARBEITMAN 1987:23 esp.), analyzed together for morphology's sake despite the fact that Venetic is not "genetically Italic" nor Phrygian "genetically Anatolian"!

[9] As this article is devoted to a specific semantic category, "give" and "take" *et sim.*, it is not wanting in relevance to state that, despite the fact that GORDON'S *specimina* are much more readily explicable, each within its own grammar, nevertheless, there is a different group of the same semantic class as GORDON'S, where reduplication and similar phenomena appear to have a statistically improbable place and these are:

INDO-EUROPEAN

(A)			(B)	
	Greek δί=δω-μι	"give"		Hittite *dā-i* "take"
	Old Indic	*da=dā-ti* (< **de=dō-*)		iterative *da=skizzi*
	Cun Luwian	*la=la¹* "take"		(cf. **dāi-i*, iterative *t=skizzi* [< **dʰE⁽ʸ⁾-skizzi*, zero grade of the root!] "place, put, lay". Cf. also *iya-, e=ssa* "make, do", etc. *peske-*, durative-iterative to *pāi-* "give"

It is generally agreed that the Akkadian form of the verb "to give" with its -d- is the source behind two nouns which originate in Akkadian, appear each as a hapax in the Hebrew Bible, and are widely used in Aramaic[10]: these are Ezekiel 16:33: "To all whores they give *nēdeh*, but thou gavest (f.) *nədānayik* to all thy lovers" and Nehemiah 5:4: "And there are those who say: 'we have borrowed money for the king's *middat*, [with/by] our fields and our vineyards'." This last Rashi defines as *lipro^ac mas hammelek* "to pay the king's tribute/tax (as, Ezra 4, *mindāh bəlo, h^əlāk* [in the Aramaic portion

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Lycian *pi=biye*, durative iterative   Palaic *pi=sa*
    to *piye* "give"
                                            (AB)
Cun Luw   *pi=pi=ssa*, respective iterative-durative to their
Hiero Luw   .   *pi=pa=sa*, root presents, *piya-*.
For the data see ARBEITMAN 1976: 79-80.

What is of major interest here is the Cun and Hiero Luwian employment of both "reduplication" in the traditional sense and of suffixation and, thus also, class reassignment, of the verb *piya-* "give". The precise nuances are beyond recovery. On the Old Indic forms see WHITNEY (1889:248-249).

Yet here too we meet up with a problem somewhat like that of GORDON'S, somewhat different: we are cheating when we give the causal basis for the reduplication in IE *di/de=dō-* inasmuch as this verb performs no differently from its class-mates within Greek e.g., where there is no conjugational difference between it and
(δίδωμι)
τίθημι   .
ἵημι(conflational verb, consisting of inheritances from both IE *yi=yē-* and *si=sē-*),
ἵστᾱμι (< *si=stā-* immediately, but farther back < *sti=stā-* in view of Old Indic *tiṣṭha-*).

That rare-type stems tend to fall into desuetude is even a cliché, but just here do we have opportunity to illustrate the phenomenon: the following is what happened to three of our reduplicated present class verbs just cited: δίδωμι was reformulated as δίδω and, then (by the a spread of the *-n(δ)* presential suffix) to δώνω, rebuilt to the aorist ἔ-δω-σα (HADZIKAKIS, 1892: 408). He previously told us (p. 406) "...so viel ist gewiss sicher, daß dieser [*-n(δ)*] Ausgang im Mittel- und Neugriechischen sehr beliebt ist". Our second example concerns the fate of our τίθημι: "Im Kappadocien ... geht man in dieser Richtung sehr weit, und so sagt man... τέχνω (= θέτω, τίθημι)," (p. 409), ... and that even σταίνω appears for ἵστημι. Furthemore, δίνω for δίδω "ist eine Kontaminationsbildung von δίνω x δώνω; ....". (ibid., 408, fn. 1).

[10] The data and some conjectures are found in the standard lexica: Akkadian, VON SODEN; Hebrew (Biblical), GESENIUS, K-B[1], K-B[2], BDB, Byzantine Aramaic, SOKOŁOFF; Jewish Aramaic and "Postbiblical Hebrew" (PBH = in Jewish terminology *Lašón Ḥazal* "The Tongue of our Sages whose Remembrance - let it Become as Blessing!), JASTROW and the two lexica of LEVY; Arabic, LANE and WEHR-COWAN).

of Ezra])". In the Ez locus he defined *nēdeh* as *mōhar* "bride-price, compensation for a virgin".

For the distribution of the derivatives of Akkadian *madattu* in the various Aramaics (*mdh, mndh,* etc.) see KAUFMAN (1974:67) and for the use of *ndwny'* in the Bab. Talmud (from Akk. *nudunnû*) see ibid.:79 where KAUFMAN also renders the Hebrew Ezekiel locus by "a woman's own capital". While these two certainly derive from Akkadian, it does not appear at all reasonable to throw the third noun *nēdeh* into the hodge-podge. I go along with several sources which suggest for the first of the two "gift" nouns in the Ez locus a different source, either by kinship or by borrowing. So far, to sum up before preceding, we have:

	INTENSION	RADIX (etymo-rhiza)	EXTENSION
Semitic			
Heb	na-	-ta-	-n
Phon	ya-	-ta-	-n
Ug	ya-[11]	-ta-	-n-

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[11] As GORDON (1965:416, item #1169, cont.) notes, with reference to a study by Baruch LEVINE, Ugaritic and Hebrew share a *n-/y-tn* "class of servitors", Heb. *ntyn-ym*, Ugaritic *ytn-m*. E.g. I Chron 9:2, *hakkōh°nīm haləwīyyīm wəhannetīnīm*, in the Targum, *kah°nayyā['] lēywā'ēy*. The LXX gives, οἱ ἱερεῖς, οἱ Λευῖται καὶ οἱ δεδομένοι. And finally, The Vulgata spoils both the plain meaning of the text and (2) the use throughout all the cited versions of the root core *T*, with its lame: *(et) sacrodotes (et) Levitae et Nathinnei*; well, the root *ntn* is there, but as a transliterated proper name of a class of priests seems to be the understanding underlying the rendering. The critical edition of Chronicles, (LE DÉAUT & J. ROBERTS 1971) offer: "les prêtres, les Lévites et les Nethinim (fn.1: Cf. Esdras 2, 43; 8, 17.20; *litt.* 'ceux qui sont donnés')", continuing with a long and enlightening note. Cf. also the entry on p. 528 of GESENIUS for orientation, s.v. Heb. *ntyn*. With one of these references we have a good polyglott thesaurus: Num. 3:9,

Heb	*wənātattāh 'et hallēwīyyīm...*	*nətūnīym nətunīym*
Targ Onqelos	*wətītēyn yāt lēywā'ēy*	*məsīrīn yəhībīn*
Saadya Gaon (Judéo-Arabic)	*w'df° 'llyw'nyyn*	*mslmwn m°tywn*
LXX	Καὶ δώσεις τοὺς Λευίτας	δόμα δεδόμενοι
Vulgata	*Dabis dono Levitas*	*traditi sunt*

The literal meaning of the Vorlage in its complete verse is: "And thou shalt give the Levites (to Aaron and to his sons); Given, Given [indeed]! [are] they to him [Aaron] (from the Children-of-Israel)". Where the Hebrew has intense speech, obtained by repetition, amongst the versions, the one that comes slosest to this repetition is the LXX with its: "And thou shalt give...

Aram	na- (ya-)	-ta- (hab)	-n (0)[12]

(They are) beings-given as a gift", using a *figura etymologica* with the (rare Greek word) δόμα functioning adverbally. The cause for the use of this very rare word (See LSJ and cf. LXX Gen 25:6, where δόματα = *mattānōt in sensu* "severance pay" [to his-concubine-children]) is the impressive assonance with the morphologically unrelated *dedoménoi*, which has the mark of the perfect participle, *-m(enoi)*.

In Num 3:9, both the Targum and Saadya choose non-iteration, but divide the repetition into two nuances, resp. "handed-over(/surrendered), given".

	In the Gen 25:6 locus,				ROOT(S):
Heb	*nātan 'abrāhām mattānōt*	(figura etymologica)			*natan, natan*
TO	*yəhab 'abrāhām mattənān*	(	NO	)	*yahab, natan*
Saaday	*whb 'abr'hm hb't*	(	YES	)	*wahaba, (wa)haba*
Neo-Ar	*hullēh 'abrāham mattānōt*	(	NO	)	*y-h-w-l, natan.*

On the other hand, VON SODEN (1988:309-311) argues forcefully that Heb. *'etnān* "pay, gift" and esp. "harlot's pay" (and the fem. hapax *'etnâ*, hosea 2:14) is (1) not derived from Heb. root *ntn* nor (2) consequently "cognate" (in an etymological strict sense) with Ug. *itnn* "marriage gift". In want of a good Semitic etymology (here, he states that the form represents no known noun type), for Ugaritic (and, here for Heb. as well) a derivation/borrowing from Hurrian should be sought. Nuzi Akkadian texts have *atnannu* and *uatnannu*, both to be read as /watnannu/, an economic term having to do with the delivery of small amounts of barley. It is a term of allotment and the derivative /watnann-uḫli/ designates an official involved with the allotment.

To me this all seems highly unlikely. Note the parallelism in GORDON (1965:368, #415a):

*ytt nḥšm   mhrk **l** bn btnm itnnk*
"present" "dowry=thy"   "gift=thy"

which GORDON renders: "a present of serpents is thy dowry; yea of snakes, thy gift".

ytt and *itn-n* (< resp. **yatant* and **'i(y/n)tan-ān* or /'i =*tnan=ān* with *'i* preformative and suffix *-ān*; Heb. < **'entn-ān*, applicable for Ug. *ytt* also, as **yantant*).

Cf. the Ug. parallelism *ytnt **l** ušn* ("gift" **l** "present" vel sim). These two last represent /yatanat/ and *'ūsān*. They are discussed again in fn. 33 below.

[12] On the Neo-Aramaic (of the Jews of Zakho), see SABAR (1983:208 in detail, and also 201). On its etymology see KROTKOFF (1982:163: *yhb + l ... hwl*). KAYE (1990:73), writing in general context in a popular journal, replete with misprints that make the matter ununderstandable, notes: "We find in Neo-Aramaic (spoken mainly in Iraqi Kurdistan, Israel, and Lebanon) the verb *yəval* (give) comes from *yəhav lə-* (give to) in which the preposition *lə* has been fused with the verb and has totally lost its separate and distinct meaning." This is the best I can make out the misprints and the over them penned in corrections. And, of course, this is exactly like the case of Syriac *ntl*, derived, in KROTKOFF's language: *ntn + l → ntl* (BROCKELMANN 1962:87). Neo-Aramaic does it with *yhb*, Syriac did it with *ntn*

HETZRON (1980) discusses something analogous with this process, with reference to a non-Semitic Afrasian (1) verb cognate with Semitic *whb* and (2) "dative" and/or "benefactive" suffixes. His material, however, is so complex that I dare not even speculate slightly on it here. The important loci for one wanting to glean what HETZRON proffers are (1980:17, 27 together with endnote 8, 2nd paragraph on p. 103; and endnote 46 on p. 108 for the "dative" and "benefactive" suffixed morphemes, resp. "to" and "for": "The dative endings may be related to the verb 'give',

Arab	wa-	-hab	-na
OSA	w-	-hb	
Ge^{c}ez	wa-	-haba	
Akk	na-	da-	-nu(m)
Eteo-Eg	rV-	-dV-	-ỉ
Indo-Hittite	X	de-	-O/A^w
Greek	X	δω-/δο-	(extension continued in length
Latin	X	dō-/dă	ŏ or in ə < 0 grade, either from
Skt	X	dă-/-d-	laryngeal!)
Hittite	X	da-("take")	
Old Norse	X	(tō-/to-("take"))	with secondary hyperextension
		(tōk/taka)	to extended √dō- (< √deO-/A^w-):
		((pret./Pres.))	*[+ -g-(o-)]].
		(ARBEITMAN 1987:25).	

Arabic has a rather uncommon noun *nad(an)*, radically *n-d-y*, meaning moisture, dew[13], liberality, generosity, etc.," (from a verbal root *ndw/nd'* [in Akk. terms, *nadV*]). A Hebrew hapax √*ndV* would give us a noun which shows the *n-* in the intension and the East Semitic radix *-d-* with the extension *-y/V*:

EXTENSION

Arabic	na-	-da-	+	-'/w/y, thus nd'/ndw/ndy
Hebrew(?)	na-	-da-	+	V, noun nēdeh.

Semitic	whb
Beja	hiw
Agaw	uw~əy
Sidamo	aw
Saho	haw

on the one hand (the only phonetic difficulty being the *ḥ* in Afar *-aḥuw-* (BLAKE...) or *-eḥ* (HAYWARD)) and Omo-Tana (e.g. Somali *sii* on the other (cf. Hebrew *šay* 'gift'). These roots may come from one original root containing **š*, a palatal element (cf. Beja, Awgni *əy-*, Somali and Hebrew), and a labial (which would also explain the labial benefactive of Somali (3.4.1.), cf. footnote 46)."

[13] Cf. RENDSBURG'S on semantic developments parallel to this (1983).

This leaves for Ez 16:33 a set of figurae etymologicae (as to whether they are recognizable to the audience - then or now - to the composers, or alone to the modern solitary scholar, is another question):
ləkol zōnōt yitnū nēdeh wə'att nātatt 'et nədānayik ləkōl mə'ahᵃbayik[14].

A final hapax from the Genesis is concerned with our present discussion: Gen 6:3: *lô' yādôn rûhî bā'ādām lᵉᶜōlām*, which every commentator, ancient, medieval, or modern, every Targum and every Midrash has offered

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[14] While *ndwny* is, to be sure, of Akkadian provenance, one must note that BH *nādān*, Biblical Aramaic **nədan*, in its form *nidnah* "its sheath", are quite blatantly from Persian cognates to Old Indic *ni+dhāna-* (preverb *ni* "down, in" + nominalized p.p.p. "placed, put, set"; thus, "container" and such). The Daniel locus *'etkəriyat rûhi *nāh danī'ēl bəgô' nidnah* a very vivid one, yet both the mainline English bibles, the RSV (1952) and the NJPSV (1982) cause it to be very pale. When the original is literally "My spirit became perturbed, mine, Daniel's(!), within its-sheath", both just mentioned translations give for *nidnah* resp. "within me" and "within me"! In Daniel the Vulgate gives "in his", the LXX   offers ἐν τούτοις, while the ϑ' gives ἐν τῇ ἕξει μου "My spirit [shuddered] in my condition". The Hebrew hapax in I Chronicles reads" (And YHWH said [the command] to the angel)": *wayyāšeḇ ḥarḇō 'el nədānāh* ("and he returned his sword to its sheath"). Here the LXX: καὶ κατέϑηκεν ... εἰς τὸν κολεόνₒ, but the Vulgata: *et convertit gladium suum in vaginam*. And there we may well have the explication for the denuding of the Aramaic locus of its *nidnah* "its sheath"; for while a "sword into its sheath" is innocent English (LXX κολεόν likewise) and, even a *gladium (suum) in vaginam* decent Latin, applying this lexeme metaphorically is fraught with the potential of "indecency": Daniel's excited "spirit" shuddering in/within its sheath (*vaginam*) got no version's transference into the translation precisely because, well, one doesn't want complications!

The Iranian (and Indic) *ni-dāna-* is, in its root (IE *dhē-*), a "receptacle", just like its Greek cognate that is now so productive in Western European languages, *bibliothèque, pinakothèque, discothèque,* and *enotheca* (from Gk. οἰνοϑήκη "wine cellar"), and *apothecary (thec + ari-* suffix) and, from this last-named, the Hispanic "grocery store", *bodega* and, more luxurious, the French clothing store, the *boutique*, these last two by aphaeresis, from *apotheca*, "put-away-place (for)".

For the alleged and disputed two Old Persian lexemes compounded of *dāna-* (p.p.p., with *—na-(m)* as neuter noun), see KENT (1953:189, left column) where refs. to these compounds are listed, compounds of Old Persian ²*dā-*, as said, (=Skt. *dhā-*, IE **dhē-*, Anatolian: Hittite *dāi-*, Luwian *diya* vel sim. vs. ¹*dā-* = Skt. *dā-*, IE **dō*, Hittite *dā-*, Luwian *lā-*, discussed below here). One of these two refs. given is to Old Persian *apadāna-* (KENT, p. 168), directly compared by the author to (1) Skt. *apadhā-* "concealment" and Greek ἀποϑήκη "storehouse" ("magazine" in its older acceptation which is quite close to that of *bodega*).

As well known, Hebrew of the later period and Aramaic also have the other form of the p.p.p. of Indo-Iranian, to this selfsame ²*dā-*, to wit *dāta-* (KENT, p. 189): "law", Avestan *dāta-* and New Persian (Farsi) *dāt*, represented in Hebrew *dāt* "religion". As such, it is a semantic cognate with English *law* (from Old Norse), to the causative of "to lie", i.e. " to lay", thus "laid down" as New German *Gesetz*, to the causative of "to sit", i.e., "to set", thus "set (down)" and here, in Indo-Iranian **dhāta-* "placed put, set", thus a trio of semantic cognates. See the Aramaic data in K-B², p. 1067.

some illumination on. The context, man is so violent, my spirit will not for ever X (with) him is rendered in the *Midrash Rabba* (1986: vol. I:195), in the mouth of R. Yišma°ēl Son of R. Yosi: "*'eynî nōtēn rûḥî bāhem bəšā°āh še "ni nōtēn mattan səkārān šel ṣaddîqîm lə°ātid lābô'*", where we have Bible verse *yādôn rûḥî*, explicated by *nōtēn rûḥî... nōtēn mattan səkārān...*, perhaps best rendered: "Not forever is my Spirit generous (stative verb, continuous present tense) with MAN- (in that he is but flesh, let his days be [but] one hundred and twenty years)." The complete rendering of the Midrash would be: "I am not giving (/placing) my Spirit in them in the hour (/at the time) that=I am giving the gift of the 'wages of the Just(-ones)' in the Future to=come'." The verb, repeated twice, is the standard

	INTENSION:	RADIX:	EXTENSION:
Heb	*na-*	*-ta*	*-n,*

while that of the Biblical locus, to recapitulate pellucidly here, is

Heb	*ya-*	*-dV*	*-n,*

i.e. to say that *yādôn* is a stative of the √*ydn (=ntn, nadānu, ytn,* etc.), à la *qāṭôn, gādôl*, "he is small", "he is big", and *yākôl* "he is able".

The precise translation of the Biblical locus then is "My Spirit is not in-a-state-of-being-generous/liberal/(for-)giving, et sim. forever with Man/ Person[-beings]."

It needn't be stressed and, yet it does require repetition, that NOTHING IN ANCIENT PHILOLOGY IS EVER SO CLEAN AND CUT and this, even when the tools of the cognate language-culture-religion complexes are adduced. Therefore, I yield to a shorter than I would wish expatiation on the Hebrew hapax *yādôn*.

(1) There is an extra-biblical Hebrew PN *ydn-yhw* (HELTZER & OHANA 1978:48 and III [English Summary]: "We conclude that most of the extra-biblical Hebrew personal names are composed of components known from roots never used in names in the Old Testament, and some roots are altogether unknown in the Old Testament". [By "O.T." one assumes that the Israeli authors mean the "Jewish Bible"; in their Hebrew they do not so acknowledge the desuetude of the Jewish

Old Testament [vis-à-vis the Christian New Testament, soi-disant]; the Hebrew uses the neutral term *miqrā'* "the Reading", cognate with Arabic *qur'ān.* YLA]).

I propose that this PN has the verb *ydn* and, thus, means: "Yhw-is-generous (vel sim.)" and, is thus a semantic equivalent to *natan-yāh.*

(2) SPEISER (1964:44 with reference to his earlier article) offers up: "My Spirit will not shield man...", based on his associating the Hebrew hapax verb with the Akkadian *dinānu* "substitute, surrogate".

On this Hebrew verb, specifically, I consider the totality to be the root (i.e. core **-d-**, intension *yā-;* (stative) extension *-ôn*). The first syllable is no indication of number, person, gender, tense, mood vel sim., as the verb is a perfect. Thus what we have is the *y-* (vs. *n-*) option within the *n-T-n* "give/be Giver et sim".

It is relevant to this analysis (and only relevant, not sine qua non) that O'CONNOR (1988:54-55), following up on a suggestion of D.N. FREEDMAN apud DAHOOD (1974:114), seems to have quite convincingly shown some few cases of "Northern" *y=tn* in Hebrew, alongside standard *n=tn*, so much so as to have this (Northern, nearer to Phoenicia and Ugarit, of course) *y=tn* in (long distance) parallelism (but, parallelism for all that!) in David's Song to YHWH, II Sam 22 (= Ps. 18). His main points are

The divine title *mgn* is here complemented by the forms *yōtēn* "Giver", in v 33, and in v 48, a fuller, comparable phrase is used in a pair of participial titles.

II Sam 22,   **31c:**   He is Donor (*mgn*)

             33b   The Giver (*yōtēn*; so with the Ps. parallel text *wayyittēn* for the II Sam *wayyater*; see GESENIUS-BUHL s.v. *twr*: "2 S 22₃₃ ist n.

Ps 18₃₃: *wayyittēn* f. *wayyatēr* z. [u] l.[esen]" (p. 874).

II Sam 22,   **48a:**   The one who is-giving me (*han-nōtēn*)

             48b: The one who brings me (*môrîd*).

Thus, and this is going beyond O'CONNOR, we have two sets of pa-rallelism: 31c amd 33b "Donor" ‖ "Giver", then 48a-b "Giving (me)" ‖ "bringing (under me)" and then the long-distance parallelism between 33b's *yōtēn* ‖ 48a's *(han-)nōtēn*, "The one who gives/The Giver" ‖ "The one who is-granting (me)" where the Hebrew is far closer than we can do with a translation, i.e. if we accept the revocalization to a participial proposal!

1.1 The Intension in Eteo-Egyptian:

The same criteria set out at the beginning of this paper as determinant of an initial consonant's "non-radicalism" in a verb such as *n-t-n, y-t-n* et sim. are exactly present and prominent in the Hebrew verb for "to take" (GORDON 1957:273, fn. 2): this verb has the imperative *qah*, the infinitive "feminine", *qaḥat* and (*pace* GORDON) has prefixed to it another form of the intension in our terminology. Now, furthermore, according to RÖSSLERIAN Egypto-Semitic *gesetzlich* sound correspondences, Egyptian *r* finds its only correspondant in Semitic *l* (e.g. RÖSSLER 1983:84)[15]. GORDON, in a less rigourous way (and I say the same about my own AA-IH type of "Nostratic" work), accounts thus for the enigmatic (see detailed discussion in THACKER 1954:71-74 *et passim*) character of the attestations of the varied forms of the Egyptian verb "to give", in my formulation [±r-]d[±ı̇/y]. THACKER takes due note of the Old Eg. and Middle Eg. in the main, feminine infinitive *rdt* (pp. 72-73). This verb is thus of a cloth with the Semitic verb class noted by KURYŁOWICZ and others.

1.2 An Amazing Suppletion in Eteo-Egyptian

HODGE (1984:416-417, a chart actually) gives in his 1.1-1.4, but primarily really in his 1.1-1.2, a number of AA-IH "hand"/"verbal actions of various sorts" comparisons. Some of these items are the same comparisons that I have independently arrived at here. Some are those with many more comparanda, arrived at from Prof. HODGE'S far wider erudition in many AA languages that I have no competence in. One is a major error in Hittite "take", cited above herein, *dā-* = IEP(roper) *dō- < *deO-/deA"- "give", and not, as he cites it, *dāi-*[16] which is "to place" in Hittite (=IEP *dhē-) al-

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[15] "In Wahrheit gehört "*r=r*" nicht zu den ägyptisch-semitischen Urentsprechungen; es ist gegebenfalls ein Indiz für Lehnbeziehung (regelmäßig ist nur die Entsprechung äg. *r* = sem. *l*)." (RÖSSLER 1983:84-85). See, please, Section 4, beginning, together with the immediate citation of RÖSSLER 1971, and with fn. 28.

[16] HODGE (1984:418) closes his discussion with the question which comes down to this: is Indo-European *dh* or *d* the cognate to AA *d*'s (of various sorts, which here I do not wish to enter upon; let Carleton HODGE please follow this up)? Is AA "give" (/and/or "put") cognate to Indo-

though both have the 3 sg. *dāi*. His Hittite *pāi*-[17] and precisely where in his scheme of relationships he places it will be pursued in section 5.2 *infra*. But the most amazing thing herein is his 1.1 Egyptian *dw* "give, put", Semitic **yad*- "hand", Chadic Sha *ḍi* "give", Berber **əd/*yīd* "with", all juxtaposed, as it were, with 1.2 in which only his citation of Egyptian *'m*, Cushitic **im*, both "give", concerns us at all. What is astounding here is the 1.1 "give/-take/put/ hand" items and the 1.2 items of the same semantic range offer a suppletion common to AA and IE that is mind-boggling. GARDINER (1950:-217), discussing the Egyptian verb *rdi* "give", tells us: "The imperative is almost always entirely replaced by *imi*, from a quite different stem." Cf. also here pp. 257-258 and 240-242.

BENVENISTE had shown that the perfect tense of Latin *emō* "take", *ēmī* (as reported by POLOMÉ 1965:24): "is a reduplicated perfect of the same type as *dedī*, to be analyzed as **ǯ₁e-ǯ₁m-ai*."[18] Now in Latin and other IE √*em*- is "take", √*da*- (Latin pf. *dedi*) is "give"; thus the question of a suppletion doesn't arise on the whole. Nevertheless, the semantic and phonological configurations of the two closely knit verbs in both IE and in Egyptian are not due to random chance! So we are grateful to HODGE for charting the material even in the absence of making this point. His addition here of IE

Hittite **dō*- or **dhē*-, so to speak?

Since both *dā*- "take" and *dāi*- "place, put, lay" are conjugated according to the *ḫi*-conjugation, the hallmark of this conjugation being *-i* for the 3sg. (as opposed to *-zzi* in the *mi*-conjugation, FRIEDRICH 1960:100-101), they must be cited by stem.

[17] This situation is the opposite from that which we have with the *pāi*-'s (here the roots seem identical, but the different 3 sg.'s, *pāi* "he/she/it gives" vs. *pāizzi* "he/she(it) goes"): *pāi*- "to give" [3 sg. *pāi*] and *pāi*- "to go", [3 sg. *pāizzi*] the former of the *ḫi*- conjugation, the latter of the *mi*-conjugation [ibid., pp. 89-90, "to go" and pp. 101-103. "to give"]. Thus, "give" [3 sg. *pāi*] and *dā*- "take", [3 sg. *dāi*] and *dāi*- "to place, put, lay" [3 sg. *dāi*] are all of the *ḫi*-conjugation and of a group semantically, *pāi*- [3 sg. *pāizzi*] on the other hand, is of the *mi*-conjugation.

[18] This same conceptualization was formulated earlier by SCHWARTZ (1947:38) together with some other relevant facts: "*'eme* 'hand, take'. R[oot] *em*- in Lat. *emō* 'take, buy', OCS *imo* 'take'. ⁀R *'e'eme* > IE *ēm*- 'take' in Lith. prt. *émiaū* 'took', Lat. p.p. *ēmptus* 'taken'. Rⁱ *'e-né-me* > IE *nem*- 'take, distribute' in Gk. νέμω 'distribute, share', Goth. *niman* 'take'; *'e-i̯é-me* > IE *i̯em*- in Skt. *yamati* 'holds'." This is followed by creative speculations of a sort no longer acceptable.

*dous- "hand" to the group of the Nostratic verb which has been the our present prime subject up to now is very welcomed indeed!

A common (even, if somewhat quasi-) suppletion between two macro-families in a single semantic field item is more important than any number of individual, single-word, comparisons!

The r Root

Even as "to give", IH-AA -*T*-, eventuates to be a monoconsonantal radical, so too is this true about the κατ'ἐξοχήν IH-AA "give" and the "partners of the giving/taking/exchanging" lexemes built with the *r* of reciprocity, the most wide-spread and, in many matters beyond linguistics, significant word that spreads from Lithuania to Kenya with ramifications not enterable here. Only to say that this *Urwurzel*, with or without its verbs and nouns beyond those for "the partners", is more of a *Kultur- und Wanderwort*, a *mot voyageur*, that obviously travelled together with the trade that occured!

Here I forbear from developing the interconnexions and the totality of the complete set of facts; this has been done adequately already in my 1981: 930-934 in particular, with especial reference to WARD'S fertile adduction of the data and also with SZEMERÉNYI'S amplification upon the same and with a few statements of my own which I stick by, but also have a more extended perspective on, now a decade later. So here the development will grow in an alternate manner, to wit a laying out of the material as it developed itself many millenia ago rather than as the theorists developed their thoughts in this latter part of the last decades of our own millenium. The story goes like this: in Classical Egyptian there is a preposition *r*, the which when it is initial takes its fuller form *ir*. This fuller form furthermore has an adverb *iry, irw* AND an adjective (of the nature of a *nisbe*) with the meaning "relating to, connected with" (GARDINER, op.cit.:554 and 557). The explanations of the latter on pp. 87-88 (¶113), with details for the semantics rather than for the morphological forms and how the writings compare with the "reconstituted etymological declensional endings", will greatly reward the scholar of this matter!

2.1. The three Baltic languages (the genetically Baltic: Lith., Latv., and Eteo-Prussian) share with Greek primarily (other languages enter the picture too, however) a positively reinforcing particle, Baltic *ar, ir,* Greek ἄρα, ἄρ, ρ. This latter in Homer serves to mark progression of action (CHANTRAINE 1968:100) and in this sense is equivalent to the "and's" which are so otiose and atrocious in translations of the Hebrew Bible where they serve both to link **and** to introduce various grammatical causal functions. Together with this Baltic-Greek particle of reinforcement and on-going-ness, there is a special pecularity in the Lith.-Latv. 3 sg. and pl. of the verb "to be" and this in the complementary position of a - in origin - nominal statement opener of existence[19], *yrà* in Lith., *ir* in Latv. According to the interpretation of STANG (1966:412-416), they derive from either a Baltic interjection **īr+à* (for which he mounts puissant typological evidence, both inner-Baltic as well as other IE languages [Iranian, Slavic]) or from, perhaps, an adverb, **ī=r+à* from **ī-* demonstrative + adverbial-oid *-r-* + particle *-à*. This all melds into a *verbum substantivum* with the meaning development "le voici". From this there further derives a nominal of "non-existence", Lith. *nèra* < **ne-yra.* All of this may, indeed does, sound far-fetched, but, well explained, it is far better than GAUTHIOT'S cognate-ness with Armenian *ir* 'thing', accepted by FRAENKEL (1962:124), the latter < **kwi-* according to the AČ(C)AREAN'S *Arm. Et. Dict.*, while PEDERSEN derived this Arm. word from **swe-* (cited resp. in STANG, op.cit.:414 and ARBEITMAN "forthcoming"[20], where it is set in its context).

Nevertheless, STANG'S second derivation from pronominal **ī* is on the right path, I think. What we have here is this **ī+rà* "of juncture, fitting and joining-together and suitability" (POKORNY'S "fügen, passen, etc."). As such,

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[19] Such "existence" nouns (with the copula-verb not explicitly given) New English "there (is), there (are) (present)", German *es gibt*, are wide spread. Hebrew *yēš* "there is" and its negative partner *'ayin* (in the construct, *'ēyn* "there is not, there is no (X)") and its many Semitic etymological and/or functional equivalents come readily to mind. On these (and their "outlaw" sound correspondences) see BROCKELMANN (1908:235 and 499-502).

[20] In Section 6.1 "Summary of Proposals Earlier Cited" in that paper.

yrà related to the rest of the family of IE-IH *(a)r, ar, arə, finds a proper etymon. For the demonstrative *ī here, cf. e.g. Lat. i=ta and Old Indic i=ti etc. in POKORNY'S entry on p. 285[21].

Fundamental to the Lith./Latv. existential noun are the concepts in Baltic iř/ař "and, also, very-one, etc.", artùs, adv. artì, artiē "nähe", artimas "fellow being, neighbour", Arm. ard "soeben, jetzt" and the many cognates in FRAENKEL (1962:17), and OCS jarьmъ "yoke". Since I have written "oodles" concerning the family of the root in question (ARBEITMAN 1981:903-934 in particular, 1988 in toto, and in ARBEITMAN "forthcoming"), I shall not expatiate further on it here except as it touches the present topic intimately! Such an intimate nexus with the present topic is offered by Hittite expression for "the one... the other", ara-...ara-, with meaning equivalent to Slavic drug-...drug-..., and by the Lith. word artimas[22] which renders the

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[21] Cf., in the sense of the existence of an entity, the NE colloquial expression: "It all hangs together"; Latin sīc (Old Lat. sei-ce) on which see ERNOUT-MEILLET (1958:622-623, and, on so-; 630). And Latin i=ta, Old Indic i=ta, "ceci", Avestan u-i=ta (Idem, pp. 324-325). Latin i=dem or id=em (= Old Indic id=am). "Le procédé qui consiste à exprimer l'identité par un démonstratif suivi d'une particule d'insistance se retrouve en ombrien, ... et en arménien..." (p. 306). Such particles have a bearing on the yra in its Lith. usage, but the situation is more complicated than that (see Chart III).

In an examination of the semantic developments of yra vs. esti, FORD (1969:132 ff.) draws a number of conclusions on the context determined usage of the one or the other and how they develope through the years of texts. But of major interest here is his discussion of STANG'S second etymological proposal for yra (which is far less known than his first in that the second one appeared in a Russian Festschrift, Leningrad, 1963 -- see FORD, p. 134 for exact reference). One has to assume that STANG'S 1966 book was already at the publisher and inalterable at the time of the 1963 article: "There [STANG] connects yra with the adverbs aure 'here is' and (dial. anre-) and assumes that the y is connected with the pronominal stem i just as aure is connectewd with the pronominal stem *ava- and anre with the pronominal stem ana-. The original meaning of yra, according to STANG'S new interpretation, would then have been 'here' or 'here is'.

The rest of FORD'S chronological ordering of the semantic changes and usages will richly reward the reader.

[22] OETINGER (1986:33, fn. 93 [to p. 18, Section 7.1.3 §2 "An Adjektiven mit e-Stufe]): advocates the position that Old Avestan: "ārəm 'passend' usw." by its ā, suggests viewing Hittite /ā́ra-/ < *ára-, just such an adj., *héro-, while the usual connexion with Gk. ἀραρίσκω "füge zusammen" is questionable, since it itself is to be reconstructed with an initial h₂. I see no merit whatsoever in this argument: (1) semantics are ignored in favor of a newly created adj. having in its behalf only that such a class of adjectives does exist. Furthermore, OETTINGER (2) has failed to denominate which h is in *héro- with a subscript numeral 1, 2, or 3 (or, etc.). (3) Nor has he

Hebrew reciprocal word $rē^{ac}$ "fellow/other" in biblical translations, and the

shown that such a lexical root exists alongside IE *ar(ə)- "zusammenfügen" and having the meaning "passen".

PETERS (1986:380ff.), in an argument concerning the laryngeal(s) underlying the Greek particle ἄρ(α) (Cypriote ἔρ)/ῥα, concludes (as far as relevant to our present purposes (fn. 59)): "Bei einer Priorität des e-Anlautes [of the particle] ist eine Verbindung mit ἀραρεῖν = armen. *arari* (< *h_2ar-h_2ar-?) mit *h_2 anzusetzen ist (cf. weiters N. OETTINGER bei MAYRHOFER 1986:133, der luv. *hirud*- und *hirun*- 'Eid' als *$h_2ēr$-$μ$- zu ἀραρίσκω stellen möchte; aber auch J. PUHVELS heth. *ara*- 'belonging (or: proper) to one's own social group, communally accepted or acceptable, congruent with social order' [Hittite Etymological Dictionary, Vol. 1 2, ... 1984, 116-121...]); eine Verknüpfung mit ἄριστος, ἀρι- entfällt dann, wenn man ἀρι- mit dem Autor dieses Beitrages auf ein *h_2ri- zurückfuhrung will". ‾

Concerning PETER'S misinterpretation (relatively minor!) of PUHVEL'S lexeme for "acceptable with the social order, et sim. ", PUHVEL specifically indicates that this (probably) neuter plural form is spelled *a-a-ra* in a ten to one ratio vis-à-vis *a-ra* and that the word is no doubt /a:ra/ or *āra* if you will (PUHVEL 1984:118 -- EICHNER, in his "friendly reference - supply" might well have pointed this out as well). Furthermore, there is a ^DĀras alongside the Hurrian $^DHinkallus$ "Abundance" and ^DKelti "Well-being" (something like *šālōm* in its various Semitic usages); this ^DAras is non-other than the equivalent of a *^Drtam "Right-Order" and the Avestan potential equivalents (see PUHVEL, op.cit.:120), as a Latin ^Diūs (< *yewos). For the location of PUHVEL'S rendering *natta āra* as "non-Hittite behaviour" and for my imitation of him in rendering Armenian *č̣-ar* as "non-Armenian behaviour", see ARBEITMAN (1981:912); cf. PUHVEL (1984:118 again also). *Č̣-ar* and *natta āra* are survivals of ancient Indo-Hittite terminology (with lexical substitution or variability in the negative): they indicate what one *ara*- does not do to another *ara*-: "non-Indo-Hittite behaviour".

In sum: The common thread of BERNABÉ's, OETTINGER'S *hardu* and *hirud- hirun- (hardu,* cited near the end of the present article text) is to extract Hittite *āra* (nt. pl.) and (common sg.) *ara-* (with phrasal *ara-...ara-*) and to reconstruct, both of them, in a scheme as follows:

	IE/IH			
Gk.	ἀραρεῖν		Gk. ἄρα	Luwian
Arm.	*arari*		et al.	
	and everything on		*hardu*	
	my charts II and	NOT COGNATE TO	BUT ARE *hirud-/*	AND, THEREFORE,
	III here		COGNATE TO *hirun-*	THE CHART II & III
				ITEMS ARE NOT CO-
				etymic WITH
Hittite	‾			
	‾*ara-...ara-*	"the one...the other"		
	ara-	"friend, fellow"		
	āra	"the WAY the *ara's* (Hittite *arēs*) do things" NOR WITH		
Arm.	*(č̣-)ar*	"the WAY- the ar-menians do things" (ARBEITMAN 1981:912).		

In OETTINGER'S scheme, the Hittite word(s?) reconstruct to *héro-*, as noted; the Luwian entry to $h_2ēr$- shared with all the words on my charts II & III here! PETERS notes both OETTINGER'S and also PUHVEL'S suggestions.

Colleagues, we have returned herewith to MÖLLER'S *har-ri* "Aryans" < *H_2!

Aramaic Targum *ḥăbar*. See JASTROW (1903: [421]-422) and GESENIUS-BUHL (1921:211-212!! and 905).

Now for the cognates of Hebrew *rēᵃᶜ*, see in detail GESENIUS-BUHL (op.cit.:766, right column, top of a page), to which now add Ugaritic *rᶜ* "friend" (and "co-laborer" > "assistant"), GORDON (1965:485, #2339, and 35 where the citation is given: *wytn=nn l=áḫ=h . l=rᶜ=h* "And may he grant/give it (f.sg.acc.) to his brother ‖ (yea) to his kin/friend.

As Ugaritic *áḫ* "brother" is usable in parallelism with *rᶜ* "kin, friend", so likewise is Ugaritic *áry* used in parallelism with *áḫ* (GORDON 1961:366, #349) "brother". As we all know, things parallel to the same thing (here Ugaritic *áḫ*) are parallel to each other (here *rᶜ* and *áry* - indubitably, these lexemes are to be vocalized *riᶜ* and *'ar(V)yV* or some such). *rᶜ* and *áry* certainly do not mean "brother", but whatever degree of consanguinity *rᶜ* indicates, it is a priori to be assumed that *áry* indicates the same degree thereof. This same applies to the parallelism *áḫ‖yly* (GORDON 1965:411, item #1099). The Arabic cognate is *walīy*.

In his pivotal footnote (1961:32, fn. 10) WARD made a significant and inspired leap when he stated that Ugaritic *áry* was the loan-source of Egyptian *iry* (see ARBEITMAN 1981:922). As WARD himself put it:

> Ugaritic *áry*... is parallel to "son" or "brother". The word has no Semitic etymology, and I feel this term was borrowed from Egyptian *iry* "companion". (...*iry* is also found parallel to and as a synonym for *sn*, "brother").

I forego the remainder of his words in favor of a table here from his information:

wVᶜV ... wVᶜV "one ... one" *in sensu* one "one ... the other"
wVᶜV ... iVryV "one ... fellow" *in sensu* "one ... the other".

Let us bear in mind, all the while, that the poverty of our transliterations makes look alike the unalike and unalike the alike!: thus in Ugaritic *á* means / a/, while from Egyptian *i* we can assume only /"ʔ" (of some sort) ±V/!

And while, as well-noted by WARD, *áry* has no Semitic cognates or etymology, the cognates and the rootedness of the family of *iry* in Egyptian

have already been alluded to and equally important, if not more so, are that the cognates and etyma present in Indo-Hittite are astonishing!

ALBRIGHT (1964:14), discussing cuneiform transcriptions, notes:

*Iriyamašša (... I-ri-ịa-ma-aš-ša) = * 'ry-ms(w)*, "A Companion is Born". This has numerous parallels from NK, all containing the element *'ry* Companion" (ÄPN 41:23ff.). The vocalization appears to be in order: for the first element note the Coptic Plural *erēw.*

STEINDORFF (1930:71) reconstructs a vocalism for the plural of Egyptian *"irj* 'Genosse', Plur. *erēw* [in Coptic! - YLA], *^{c}irējew"* (i.e. /əˀrēyew/ *vel sim.*).

VYCICHL (1983:46) offers the following developments from Old Egyptian and Coptic, which I take the liberty of rearranging for chronology's sake:

...*ỉry* "camarade" (der Zugehörige, Genosse), ..., pl. *ỉry-w...* C'est le nom sg. [Coptic] ēr "camarade" muni du suffixe de la 3ᵉ personne du pluriel différent du pluriel ci-devant cité [here, not yet YLA]. Voir ēr. Eg. *ỉry*, (ancienne graphie) *ỉr*, ensuite *ỉry*, adjectif de la préposition *ỉr, r* "appartenant à (...). se trouvant (...) ... et surtout (graphie ancienne) *ỉry* "celui qui appartient à" (...), "le camarade" (der Zugehörige, der Genosse)... Dém. *ỉr* "camarade", ..., GRIFFITH, *High-Priests* 88-89: "each of us loved his fellow" (*p'ỉ=f ỉr), ỉr* "camarade" (Genosse) ([W.] E[RICHSEN, Demotisches Glossar, Kopenhagn 1954]).

En démotique *ỉry* "camarade" (Genosse) se trouve dans les groupes suivants; *ỉry n wᶜb* "confrère" dit d'une prêtre (Priestergenosse)... *ỉrm p=f ỉry* "avec son camarade" = "ensemble, l'un l'autre" (einander); *m s' p-f ỉry* "après l'autre", *m s' t-s ỉry.t* "après l'autre" (l'autre, m. et f.).

Eventually this usage leads to a "frozen" reciprocal pronoun in Coptic, where VYCICHL began his other article (on the plural *erēw*, op.cit.:46):

erēw (SAL), arēow (B), erēow (BA), alēow, arēw (F) m. et f. "camarades" pl., en général dans le sens d'une réciprocité ... C'est le sg. ēr "camarade" muni du suffixe de la 3ᵉ personne du pluriel différent du pluriel ci-dévant cité. Voir ēr.

The reader is asked to follow up on the two ēre's on V.'s p. 54, particularly the last ēre "n.pr.f. 'Amie'" from Eg. *ỉry.t* "camarade" f. (Genossin)". Lastly to be cited, but first in V.'s p. 52 entry: ēr (B) m. "compagnon, ami" (φίλος), šbēr (S), is the fact that as a sg. noun (not a frozen reciprocal), the

lexeme in question is so attested **uniquely in the Papyrus Bodmer III** (ed.
KASSER):

John 11,11:

Greek Vorlage	Λάζαρος ὁ φίλος κεκοίμηται·
Bodmer	**Lazaros pen=ēr afenkot**
Southern	**Lazaros pen=šbēr afñkotk**
Northern	**Lazaros pen=šφēr afñkot**

On the long embedding on Semitic *ḥbēr*, entering in 18th-19th dynasties
according to VYCICHL (op.cit.:257), also see ALBRIGHT'S conceptualization
in ARBEITMAN (1981:951-953). It is the descendant of this borrowing which
survives as the prime word for "friend, fellow, neighbour" and the like when
reciprocal activity is not the subject of the sentence. BODMER is thus a
precious treasure for the history of ēr sg. surviving in Coptic. But for the
word **šb/φēr**, itself, there is very little more delightfully interesting than
what happens when the commandment of "loving one's 'neighbour'" is
rendered by the meturgemanim from the Hebrew Vorlage into the various
Aramaic Targumim and, in this same late period, when the Greek Vorlage
of the same is rendered into the various Coptics:

Hebrew Vorlage	wə'āhabtā lərē*ᵃᶜ*kā kāmōkā
Targum Onqelos	ūṭarahᵃmēyh ləhabrāḵ kəwātāḵ
Coptic (Lev 19:18)	ekéer=ȧgapan m̄pek=šφēr m̄pek=rēti
Coptic (Northern Matth. 19:19)	eke=menre pek=šφēr m̄pek=rēti
Coptic (Southern Matth. 19:19)	nǧ=mere pet=hitowōk ñtek=he
Greek (Lev = Matth.):	Καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.[23]

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[23] A convenient diagram of the IE *ara- (as in Hittite reciprocal and as in Lith. vocable for
"neighbour/the next guy", *artima-*, to the Bodmer "friend" vocable) and then on to the *šber* main
Coptic "friend" word which, in turn, leads to the NW Semitic *ḥbr* item, both in NW Semitic (the
Aramaic Targum) and Coptic. And, there we have to leave off for want of availability of more
Southern-African Afrasian languages. So we use what is offered by a locus in Deut. (5:20), the
determining factor being the extancy a locus with "neighbour/next guy" in Eteo-Prussian. We see
above both the third (and only real native compound for "fellow, friend"), but here we adduce the
etymological cognates for the other two Coptic words.

Lith I	*Ne liudyk neteisaus liudymo pries savo artimą.*
Lith II	*Nekalbėsi pries savo artimą neteisaus liudijmo.*
Latv.	*Tev nebūs nepatiesu liecību dot pret savo tuvāku.*

Northwest Semitic ḥ/ḥbr (here in the Targum), borrowed long before into Egyptian (here represented in two of the three Coptic versions - the other word, that used in the third version - is native, literally "the=at-thy-bosom[-one]").

In my main typological study of reciprocals (Arbeitman, forthcoming), I used three verses from the Christian Testament as display items of the reciprocal in eight Indo-Hittite languages and four Semitic. For reasons of ease I shall employ those selfsame loci here:

Eteo-Prussian, the First Catechism (1545 from German): "The Eight Commandment": Thou ny tur falsch widekausnan waitiatun preiken twaien **tawischen**. DU SOLT(!) NICHT FALSCH GEZEÜGNIS REDEN WIDER DEINEN NEGSTEN.
    The Second Catechism (supposedly a correction of the first, also 1545): *Tou ni-turri redde- wijdikausnan dātwei prijki twaian **tawischan**.* DU SOLT KEIN FALSCHE ZEUGNUS GEBEN WIDER DEINEN NECHSTEN.

Though Eteo-Prussian is considered to be the only remnant of West Baltic and Lith. and Latv. to represent East Baltic, it is Latvian with Eteo-Prussian which align up in the isogloss "neighbour/other(next) guy" with their *tuvāku, tawischen* vs. the *artima-* of Lith. (Texts and information for the catechisms are taken from SCHMALSTIEG, 1965). See FRAENKEL, p. 1147 and two other places listed in the Index s. "Preußisch", for the standard etymology of the Eteo-Prussian and Latvian items.

<div align="center">CHART VI</div>
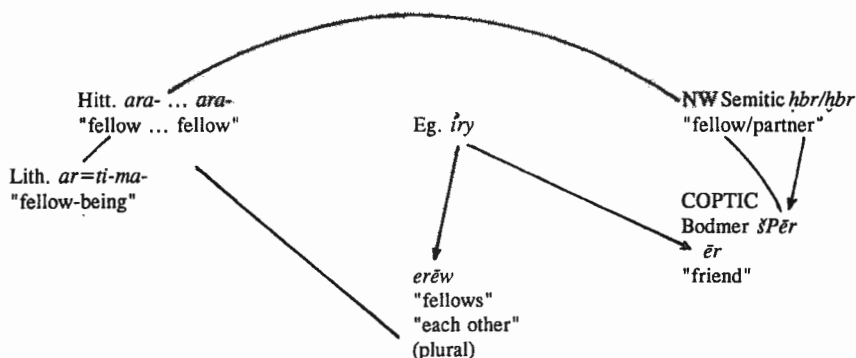
There is, to be sure, a certain amount of Divine Justice in the extreme West having this root *ar-* in only one of the three Surviving IE-Baltic languages and, at the same time, in the extreme East having this root *'ar-* in only one of the three versions we are dealing with, the Northern, Southern main Coptic dialects and the Bodmer papyrus treasure!!

JOHN 13:34

Greek	ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους
Armenian	*z=mimeans*
Gothic	*izwis misso*
OCS	*drougŭ drouga*
Coptic (NORTHERN)	**net-en-erēow**
(SOUTHERN)	**nen-erēw**

ACTS 21:6

Greek	ἀπησπασάμεθα ἀλλήλους
Armenian	*i z=mimeanç*
Gothic	(non extat)
OCS	*drougŭ drouga*
Coptic (NORTHERN)	**nen-erēow**
(SOUTHERN)	**nnen-erēw**

I THESS 5:11

Greek	Διὸ παρακαλεῖτε ἀλλήλους καὶ οἰκοδομεῖτε εἰς τὸν ἕνα ...	
Armenian	*z=mimeans*	*z=irears...*
Gothic	*izwis misso*	*ainhvarjizuh anþar anþa rana...*
OCS	*drougŭ drouga*	
Coptic (NORTHERN)	**nneren.erēow**	**pef-šφēr**
(SOUTHERN)	**nnetn-erēw**	**mpef-erēw**

2.2. The typology of the Coptic reciprocal pronoun differs significantly from that of the others: Greek has its single lexeme frozen from an erstwhile syntagm **alyo-alyo,* Armenian has its pair, each frozen from erstwhile syntagms, **mi-mi* and **ir-ir* resp. (in great detail, typologically and etymologically in ARBEITMAN [forthcoming; also ARBEITMAN, in press]). Gothic has its own pairs, resp. *izwis misso and anþar anþar-,* of which the first is a collocation, lit. "to you" (pl. dat.) + an adverb *misso* from that root **mei-* to which a preponderance of ARBEITMAN (1981, spec.:959-973) was devoted to displaying its primordial enduement with the quality of "reciprocity" everywhere. The second of the Gothic pairs is once again a syntagm, not frozen yet, but very like the Greek and the Armenian, and exactly like (typologically) the OCS *drougŭ drouga,* in that both the Gothic and the OCS

merely reiterate the (pro-)noun "friend/other/fellow". The Greek reiteration of *al-, the Armenian reiteration of (*mi- and of) *ir-, this Gothic reiteration of *an(-tero-) > an=þar- are very similar to Egyptian íry.w (built with the -w of plurality), which became frozen as the reciprocal in Coptic (some material in Demotic also, as we have seen *supra*) erēw, erēow. As a sg. noun *in sensu* "friend" it survived only in the Bodmer document of John, where it corresponds to the old Semitic borrowing šφēr and, alternately, to the indigenous Coptic word **hi=towō-** "at-bosom-of" / "near" as Greek πλησίον. In the I Thess locus we see that whereas Gothic, Armenian, and OCS have resources to express the repeat of the reciprocity (in the Greek Vorlage), none of my other cited Indo-Hittite languages did except Latin which gave resp. *invicem* and *alter-utrum*. Hittite, had there been any Ancient Anatolian versions of either the Jewish or the Christian Scriptures, would have used resp. *aras aran* and *kas kun*, as shown in PUHVEL[24] (1984:117): *nu aras aran le auszi kāss-a le kūn isdammaszi* "one shall not see the other, nor shall this one hear the other". A more literal rendering would be "fellow shall not see the one (="the other")". Cf. also PUHVEL (1991:17) for the Hittite panoply of such items. On Hittite *kas...kun*, cf. also ARBEITMAN (1988:429-432 and, on more √mei- items, ibid.: *passim*).[25]

What I just said about the Coptic formulation **erēw**'s being of a cloth with the *al-* forms (Greek and Latin), *ir-* of Armenian, *an(-þar)* of Gothic, does not refer to the typology! at all!, inasmuch as in all these three languages the *al-, (i)-r,* and *an-* items are, in all those reiterated (ditto for not relevant here OCS), whereas, on the other hand, the Egyptian-Coptic item is stated one single time, but in the plural, i.e. to say that the four other languages all have "fellow ... fellow", Egypto-Coptic has "friends". It is in another area that the above three items, *al-, (i)-r-,* and *an-,* together with the Hittite *ara-,* are of one cloth and that cloth is not typological, but much rather one of etymological cognateness on a very early level of proto-language recon-

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[24] I have in this present case ignored all the determinants and also the various marks of restoration of the text, for the sake of ease of presentation.

[25] This locus was also adduced as prime witness in ARBEITMAN 1981:956.

struction: *al-*, *ar(ə)*, *-r*, and *an-* are double of a cloth with one another, with the *R*(esonant) realized in three different manners of articulation and with reiteration of this *R* item. The Egyptian displays the *R* item as *r* (Fayyumic labdacism of *r* is a dialect-specific matter), but does not share the reiteration. Indeed the use of *íry* matches that of Ug. *áry*, where too there is no **áryu* (nom.) ... *árya* (acc.) collocation. The items all match as etymon, a single etymon, when taken back to its origin.

2.3. Egyptian has another collocation for "the one ... the other" and it fits in exactly like WARD'S *w^c..w^c*: "One embraced the other" (cf. in ARBEITMAN, 1981:932). As GARDINER (op.cit.:79, ¶98) states:

> 'One' ...'other' is expressed by *w^c....ky*: Ex. *íw w't.f w^ct ḥr mw, kt ḥr ít* "its one side was under water, the other [side] under corn". [this is another type, the contrastive pronoun; note the feminine forms *w^ct* and *kt* used with *w't.f.* YLA] or else by *ky .... ky*: Ex. *ḥtp.n ky ky* "one embraced the other" or else by *w^c ... sn-nw.f* "one ... his second": Ex. *w^c ḏd.f ḥft sn-nw.f* "one said to (lit. before) the other".

WARD had left out the verbs in his summation; but the example with his *w^c* ... *w^c* he translated as "one embraced the other" and, in the hieroglyphic text stands written *w^c ḥft w^c* (GARDINER 1932:24). The present phrase: *ḥtp. ky ky* is just about identical.

This rather amazing concurrence between both a pair of parallelistic colocational phrases which are cognate to Hittite to boot: *ara- ... ara- ‖ ka- ...ku-* and the total substitutability of Egyptian *w^c...w^c* by *ky...ky* carry far more significance than mere lexeme comparison!

2.4. In his fn. 88 (1985:43 - in the 1987 reprint, p. 438) SZEMERÉNYI informs us that, since his 1977 rehashing of his well-known views on the assumed Ugaritic-Egyptian connexion made by WARD, he "had noticed DUMÉZIL 1977:96-102, 108-110, 233-251, and ARBEITMAN 1981:906-12, 916, 930-4, but without much profit". The illustrious man goes on to give BOMHARD a scolding too for not acknowledging what in essense is WARD'S discovery which I extended - without having seen SZEMERÉNYI'S 1977 (*mea maxima culpa!*) - in my 1981. It is from me likewise that BOMHARD (a friend

and the co-editor of our 1981 monument to J.A. Kerns) learned of WARD'S connexion![26]

Whether or not the prolific repeater of his views (in my 1981 I had cited his 1980 retelling of the tale [ARBEITMAN 1981:930] and had expressed my sorrow at not having access to the learned man's two prior discussions of the same material). Certainly, the material on my pp. 933-934 would have yielded some profit. Be that as it may, here is what SZEMERÉNYI had to say for his conclusions in 1977:148:

> There cannot be any doubt that Ugaritic *ảry* and Egyptian *ỉry* 'companion' are related, whether this means that we have in them a common Hamito-Semitic vocable or, as WARD is inclined to think, an Egyptian loanword in Ugaritic. But, for us, it is more important to realize that, in view of the almost complete agreement in shape and in usage, Hittite *ara-* must be a borrowing from the Near East, and that means that the Aryan words *ari-*, *arya-* also represent a Near Eastern loanword.

Alas and alack, our esteemed colleague could not be wronger! This is arrant nonsense on a par with TISCHLER'S statement that Hittite's *ara-...ara-* is a calque on Akkadian's *tappû .. tappâ* (1977:53). The type is indigenous to Indo-Hittite, not only in Hittite itself, but in the Slavic *drug- ... drug-* and *odin- ... drug-*, alongside the *odin-...odno-* of Ukrainian (ARBEITMAN 1981: 913 "iso-idiom" & 932).

Chart I

(1) The reciprocal

Egyptian	Coptic	Ugaritic	Hebrew	Aramaic	Hittite	Lithuanian
wˁ wˁ	oua..oua	x	x	ḥad ḥad	l-aš ..l-an	x
wˁ ỉry	erēw	ảry ‖ ảḥ	x	x	araš..aran	x
x	x	rˁ ‖ ảḥ	ỉš..rēˁ	'enoš..ḥăbar	x	x
x	x	yly ‖ ảḥ	x	x	x	x
x sn			ỉš ..'aḥīw		ŠEŠ ...ŠEŠ	
					negnaš ... negnan˙	
ky..ky	(ke)		zeh..zeh	dā'..dā'	kaš..kun	kita-..kita-
					(<IE *kos..kom)	
(sect.3 here)						
			ỉš..qarob	'enoš..qarib		
					TAPPÛ..TAPPÂ (what?)	

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[26] And to my gratitude, so to speak, A.R. BOMHARD "returned the favor" in his bringing EHRET'S work to my attention.

The Ugaritic items are not employed "reciprocally"; they are given here as they are (1) cognates and (2) all in parallelism to *áḥ*.

(2) "the-next=guy, the-next=fellow"

B šφēr (any of		*rēᵃᶜ*	*ḥāḫar*	*araš*	*ar-ti=mas*
S hitowō the above)					
Bodmer ēr					

All of these except Hittite are attested in "Love thy neighbour/fellow-being, etc." Biblical loci. It requires no pointing-out on my part that some in (2) are the same items as some in (1) and that Lithuanian *artimas* is co-etymic with the Hittite *araš* and *ara-...ara-*, etc.

On some horizontal lines there is admixture of semantic/functional equivalents, which obviously are not cognate.

* The Lightning-quick etymological proposal by the comparative philologist Erich NEU (1991), upon the meaning-determination by the text-philologist Harry A. HOFFNER Jr., has given us the treasure and pleasure of now knowing the Hittite word in the parallel collocation for "one...another", upon the lexeme for "brother". At long last, *negnaš... negnan* can be substituted for *ŠEŠ...ŠEŠ*. Furthermore, we know that the Luwian collocation **would be** *naniš ... nanin*. See NEU (1991:63-66)! NEU's etymology is prima facie convincing.

Chart II

Hittite *ara-... ara-*   Ugaritic *áryV* "the other guy"
āra "fitting"

Greek ἀρτύς "friendship treaty (ARBEITMAN 1981:912) Egyptian *íryV* "the other guy"
r/ír

Lith. *ar=ti-mas* "the other guy"   Armenian *(ï-)r*

ař/ïř   *č̣-ar* "not fitting"
Southern Iraqw *'ado* "manner, way"
Cushitic Asa *'arato* "twins"
m= 'aro "neighbour; kind,
associated or related
thing" (from EHRET
1980:286)
to which I added:
Beja: *'araaw* "friend"
with which EHRET
(personal correspon-
dence) concurs.

We go, by "friends", from Lithuania through the Aegean and Asia Minor down to Ugarit, to African Egypt, and down to Tanzania with Southern Cushitic[27].

The horrible error in assigning to Czech an idiom *druh ... druh* on p. 906 has been pointed out to me by my colleague, L. ZGUSTA, stating that the Master Benveniste knew many things, but Czech apparently wasn't one he knew well enough! (see addendum).

Finally concerning SZEMERÉNYI'S agonizing (1977:145ff) over whether *ara-* indicates blood relationship or not necessarily, but merely "fellow-X" or "friend", this is wasted paper in the framework of such terms as used in A.N.E. languages and treaties. Even a look at ARBEITMAN (1981:998-999) where there is the interesting locus with *îš mērēᶜēhū* in Gen 31:44 "when one [of us] is hidden from the other" as contrasted with the use of the rather imprecise (from our point-of-view) *'eḥāw* ("his retinue" I rendered it there) in v. 46 is very instructive. Dictionary-wise this latter is the pl. of *'aḥ*; thus the parties to the treaty were *îš* and *rēᵃᶜ*, but Jacob's men are "his brothers" only in the "Genosse" or even in the "servant" (cf. the relationship between German *Knecht*, "servant" and New English *knight*, "a noble and choice warrior of the royal leader's forces") senses of "brother".

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[27] This is no place to forget the preservation of the Tocharian words which VAN WINDEKENS (1976:342) has reminded us of a special lexical concord between the semantics of the Greek and the Tocharian items in question:

"A *ortum* 'aimable, amical', A *ortune* 'amitié', A *ort* '+ami' .... Tokh. A **ortu-* ... remonte à i.-e. **ār-t-u-* s'observant aussi dans gr. ἀρτύν·φιλίαν καὶ σύμβασιν, ἀρτύς·σύνταξις (Hésych.), dont le sens se superpose mettement à celui des mots tokhariens, et dans arm *ard*, gén. *ardu* 'arrangement', lat. *artus, -ūs* 'jointure, articulation, membre' où le sens d'i.-e. **ar-* 'ajuster, etc.'(racine à laquelle se rattachent tous ces mots) a été conservé. Je renvoie aussi á tokh. A *ārt-*, B *ārt(t)-* 'aimer, louer'< i.-e. **ar-t-* du méme **ar-*. Tokh. A **ortu-* est issu directement d'une ancienne forme **artu-* (< i.-e. **artu-*) á la suite de l'Umlaut de **u* sur **ā.*" (cf. also p. 131 for the phonology). The reader is urged to see ibid., 168-169 for both (1) cognate and derivative words as well as for (2) rejected as coming from this "zusammenfügen" root! For Toch. B *ra* 'partic. postposée, même, de la même, de la même façon' / Gk. ἄρ, ῥά, ἄρα / Lith. *ir̃*, ibid., p.400. While we have here the word for 'friend', etc., this is not used as the Tocharian reciprocal, for which see ARBEITMAN, 1991.

2.5. The actuality is that both Egyptian *íry* (whether Afrasian to Ugaritic *àry* or shared inheritance) is not so easily palmed off as borrowed into "Aryan" as self-designation. The problem and the solution is that (1) the lexemes in question have deep grounding in wide-spread verbal roots in both Egyptian and in Indo-Hittite and (2) they are, in their relationship one to another, linguistic outlaws. According to the Egypto-Semitic *lautgesetzliche* correspondences of Prof. Otto RÖSSLER (1971:314) an Egyptian *r* does not correspond, in common inherited material, to a Semitic *r*, but rather to an *l*:

> Entspricht äg. *r* ein orient.-semit. *r*, so ist dies ein sicheres Indiz für eine Lehnbeziehung. In urverwandten Wörtern is eine solche Entsprechung nicht beobachtet worden[28].

The fundament of these correspondences resides in the verbal roots, Indo-Hittite **ar-, (a)re-, .. arə-, rē..., (a)rī, rēi-**, in POKORNY'S umbrella formulation, 'an-/zusammen-fügen, passen' and Egyptian *írí* 'make, do, act, acquire, achieve' in GARDINER'S formulation. There is no purpose to be served here in marshalling the individual words assigned to POKORNY'S IE/IH root - they are too well known. But I do want here to chart some less known ones, with citations from both POKORNY and from Stuart MANN'S extremely erratic IE dictionary, yet one filled with treasure nevertheless.

Partially however we must concede some of the lexemes of the *ar-* configuration to POKORNY'S **2. ar-** oder **er-** 'zuteilen'.

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[28] On 2/vii/'91, while I was giving the final touches to the present article, my good friend and teacher for many years, Prof. Dr. Otto RÖSSLER, passed away in his 84th year.

Chart III

Indo-Hittite *ar(ǝ)*- "join, fit, suit, match *et sim.*"

LITHUANIAN	LATIN	GREEK	HITTITE	ARMENIAN	LUWIAN Cun.Luw.
ir/ar/ir/ar emphaticizing particle of existence and actuality *vel sim.* *artùs, artì, artie* 'nahe', *artimas* 'nahe, in der Nähe gelegen' FRAENKEL 1962:17, of which the entire entry must needs be studied!) *yra* 'junction, union, putting-together, synthesis, *condo, conditus, a, um,*' and, thus, 'making, being, existence'.	*rītus* 'religious rite'	ἀρτύν 'friendship-treaty' ἀρτύς 'σύνταξις' ἀμαρτή 'gleichzeitig' ἀρτύω, ἀρτύ-νω 'füge zusammen, bereite' ἄρτι 'eben, gerade' 'eben, gerade'	*ara-...ara-* 'fellows, others' *āra* 'proper, fit, right'	*aŕnem, arar* 'do, make' *ḥ=arem* (< **en = ar-*) 'join, fix' *v-aranem* 'do, make, seize' *v-arem* 'practice, cultivate' *arar* 'action, deed' *y-ar* 'consentaneo, congiunto, contiguo, appresso' *y-arem* 'aggiungere, congiungere' *y-armar* 'passend, angemessen' *ḥ-ar=mar* 'fit, proper, right' (< IH **ar= mn-, ar=mer*) *č̣=ar*(Hittite *natta āra,* 'not proper or fit', in PUHVEL'S words (see ARBEITMAN 1981:912) resp. 'non-Armenian, non-Hittite behaviour').	*arut/duti-* (abl./inst.) 'wing' Hiero.Luw. (*78)*aruti-* 'wing', then also 'basket'. √*ar-* 'fit' action noun suffix *-u-ti-* 'fitting/joint' (MELCHERT 1988:224-225).

EGYPTIAN	
iri 'make, do, act, acquire, achieve'.	*r(/ir)* 'to, at, concerning' *iry/irw* (adv. GARDINER, pp. 88 and 156: 'thereof, thereto'). *iry* (a *nisbe* adjective) 'fellow, other' *irw* 'form, nature'

And, in the main, these are

Chart IV

Indo-Hittite *ar-* 'zuteilen'

ARMENIAN	AVESTAN	GREEK

aṙnum
'ich nehme'

ar- 'gewähren, zu teil
werden lassen'

$ἄρ = νυ-μαι$
'erwerbe, suche zu
erreichen, empfange,
bes. als Preis oder Lohn'

frərata-
'Zuweisung (von opfern
u dgl.), Darbringung'

In the middle of p. 60, s.r. *(a)rĭ-*, POKORNY states: "Vielleicht ist auch **rēi-* 'Sache' (lat. *rēs* usw.) nach Wood aˣ 226 anzureihen als Wznomen der Bed. 'aufgestapeltes Hab und Gut'."

I much rather see this item categorized s.v. 2. *ar-*, POKORNY'S 'zuteilen'. SZEMERÉNYI (1956:181, in the reprint, 1987:795) has well addressed the question in a now classic article on Latin *rēs* and related matter.

> We must now turn to the question of etymology. ... **reH-i-* is obviously a derivative formation. If so, are there any cognates?
> The Aryan data show that **reH-i-* is derived from a verbal root **rē-* attested in Skt. Av. *rā-* 'grant, bestow' (IE **reh₁-*); from it were formed Skt. *rā-ti* 'gift; giver', Skt. *rāta-*, Av. *rātō* 'bestowed, offered'. In view of the fact that *raH-i-* is clearly from *rā-*, and *r-* is established for *raH-i-* by Lat. *rēs* we cannot admit the suggestion that *rē* may derive from IE **lēi-* 'grant; possession' (fn.3: WP II 343.394, repeated in WH II 430. This could only be accepted if we assumed a primitive alternation of *r/l*, which is of course possible. Cf. SPECHT, Ursprung 317ff.; B. SCHWARTZ, The Root and its Modification in Primitive Indo-European, 1947, 33. But as this would be pre-IE, it can be left out of consideration here). We are forced to take a further step in our analysis by the existence of Vedic *rátna-* 'gift, goods, wealth', which clearly points to *r-atna-, -atna-* being the thematization of an old heteroclitic neuter *-atar/n-*. It thus becomes clear that **r-eH-* must

represent the nil-grade of a root *Her with the enlargement -eH-, the nil-grade of the root being concomitant on the accession of the enlargement; ... F.A. WOOD identified this primitive root with IE *ar- 'join, fit together', from which he derived a base *rēi-/rē- 'spread out, arrange, put in order', found in Lat. reor, rēs, Skt. rayiḥ, rās, ratnam: this has tentatively been adopted by WALDE and now repeated by POKORNY, the assumption being that *rēi- 'thing'(?) originally meant "aufgestapeltes Hab und Gut". This suggestion fails to account for Aryan rā- 'grant, bestow', and thus cannot be accepted for its derivative raH-i- either. ....

The primitive meaning 'seize, take, hold' is, in my view, established for IE *ar- by Hitt. har(k)- 'hold, have'. .....

The primitive root *H₂er- 'take, seize' thus developed the meanings 'apportion, give, grant, bestow' attested in Av. r̥nu-, but especially the Aryan verbal root rā- which represents IE *Hr-eH-; from this derives the noun *(H)r-eH-i- 'gift, possession, riches'. (fn. 1: Since we have above ... admitted a pre-IE l/r alternation, it is of interest to note that the variant *al- seems to be the basis of IE *al-gʷh- "take, seize, get, fetch (price)" in Gk. ἀλφεῖν etc., see POKORNY, IEW 32f.).

Of course, POKORNY wisely refers to a [± aspirate labio-velar], inasmuch as, of the few derivatives of this root, as far as we can tell, - Old Indic, Ossetic, Avestan (thus Indo-Iranian) and the Greek have the aspirate reflex, as well as Lithuanian and Eteo-Prussian. One Old Indic root demands non-aspirate reconstruction[29].

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[29] In view of the (single) Old Indic item, arjati "erwirbt, verdient, schafft herbei" (reconstructing to *al=gʷ, "Eine Nebenform auf unaspirierte Media ist ai. arjati .... " vs. Old Indic arhati 'ist wert, verdient, ist verpflichtet, soll', argha-ḥ 'Wert, Geltung, Preis',"(reconstructing to *al=gʷh- (POKORNY, pp. 32-33), it is perplexing to see MELCHERT (1988:222-223) insisting that the PIE source of his *h₂ₗ₃elg(h)- "to gather, collect", noun *h₂ₗ₃elg(h)i "gathering" stands no chance whatsoever of being in origin as suggested by ČOP, i.e. *al=gʷh. For, in a root which is somewhat "volatile" as is this root, given (1) that it can manifest itself as ±h, there is no reason to apriori throw out the possibility of there being, likewise, ±w. That is to say that IE itself may have had this root in three manifestations of the extension of velar nature, -gʷh, gʷ, and gʰ sans labial component of the bundle [velar, labialized, aspirated]. Yet MELCHERT writes: "This derivation is phonologically impossible. There is simply no evidence in Hittite or Luvian for delabialization of a labiovelar in such an environment".

I have here argued for the real possibility of such a derivation; I have not indicated a position on MELCHERT'S own derivation vs. that which he terms "phonologically impossible". Indeed, I rather like MELCHERT'S preverbalized root *legh- "collect, gather", with inherited or very early univerbation.

At all events, I had come to this selfsame conclusion concerning the *ar-* ~ *al-* vacillation for the verb in exactly the same way as I posited it for the "other" words, **ara-, *al(ter-/yo-),* and **an(tero-/yo-)* pronouns in section 2.2 end, above[30]. However, I provisionally withold judgment on the further connection SZEMERÉNYI (op.cit.:797) makes with the Indo-Hittite root **ḫark-* and the IE root **ar-* + extension *-k*. This problem cannot here be discussed. One more connexion in this matter: PISANI (1974:123, item #96) offers a root **lā*:

> Scr. *rā-ya-ti* 'abbaia', lt. *lātrō* 'latro', lit. *lo-ju* 'abbaio' inf. *lo-ti* impf. III pers. *lo-davo* part.pres. II *be-lo-dam-s*, ablg. *laja* 'abbaio'.

This root obviously is equal to POKORNY'S 2. *lē(i)-* and, simultaneously, to some of the items we just saw SZEMERÉNYI dealing with *sub r. H₂reH₁ (= rā-)*. Without quibbling, some form of **al-/lē(i)-/lā-* is convicted of paternity

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However, see now BADALÌ & ZEILFELDER (1991:80-82) esp. and fn. 33 on p. 82, where the authors argue both a different semantics and certainly a different etymology: *halkuessar* is a "gift which is due the god", a cultic term from IE √**H₂(e)lgʷh-*.

Cf. now also PUHVEL (1991:40-41) who largely there agrees with BADALÌ & ZEILFELDER in meaning and etymology and, most of all, in separating *halkuessar* (39-41) from *halkis*, the Hattic(!) grain-goddess (35-39), perhaps attested also in Etruscan(!).

[30] Although I posited the **a-r/-l/-n* "oppositional" set of pronouns at the end of 2.2, as noted, the citation to SPECHT given in the quote from SZEMERÉNYI at the end of Section 4 above, fulfills both more and less than SZEMERÉNYI'S adduction of it would lead us to expect. The section in SPECHT roams widely and well repays the scrupulous reading and rereading by us all interested in these matters - yet, it discussed neither SZEMERÉNYI'S "grant/bestow" root, of the configuration **al-/ar-* nor my pronominal set specifically. On p. 113ff., SPECHT does discuss at length an **al-* ~ **ar-* set of roots meaning "white" and concludes on this set: "Da bei Wurzeln von Farbenbezeichungen, die auf *r* ausgehen, immer Seitenformen auf *l* daneben stehen, so gehört auch *al* 'weiß' neben *ar* hierher." Do, however, consider SCHWARTZ (1947:33, 39, 31 *et passim*) for numerous valuable proposals, even if many of them cannot be accepted today and especially even though SCHWARTZ' atomistic and profuse uberity of Pre-Indo-Hittite (it would seem) preverbs and postverbs (on the order of the "intensions" and "extensions" I have proffered in the present paper for Afrasian Semitic) makes it "out-of-style" for the present state of the art.

Although LEHMANN (1986:39, as representative of a widely held perspective) insists on the etymon for Germanic and Indic, resp. e.g. Gothic *anþar* and Skt. *ántaras*, have as their base, IE **ono-/*eno-* and not **ano-*, and proceeds (p. 40 top line) to state: "P[okorny] 1959:37-38 inadequate", one should take serious note of the references not only in P., p. 38 end **an-* entry, but also in P., p. 26 end **aljos* entry!!

of some of the lexemes in the daughter tongues. Granted this, it seems quite reasonable to tack on Luwian *lā(i)-* 'prendre', alongside a reduplicated stem *lalā(i-)*, (Laroche 1959:61), be it not simply lambdacism[31]. Rosenkranz (1988:259ff.) ingeniously created separate etyma for Anatolian words that were quite plainly in relationship of *d* and lambdacized *d* into *l*. A fascinating article from a great man, but I don't want to forget an admonitory precedence for creating *l* roots parallel to inherited *d* roots. That said, I still propose Luwian *lā(i)* from IH *lē(i)-*.

Tischler (1990, Lief. 5 und 6:1) states with over-conviction, I think, that: "Im Hieroglyphenluwischen indes kann der Wandel [*d > l*] als gesichert gelten, vgl. *tà-i* neben *la-i* 'er nimmt' Inschrift KÖRKÜN, s. Morpurgo-Davies und Hawkins, Fs. Meriggi, 1979, 395, 398". Alas the volume exists in only one USA library and it is my pleasure to thank friend/ colleague, Prof. Rugerro Stefanini for xeroxing his contributor's copy for me.

Yet what the team of Morpurgo-Davies/Hawkins has given us here is more than slightly less than is indicated in Colleague Tischler's enthusiasm, for all they conclude (1979:398) is:

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[31] Laroche - †16.VI.91, (1958:104), after determining Luwian *la* as "prendre", gives us the following diagram: "on est donc autorisé à poser les deux équivalences:

Louv. *la-*   Hitt. *da-* 'prendre'
      lala-   *dask-* 'prendre (tour à tour)' (fn. 60, on p. 113:

Le rapport étymologique de louvite *la-* à hitt. *da-* 'prendre' n'est pas clair. Étant donné le hiéroglyphique *ta/da-* et le lycien *ta/da-* de même sense, on peut supposer, dans le louvite cunéiforme, une altération de *d* en *l*, selon le processus 'asianique' connu par *tabarna*, etc.)".

What we have that we can see is two differing modes of indicating the frequentive or iterative, to wit (1) iteration of the lexeme itself vs. attachment of the IE frequentive suffix (reminiscent of the above discussed iteration of Hittite *ara-... ara-* vs. pluralization in Coptic *erēw*).

Oettinger (1986:20, fn. 43) notes: "Unnötig skeptisch gegen sprachwerklichen Wechsel *d/l* ist Meriggi, AccNazLinc 8, vol. 24/3, p. 261; vgl. vielmehr auch keil.-luw. *tappa* 'spucken' mit heth. *allapahh^hh* 'ds.' Mit der Gleichsetzung von keil.-luw. *lā^l* und heth. *lā-* 'lösen, wegnehmen' hat Meriggi allerdings recht". I cannot here agree with Oettinger's connexion, mostly on semantic negative grounds re "nehmen", "lösen" vs. semantic positive grounds re "nehmen", "nehmen". An examination of the Hittite word's usages is not very suggestive.

The presence of both *la-* and *ta-* in the same language is bound to reopen the question of the relationship between these two roots. So far 'take' was expressed by *ta-* only in Hittite and in Hieroglyphic Luwian, and by *la-* only in Cuneiform Luwian. The evidence is still scanty, but one cannot help being struck by the absolute identity of usage of *la-* and *ta-* in Hieroglyphic itself (cf. the two passages from KÖRKÜN quoted above) and by the fact that in Hieroglyphic the *la-* root is preceded by the CAPERE logogram, i.e. by the *tà-* sign. We could try to simplify the position of Hieroglyphic by arguing that the numerous instances of *tà-i, tà-ia, tà-ti-i, tà-ha* ought all to be read logographically: CAPERE-*i*, CAPERE-*ia*, CAPERE-*ti-i* etc., and given a phonetic interpretation of the *lai, laia* etc. type. Yet this is intrinsically implaubible and in any case does not explain why CAPERE has a well established *tà* value and is regularly used before *la-*. It seems that we must accept the presence of both *la-* (with *lala-*) and *ta-* in Hieroglyphic. Does this point to an etymological identity of the two roots as suggested e.g. by KRONASSER (*Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache*, 64)? And what consequences does this have for our views about the dialectal position of Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian?

Without permission I take the liberty of answering: the absolute identity of usage does not point to an etymological identity - only to a functional **semantic** identity! Its consequences for our views on the clustering of the Anatolian languages are simply that while KRONASSER (1966:64) has:

Besonders Interesse verdient in diesem Zusammenhang luw. *la-* "nehmen", das mit heth. *da-* "nehmen" etymologisch verbunden werden kann [my emphasis - YLA], wobei das Bildhethitische diesmal mit dem Keilhethitischen geht bh. *ta-* "nehmen".

The MOPURGO-DAVIES/HAWKINS results leave the following consequences:

	Cuneiform Luwian	Hieroglyphic Luwian	(Cuneiform) Hittite
so far:	*la-*	*ta-*	*ta-*
now:	*la-*	*ta-* & *la-*	X.

All the other questions and problems that the authors adduce are but straw men and valueless, with no probative possibilities!

The Hieroglyphic Luwian *la* (with or without that of Cuneiform Luwian) may well continue Indo-Hittite root *la-/lēi-*, a prospect that cannot be further examined here. The cognate data is so very recalcitrant to definitiveness that there can be little wonder that every scholar who has approached

this unobtainable conclusiveness, has gone on to simply "do that which is right in his own eyes"!

III. The b^h Root

3.1. I have long been a strong advocate of the minority position of excluding Hittite *pāi-*[32] (Near-Pan-Anatolian *piya-*) "give" from the "small circle of 'non-tmetic' verbs" in Anatolian, i.e. verbs which etymologists have decomposed into two elements, viz., preverb + verbal root, the result being that both a verbal root and an erstwhile adverb are extracted, which by Hittite's attestation had meshed into a synchronic unified lexical item. In English, the most ready examples are *don* and *doff* etymologically "do on" and "do off" (as Latin *end-u-o* and *ex-u-o*, preverbs resp. *endo* and *ex* meshed with the root **u*, a root that appears with extension as **u-es*), the English compounds in question < **d^hē-* + resp. **an(a)* and **apo*.

In my most recent previous article on the subject (ARBEITMAN 1987 [submitted as final 1983]) I stated, somewhat rashly perhaps:

> See my articles 1974:70-76 and 1976:79:50. I am preparing one further article on this verb (with, *inter alia*, reference to its extra-I[ndo]-H[ittite] connections), which is already cited in BOMHARD (1984:203, [item #40]). (ARBEITMAN 1987:27, endnote 3).

The theory I had advocated in the 1987 article was based both on (1) my triad of reasons that struck down the majority etymology and (2) a schematic proportion the lamented Warren COWGILL had given me (quoted in full in ARBEITMAN 1987:21). These two bases led me to the view that basically, far from consisting of preverb + verb with univerbation, Hittite *pāi-*/Anatolian *piya-* followed a conjugational pattern parallel to that of *dāi-*

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[32] For *pāi-*, add to the data in fn. 9 above and in ARBEITMAN 1987, MELCHERT (1990:206): "[in Lydian] ... the pret. 1st singular ending *-idv* < *-*iyom*: e.g. *bidv* 'I gave' from a virtual **piyom*".

Also note GUSMANI (1990:41-42, with the references given there!): (1) *+bi-*[2] with a "3. Pers. Prät. *bil̥* 99" determination and (2) *+bid-* with possible identification with *bi-*[2] (the form just given by MELCHERT). Thus, *bidv* "I gave", *bil* "he gave". GUSMANI'S "+" refers to his 1964 *Wörterbuch*, q.v.

and that the resp. Hittite roots were (no preverb at all!) *"+"/bʰāi-/ and /dʰāi-/ < resp. *bheEʸ and *dheEʸ-. (I further postulated that, as *dhē- IE had a wide-spread form with a -k extension, likewise did *bʰē have such an extended form in non-Anatolian *bʰago- "distribute, etc.").

This small note here will have to do for my promissed "one further article on pāi-" I suggested orally to BOMHARD soon after submitting the 1987 article, that the proposed etymon for pāi-, *bʰāi-, was etymologically kin to Afrasian, best preserved in Semitic Arabic baᶜi "sell". BOMHARD (loc.cit.) gives Thamudic and Punic cognates. Prof. Otto RÖSSLER (1979:26) has related the Arabic verb to Berber ekf(a) < Common Berber *B K() < *B i̯() and to the many appearances of this root in the Chadic dialects, most bVr, b/pVn, va(la), bV[33].

Whether Prof. RÖSSLER views the third radical in the Arabic and Chadic to have a phonetic relationship of Semitic (Arabic) ᶜ ~ Chadic r(/n/ϕ), l and similarly views Common Berber's original k < *Proto-Berber's reconstructed *i̯ to have a similar relationship with the second Arabic radical, -y-, in his "BK()"[34], I know not.

Of great interest is the semantic range of the several items: while RÖSSLER, following his sources, labels the Berber and the Chadic "geben" and "give" resp., the Semitic Arabic verb bāᶜa (byᶜ) covers a specialized meaning.

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[33] GALAND-PERNET (1987:383) in a general discussion of the morphophoneme š in Berber, concludes that in the verb form uš "donner", we have lautgesetzlich (phonomonic) change from the radicals FK and KF "(plus proches de la racine, au sens historique du terme) pour voir que u résulte de l'évolution de la labiale et š de l'évolution de la dorsale", that is to say that fk < uš! Let me personally note that the outcome looks tantalizingly like Hebrew and OSA name element, resp. 'ūš (as in Yəhô-'āš, semantically = Yô-nātan) and 'wš (as, e.g. in 'wš-n)"(the God) Yô has Given" and "(the God) N has Given". In Ugaritic there is the common ("not proper" i.e.) noun úšn (root 'wš) "gift" (see GORDON 1965, Glossary:354, item #117) and Arabic 'aws "gift".

[34] Some other examples of this verb's configuration in a few languages are: Bachama vó "give" with a Proto-Chadic reconstructed *b-(r)- (according to CARNOCHAN [1975:463]), who supplies the further tidbit that "'to hand to'; 'to give (as a gift)' is rendered by the causative vódó".

In its synchronic semantics, no longer unadorned "give" as its AA etymon must needs have. It has rather developed that nuance of "give" which is "pay". In the forms, it is defined, I "sell", III "make a contract, pay tribute/homage" et sim., VI "agree on terms for sale, conclude(/strike) a bargain (/agreement; agree on a price)" VIII "buy, purchase" (based on WEHR-COWAN, pp. 86-87, q.v.!). This meaning specifity is well demonstrated by Saadya GAON'S rendering of Proverbs 31:24:

Heb.: *sādīn ᶜāśətāh watimkōr waḥᵃgōr nātənāh lakkənaᶜᵃnī*
Saadya: *wqd ṣnᶜt 'zr' fibyᶜh' wmy'zr' tᶜtyh' llmjhzyn*

Literal of the Hebrew:

"Cloth she-makes and she-sells ‖ yea the loincloth she gives to the merchant".
The meaning (in spite of the *RSV* and the *NJPSV*) can be no other than:

"Cloth she makes and (she) sells; indeed, the loincloth's [value/price] she negotiates with the merchant" which goes to say that she does the entirety of the steps of the process herself, from making to selling to the middle-man, be he wholesaler or retailer!

As we here clearly see, Hebrew *mkr* "sell" is rendered by *byᶜ*, whilst *ntn* is rendered by the standard Arabic for "give", to wit *ᶜty*.

The (Aramaic) Targum to this locus, when taken together with inscriptional material (and thus not accusable as being calquing, as teh Targum well-might), illumines the possible hendiadys or the like that the two verbs are used for. The Targum reads:

pətāgā' ᶜᵃbadat ūzəbanat wəzūnaᵃrā' yəhabēyt liknaᶜᵃnā'āh

The verbs which the Targum uses, namely *zbn* and *yhb* align with the respective Hebrew and Arabic verbs as follows:

Hebrew:	*mkr*	*ntn*	
Saadya:	*byᶜ*	*ᶜty*	lit. "sell ... give".
Targum:	*zbn.*	*yhb.*	

The Targumic pair has its precise correspondent in PORTEN/SZUBIN (1987: 47): discussing two kinds of transfer of property in Elephantine contracts:

A transfer - key word: *yhb (brḥmn)* "gave in affection" or
                          yhb wzbn "gave and sold".

This is to be entered into the Targumic locus in reversed order, the latter calquing the Hebrew Vorlage itself as "she sells (and/ ‖) she gives". Perhaps, in either order, the meaning is a technical mercantile one, "giving" being "transfer", "selling" being "delivery of the goods and price negotiations" (or vice versa!).

It is rather pleasing that the Hittite verb *pāi-* means "give", the denominative verb (built on a *neuter* pl. noun *pitta-*, *contracted* from a configuration **piyatt-*)[35], *pittai-* has the semantic range "render, deliver, bring, pay"; (PUHVEL 1979:214-14), alongside this analysis, offers some very alluring quotes from the literature: of these the most interesting are ones where the noun is used in a context of "land-allotment", "bread allotment", and, most interesting, for us, of all is his citation: *nu-šši kušāta piddān* "for her the bride-price [has] been paid". Cf.the Hebrew *mhr* used to gloss the-borrowed-from-Akkadian, biblical item *nēdeh*, by RASHI, as noted here at the very end of Section 1(.0).

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[35] PUHVEL's retrojected noun is attested as such, neither in Hittite nor in Luwian; it seems, however, either to have continued onto and into Lycian *piyatu* (acc.), as LAROCHE (1973:94) proclaimed to have found it in the Lycian hapax, occuring in TL 57:5:

"*se-i piyĕtĕ   piyatu*

et à lui on a donné (comme) don"

as a figura etymologica. Now either PUHVEL was unaware of this item or views it differently (perhaps as reconstructed from inherited contracted **pita/pitu*??).

Now in these primitive roots, then nouns, then denominatives, we have a relationship analogous to the one which we have in Latin:

Latin	2sg.	*dă-s*	< **dəₛ-s(i)*	*dōnum* < **deəₛ-no-m dōnā-s*		< **deəₛ-neyā-s(i)*
	pl.	*dă-ti-s*	< **dəₛ-ti-s*	(δῶρον < **deəₛ-ro-m) dōnā-ti-s*		< **deəₛ-neyā-ti-s*
	inf.	*dă-re*	< **dəₛ-se*		*dōnāre*	< **deəₛ-neyā-se*
					(δωρέω	< **deəₛ-reye-/o-*).

(1) Anatolian **piyatt-* : *pāi-* = Latin *dōnum* : *dō*, *dăs*, (*dătis*), *dăre*;
(2) Anatolian denominative verb *pittai-* : noun *pi(ya)tt-* = Latin denominative verb *dōnō/dōnāre* : noun *dōnum*.

. STURTEVANT'S erudite and inspired attempts in another direction (1937:288):

> The parallelism of *pi-it-ta-iz-zi*... with *pí-e-da-a-ú*... suggests, of course, that both are forms of our ... *peda-* 'carry, bring, take away'; but this [latter] never presents *tt* or *dd* .... Consequently we must ascribe *pí-it-ta-iz-zi* to [*pedda(e)-*] in the sense of 'deliver' [cf. pp. 286-287 YLA.] ... PEDERSEN (80f) notes the semantic parallelism of *pidda(e)-* with Lat. *praestāre* 'give, furnish', and suggests an etymological connection. We can scarcely connect the two preverbs, but it is reasonably certain that the second part of our word is to be connected with the root *(s)tā-* 'stand, cause to stand'; cf. Hitt. *tiya/e-* 'take one's stand', *titta-, tittanu-, tittanuske/a-, tittiya/e-* 'cause to stand, place'.

I must own that had this analysis and article come to my attendion in 1972, grist for my "1973" (appeared 1975!) "The Hittite Multifarious Brood of **dhē-*", which discussed false analyses of Hittite verbs, putatively claimed to derive from IH **dheE̯-*, but reasonably not of such origin at all. The roots *peda-* and *uda-*, the former cited by STURTEVANT (and the latter adduced), are not here to be discussed, as only five verbs or allo-preverb pairs were knocked down in that paper (including the notoriously putative "odd couple" of *dāi-* "place, put, lay" and the delusionally related *te-* "say"; cf. my remarks on this last in ARBEITMAN [1987:n 25 most especially, to be found in the endnotes, p. 29; nn. 10, 11, 12 and 13, there, p. 28, bear directly on the verb which forms one of the three subjects in the present paper, vit. Hittite *pāi-* "give"]). A similar healthy scepticism on the matter of alleged Anatolian derivative compounds of **st(h)ā-* is still warranted as it has come forth in splendour once again, "splendour" and "refulgence" not necessarily being the same thing as "Truth" and in *etymo-*!

3.2. In this time interval between 1983 and the present the proponents of the alternate theory have neither slumbered nor slept. I wish here to scan their data, some new - as stated - some I simply hadn't been aware of.

C. HODGE (section 1.2 *supra*) had adduced Hittite *pāi-* as a cognate to (his other items there):

Semitic	Egyptian	Cushitic	Omotic	Chadic	Berber	IE
*yad 'hand'	dw 'give/put'			(Sha di 'give'·	*əd/*yid 'with'	*dō- 'give'
[(Akk. wuddū 'consign')]	wd' 'put'					Hitt. dā- 'take'
						*dous 'arm'
*ymn right hand'	'm 'give'	*im 'give'		bare'give'		*em- 'take'
					[(Tu aber 'hand')]	*mə-ħ 'hand'
				Hitt. pāi- 'give'		

In sum, while I gave the two Egyptian words *(r)di* and *imi*, as it is always taken, as a suppletiveness and compared the selfsame suppletivenesses in IE *deO- and 'em-, HODGE gives (1) a *d* core root which included *(r)di* and (2) an 'm root which included my last-examined item, Cushitic *bar* (with its variants) together with the *m* roots, and into this hodge-podge, Hittite *pāi-* was also laddled in, but - in total agreement with my own findings - Cushitic *bar* and Hittite *pāi-* are given as cognates, which is to say that we both came, independently to a rather exotic, but true - I dare say, identity IH-AA. On the whole, we have here more in common fundamentally than disagreements!! And that's good news!

We are fortunate to have the Haggadah of Passover (Pesaḥ) in both a version in Arabic as used by the congregations of Southern Tunisia and of the Island of Jerba and a Morrocan Berber version with "Texte de Tinrhir du Todrha" (GALAND-PERNET & ZAFRANI, edd.). From the Heb. Vorlage, the Tunisian Arabic version and the Morrocan Berber, it will serve us well to cite the pivotal *Dayyēnu* ("We Would Have Been Content") *ntn* verses:

Hebrew: 'illū nātan lānū 'et-haššabat
. wəlo' qērəḇānū lipnēy has sīynay   dayyēnū;
'illū qērəḇānū lipnēy har sīynay
   wəlo' nātan lānū 'et-hattōrāh   dayyēnū;

'illū nātan lānū 'eṭ-hattōrāh
wəlo' hiḵnīsānū lə'ereṣ yiśrā'ēl   dayyēnū.

Translation: "If he had given us the Sabbath,
  but neared us not to Mount Sinai,   'twere (= "it would have
                                                been") enough
  If he had neared us to Mount Sinai,
  but gave us not the Torah,   'twere enough;
  If he gave us the Torah,
  but entered us not to the Land-of-Israel,   'twere enough."

(Tunisia) Arabic: y'lwk'n ʿṭ' ln' 'ššbt,
  wlys qrbn' qd'm jbl syny   ykf'n';
  y'lwk'n qrbn' qd'm jbl syny,
  wlys ʿṭ' ln' 'šryᶜ',   ykf'n';
  y'lwk'n ʿṭ' ln' 'šryᶜ',
  wlys dxxln' (sic) l'rḍ ysr'l,   ykf'n'.

(Arabic *kf'* "be equal. matched, adequate" is not related to the similarly appearing Berber *fki/kfi*, RÖSSLER's *bk(), kb()* "give"! Rather, it is a derivative of Arabic *kafa'a* "be similar, equal; compensate", etc. Cf. *kiffa, kaffa* (Heb. *kap̲*) "palm of the hand".

(Morocco) Berber: mur aġ ifki ssbit
  ur aġ isənmala tama n Ʒari n sinay   iḵta y aġ;
  mur aġ isənmala tama n Ʒari n sinay
  ur aġ ifki turaat,   iḵta y aġ;
  mur aġ ifki turrat,
  ur aġ issksim tamazirt n israil,   iḵta y aġ.

Translation   "nous eût-il donné le jour du sabbat,
of Berber: sans nous approcher du mont Sinaï,   cela nous suffisait;
                    Nous eût-il approchés du mont Sinaï,
                    sans nous donner la Torah,   cela nous suffisait;
                    Nous eût-il donné la Torah,
                    sans nous faire entrer au pays d'Israël, cela nous suffisait."

Berber text and translation from GALAND-PERNET & ZAFRAINI, 1970: 146-147. The long unavailable 2 volume set was given to me by Prof. ZAFRAINI to whom I express my enduring gratitude.

3.3. The late Prof. VAN WINDEKENS wrote concerning the prime comparandum to the alleged etymon of Hittite <*pāi->* (1976:174):

> A e-, B ai- "donner", avec e.a.: ...; subst. dér. A *el*, B *āyor* "don"; B priv. *anāyätte*. - En renvoyant à PEDERSEN et à FRISK, POKORNY ..., 10 s., reconstruit une racine verbale i.-e. **ai-* qui aurait eu le sens de "geben, zuteilen" et aussi de "nehmen" (ce dernier sens serait issu de "sich geben lassen"). Cette reconstruction a été basée non seulement sur tock. A e-, B *ai-*, mais aussi sur hitt. *pāi-* "donner", gr. αἶσα "lot, destinée", αἴνυμαι "prendre, s'emparer de", lat. *aemulus* "émule, rival", etc. J'avoue que situé dans ce cadre tokh. A e-, B *ai-* "donner" semble avoir reçu une explication définitive.
>
> Cependant il se peut que ce verbe tokharien ait une origine tout à fait différente (ce qui serait de nature à ébranler sérieusement la réconstruction d'i.-e. **ai-* "donner"). En effet on ne peut pas écarter a priori l'hypothèse au'il s'agirait tout simplement d'une forme correspondant à skr. *dyáti* (à côté de *dáti*) "couper, moissoner, partager", où l'on se trouve devant un verbe apparanté à skr. *dáyate* "partager, avoir part", gr. δαίομαι "partager, distribuer", etc. Une ancienne forme **ā-di̯-*, où **ā-* serait le préfixe intensif tokharien bien connu, rendrait parfaitement compte de A e-, B *ai-*.
>
> En tokharien **āy-* < **ādi̯-* (...) devrait être situé dans la classe thématique (cf. skr. *dyáti*): dans la suite **ay-* transféré analogiquement dans la classe athématique, aurait abouti normalement à A e-, B *ai-* devant une consonne.
>
> Pour le sens, cf. av. *ā-day-* (apparenté à skr. *dyáti*, etc.) "donner en partage" (avec préfixe *ā-* étymologiquement différent).
>
> ČOP, *Razprave* VIII (1971) 85 ss., a peut-être raison de rejeter la parenté de A e-, B *ai-* avec hitt. *pāi-*, mais son explication du verbe tokharien ... est inacceptable...
>
> PISANI qui dans *Rend.* 76, 2 (1942-43), 22 s., B *anāyätte* d'alb. *jap-, ap-* "donner" a évidemment tort de ne pas tenir compte de B *ai-* "donner".[36]

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[36] At the risk of pleonasm, the only true etymology of the Albanian verb is that offered by HULD (1984:77): "JAP, DHASHË, DHANË ... *give* (release a thing of mine into another's hand; give; surrender). [... many dialect forms YLA]. PAlb ⁼ /jap. ðašë, ðaNë/ < ‑ /ɛp-, ðaD-(s-), ðaD-no-/. MEYER (1891b:13), disregarding the widespread j-initial forms, equated the present stem tith OIN[dic] **āp-* 'attain'. A closer match both phonetically and semantically is Hitt. *epzi* 'gives' < **E₁ep-*. The preterite forms are from the root **deǪ₁-* 'give' with reduplication; the low timbre of the reduplicated vowel is probably analogous to the o-grade of the perfect, PIE **/E₁ep-/*

Coming from the Greek angle, SZEMERÉNYI (1979:219, reprint 1987: 1506) has come to a similar conclusion (he is discussing the noun αἰσυμνή-της "steward, judge, umpire" *vel sim.*, p. 1505):

> The ancients saw in αἰσνυμνᾱ- the noun αἶσα and in a roundabout way they may prove right. To be sure, αἶσα is usually traced to *atiya* and connected with Osc. *aiti*- 'pars', allegedly a -*ti* abstract from a verbal root *ai*- 'to give' but also 'to take'. But the Greek word shows no trace of a meaning 'gift', and even the basis of the derivation suggested by PEDERSEN, Tokh. A *e*-, B *ai*- 'to give' may continue something other than an IE *ai*- [refs.]; moreover the formation, allegedly *ai-t-ya*, is also unparalleled.
>
> A further objection concerns the semantic development. The derivation mentioned is based on the assumption that an original 'part, share' [refs.] developed into 'lot, destiny'. But 'share' is found no more than three times in Homer, once in the Iliad (18, 327), twice in the Odyssey (5, 40 = 13, 138), in all these passages in the phrase ληίδος αἶσα. In the other, roughly forty, occurrences the word always means (to speak with LSJ) 1. decree, dispensation; 2. one's lot, destiny. Particularly important is the phrase Διὸς αἶσα where it seems quite clear that the poet speaks of the decision of Zeus. I suggest therefore that αἶσα is an Aeolic development [Myc. *ai-sa* is quite uncertain both in form and in meaning] from the Anatolian *hannessa* (always spelt this way although it is an *r/n*-stem!) 'judgment', cf. also *hannesn-ant*- 'id.'

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and */do-dQ₁/.' "

So we have here a suppletion of IE *ap-/ep-* and the well-worn *dō*-, a situation analogous to the IH/AA suppletion of *-T- (-d-* in the main) with *'em-*, as displayed in Section I.2 above.

This etymology for Albanian *jap* also provides a segué into ROSENKRANZ'S view on Hittite (and Pan-Anatolian) *pāi-/piya*-: "Eine besondere Rolle bei der angeblichen sekundären Ausbreitung der Diphthonge schreibt KRONASSER dem Verbum *pai*- 'geben' zu, insbesondere dem Imperativ *pai* 'gib'. Er übernimmt die (auch von andern, z.B. POKORNY anerkannte) Etymologie Walter PETERSENS (Lg. 9,5,32) *pai-* < *pe-ai*- 'weg-geben', und bezeichnet das Verb als 'wohl ein späteres Kompositum'. Dem können wir nicht zustimmen; das Verb ist gemeinanatolisch; darüber hinaus weist lyk. *pibijeti* den alten Wechsel von Tenuis und Media bei reduplizierten Verben auf (vgl. ai. *pibati* etc.), der wohl kaum sekundär eingeführt sein kann. Man wird vielleicht besser sich nach einer andern etymologischen Möglichkeit umsehen. Es bietet sich *ep-/app*- 'nehmen', zu dem unser Verb etwa als Status II der Wurzel gehören könnte; die Erweiterung mit -*ai*- dürfte den Bedeutungsunterschied rechtfertigen. Für eine solche Erklärung spräche auch die Flexionsweise, die bei *pai*- dem doch wohl kaum primären Verb *ḫalzai*- 'rufen' näher steht als dem primären *dai*-" (ROSENKRANZ, 1968-68:179 --- this is the review [article] which I stated in my [1987:27, n. 7] that I was not able to see in addition to ROSENKRANZ'S brief statement given in his book, there cited).

Again, the syncopated Anatolian form *hansa was taken over as * haνσα, and then developed into psilotic αἶσα. The semantic development was 'judgment, statement, fatum' - 'destiny, someone's lot' - 'share', the reverse of μοῖρα which went from 'share' (cf. μέρος) to 'lot, destiny'.

Cf. also SZEMERÉNYI'S (1956:183, reprint 1987:797, esp. fn. 3) words concerning both the Greek and the Tocharian verbs as well as the Hittite verb (a page replete with much other profitable information as well).

3.4. BOISACQ (1916:694, s.v.) opines that the word οἶτος "sort, destin, infortune" = Zend. aēta- 'la part qui échoit' ... cf. ἴσσασθαι·κληροῦσθαι Λέσβιοι Hésych., etc." CHANTRAINE (1974:788, s.v.) discusses two propo-sals for a possible etymon, generated by his predecessors: BRUGMANN, IF 37 (1916-1917:241) saw it as a derivative of εἶμι "to go" and, thus, identical etymically with Celtique and Germanic "serment"; and BARTHOLOMAE, IF 12 (1901:30), saw a connexion with the just cited from BOISACQ Avestan aēta "châtiment, faute" (with an original sense "part") and he concludes:

mais le terme iranien répond bien à αἶσα, cf. s.u., et le αἶσα ne peut guère être associé à οἶτος, une alternance *oi-/*ai- étant insolite ... [he now gives other refs. YLA].

Again, in our own days, POLOMÉ (1983:285) proposed the IE√ei-, "to go", as the etymon (in a discussion of renewal in Germanic by -gang, etc.).

PUHVEL (forthcoming) rejects this traditional etymology (which, as we just saw, has CHANTRAINE'S imprimatur on it). Roughly, he connects the Greek, together with the traditional Germanic cognates (see POLOMÉ'S exam-ples), far rather with Hittite hai- (often written hā-) "trust, entrust, et sim."

In my last published article on Hittite pāi- I stated (ARBEITMAN 1987: 20) that, given all my marshalled objections to the putative etymology of pāi- (Toch., Greek, etc.):

Unbeknowst to me, previous to my establishing these criteria, a storm had already been raging concerning the putative extancy of the simplex i- 'give' in a Hittite nominal derivative [the item in question was a totally different lexeme from any discussed in this paper, viz. Hurrian!! iwaru]. Had this much-discussed item

eventuated to have any substance, I would withdraw the entirety of my insistence
that *pāi-* 'give' is a simplex and no compound.

I proceeded to discuss **i* 'give' items suggested by CARRUBA and
WEITENBERG for a verb they formulated as **ai-/iya*. I think, as I read over
words which I penned eight years ago, that the promise of withdrawal refer-
red only if there were extancy of such an *i* 'give' in [Hurrian] *iwaru*!

On this subject of these connexions alleged between a putative root **ai-*
in *pāi-* and in several Greek words, it is here altogether fit and proper to
adduce the discussion by PETERS (1984:82ff.):

> Wer αἰ- auf **h₂i-* zurückgehen lasse will, muß sich einer anderen, proble-
> matischeren Zusatzannahme bedienen, nämlich αἰ- in αἴνυμαι und ἔξαιτος von
> heth. *pāi-* 'geben' (3.P.Sg. *pāi*), *iu̯aru* 'Gabe' trennen, die im Fall der etymologi-
> schen Zuhörigkeit für αἰ- eine laryngalistische Interpretation als **h₁/₃ai-* erforder-
> lich machten: lautete die Wurzel mit **H₂-* an, so war heth. **ḫiu̯aru-* zu erwarten;
> im Fall von *H = h₂* hätte **poi̯-(H)oi̯-ei̯* (Grundform für *pāi* bei EICHNER 1973:78)
> wohl heth. **peḫāi* ergeben, cf. *eḫu* 'komm' < **h₁éi̯h₂eu̯* (EICHNER 1973:55), ...
> mit Bewahrung von -*h₂*- im Kontext -*i*--*V*-, und EICHNER 1975a:92*. Zu einer
> Trennung von αἰ- und *pāi-* äußerte sich Brian JOSEPH in einem Brief von 4. Mai
> 1975 allerdings wie folgt: "There is no corresponding verb **uwai-*, which we
> might expect if this was a compound (cf. *uda-/peda-, unna-/penna-*, etc.). Even
> more telling is the fact that this verb engages in what appears to an old type of
> ablaut, cf. 3 sg. *pāi*: 3 pl. *pii̯anzi*, and it would hardly be expected that a preverb-
> plus-verb complex would ablaut in that way. In addition, there is some reason to
> believe that the spelling with *p*- in this case stands for a phonetic [b] (from IE **bh*)
> since the Lycian cognate is spelled with a <b> on occasion, and Lycian does
> apparently distinguish initial [p] and [b]. Furthermore, there is a Celto-Iberian verb
> *ro-piseti*, which occurs in the Botorrita text, which may mean 'give', ... where the
> graphic <p> probably stands for phonetic [b], since Celtic lost IE **p*.".

The objection that there is no antinym **uwai-* almost preëmpted the
title of ARBEITMAN 1987. But I had not been aware of either this part of
JOSEPH'S analysis nor of PETER'S objections at the time of composing my
1987 (submitted c. April, 1983!). Much of PETER'S own objections are
similar in nature to those I cited in my 1987 from personal correspondence

from the lamented Warren COWGILL. JOSEPH also wrote me a letter on the Celtiberian alleged/possible verb and the forms which appear (2/21/86 - after my article was near finally appearing).

> I had mentioned something about Celtiberian *ropiseti* and you were interested in knowing just how it is represented on the actual inscription. To the best of my knowledge, where are three relevant forms that occur in the Celtiberian Bottorita inscription: *ropiseti, pisetus,* and *pionti*. It has been guessed (and, as far as I know, it is nothing more than that) that the *pi-* part is a root meaning 'give', reflecting an Indo-European **b-* or **bh-* initially (for a **p* should be lost in Celtic), and possibly cognate with Hittite *pāi* 'give', if that is phonetically a *b-* (and not *p* from PIE (*p*). There are a lot of ifs in that, and nothing is certain in the interpretation, to be sure, least of all whether the verb (if it is a verb!) means 'give'. The forms are written as follows (following LERJEUNE'S transcription):
>
>   ... : PiseTus : ...
>   ... : roPiseti   : ...
>   ... : Pionti : ...
>
> and it seems that : is a word-divider.
>
> (I have given the letter as it was written, sometimes underscoring, sometimes not, etc. YLA).

The inscription is now available in an edition, with word for word grammatical and etymological analysis where possible and with a "Tentative Grammar" by Jeseph F. ESKA, a revision of a dissertation of which Eric HAMP was "principal examiner" (ESKA 1989). The author comments of JOSEPHS' forms on pp. 20-21, 26-27, 28; 42-44, 55, 85-88, 90. Of immediate and vital importance alone(?) seems to be the lexeme and etymology on p. 55 q.y.

As it eventuated with Hurrian (!) *iwaru,* so with IberoCelitic *-pi-,* it is apparently tempting water in a parched atmosphere for a comparativist "dying of thirst". Anatolian *pāi-*/ablaut-alternate *piya-* remains, thus far within Indo-Hittite/Indo-European, *sui generis*.

As *iwaru,* as Hurrian, is out of the game, PETERS' other difficulties also evaporate if the relation of Greek αἴνυμαι, ἔξαιτος to Anatolian *piya-* "give" are not taken as a given. And JOSEPHS' items may well not exist at all

unless he can offer a different and convincing (combinatory and contextually more puissant) interpretation of the Bottorita Celtiberian text which he doubts he, himself, wishes to do!

Here, last to be rejected, SHEVOROSHKIN (1967:48) proposed Anatolian *(pāi-)/piya-* as compounded of preverb *p(e)* + √*iya-* (he expressed it as: "*pe-* + *(i)ja* 'делать'"). As (1) the verb "give" as *piya-* is Pan-Anatolian but the verb "to do, make, делать" is *iya* only in Hittite, but *aya-* in CLuwian and, now, *izi-* in HLuwian and (2) a set *piya-/wiya*, resp. "hinschicken" & "herschicken", compounded of *pe-, u/w-* + *iya* "schaffen, do/make" already exists (ARBEITMAN 1974:71 and, e.g. FRIEDRICH 1960:790). He also suggested that Lycian *pibiye* and Lydian *bife(-rś-)* both represent Common "Hitt.-Luw" [= "Anatolian" in my terminology, YLA] reduplicated stem **pi-pāi-* or **pi-piya-*. Yet see also *bi-ferśt* GUSMANI (1964:80) with some problematics; see too ibid.:78, *bi-*[2] "geben, zueignen" and *bid-* (p. 79) with NEUMANN'S connexion of this last to Hittite *piddai-*, which we discussed above in our review of PUHVEL'S suggestions.

GUSMANI (1980:41-42) adds updated data and many important textual references and places of discussion of the same. On p. 48 he cites a new attestation of *dāv dēt* as a figura etymologica, s.v. the verb *dā-* "geben" (!): "Die Verbindung *dān dēt*, die an das *ql dēt amu dān* von 23,6 erinnert, ist wohl als eine Art Figura etymologica zu betrachten". The two inscription-remnants would then translate resp. as "(I) gave [a/the/my] wealth/means" and "to whom/Whom I gave my wealth/means". To replicate the figura in translation, we can readily turn to Latin "*dedi donum/donavi donum*" and in Latin-based Modern English: "I donated a donation" or Germanic-based (from Norse): "I gave a gift", etc. It does however arouse amazement when GUSMANI tells us what we already see (1964:97, s.v. verb *dā-*): "*dā-* gehört natürlich zu idg. **dō-* wie kh. *da-/ta-*, luv. *la-*, hh. *ta-*, lyk. (*eseri*) *ta-*. Bei den anderen anat. Sprachen ist aber ein Bedeutungswandel ("geben" > "nehmen", s. KRONASSER [1956] 156) eingetreten". Pace GUSMANI (1964:99) the noun *dēt* < a Cun. Hittite type participle (with the peculiar Anatolian

Hittite semantic passiveness) *dant-* "given" > "gift". (On all this see fnn. 32 and 35 above).

As compounds of this verb GUSMANI (1964:113) gives *fa=bi* or a possible concatenation of the preverbial pair *fa-* + *b(a)* + √*i-* "machen".

SHEVOROSHKIN (op.cit.:51, s.v. Lydian *i(i)-* "делать") offers for this verb, itself, an etymological connexion as follows: "Hitt. *(i)ya-*, Luw. *aya-*, Lyc. *a* (cf. also Car. *ii-?*). Cf. Toch. A *ya-*, Lat. *ye-* and others" [my translation, YLA].

Nowadays, it is EICHNER'S (1979:205) connexion of *iya-* & Co. with Icelandic *iδ* "deed", *iδja* "to do" which seeminlgy holds the day and sway. But see, *in extenso*, PUHVEL (1984:344-347) and esp. 345 for the EICHNERI-AN comparison, primarily in regard to the HLuwian comparandum! But SHEVOROSHKIN'S old analysis of *pai-/piya-*, as having *iya* "do" radical, forms a perfect "segué" to MELCHERT'S objection to another (HLuwian) *i* "do" analysis. In a 1989 article, H. Craig MELCHERT claimed to have detected a (HLuwian) *i(ya)-* as the "buy" ("take/give") item, basing all this on extreme-ly fine and delicate interpretations of texts by HAWKINS & MORPURGO-DA-VIES (1982) who had understood the form as being an *i(ya)-* "do" form. I had hoped to here examine the details of MELCHERT'S worthy and important alternate proposal and the actual evidence he mounts for a simplex *iya(+sa* iterative), but - alas - rereading the HAWKINS & MORPURGO-DAVIES article, let alone MELCHERT'S article, let me rest assured that not even an adumbrat-ion of my reaction could be here offered.

So for the meantime I consider my etymic equation of Arabic *by^c.* = Hittite /bhāi-/ as still quite valid, the matter stil remains open for further confrontation (?) in which I hope, *Deo volente*, to partake on another occa-sion. On the other hand, HODGE'S (1988:274) assertion that Hittite *pāi-* "to go"! (3 sg. *pāizzi* vs. 3 sg. *pāi* "he gives") "... is put here as more probably having the **b* [Nostratic YLA] 'go' root", cognate with Cushitic **ba'-* and Omotic *b(ay)-* and other IE roots **wei-*, ? **bheu-* 'be, grow' and **mei-*" is rather silly.

Summary

Doing comparative-historical etymology is no easy task. And when one has a plethora of colleagues who hold opposite or merely different theses, one only hopes that, "outside of the boxing ring", one can maintain cordial and collaborative relations, ones that are mutually beneficial. I wish here to further indicate the inherent dangers of our trade:

Those holding to an Indo-Hittite (!) *ai- "give", can they not proceed and add that lexeme about which BENVENISTE (1959:91) wrote?:

> signalons ici, même si nous n'avons pas de rapprochement à offrir, oss. [iron] *ī̆vī̆n*, d[igor] *yevun (æyyevun)* "changer, échanger"; cf. *īvd* "échange"; *ī̆vccag*, d. *yevccag* "à échanger; objet d'échange"; *ī̆væn;* d. *yevæn, æyyevæn* "changement". C'est là probablement un verb ancien, dont le sens touche à des notions sociales et économiques. Il est à restituer en *aiba-*, qui se retrouvera peut être un jour ailleurs.

Surely, a good semantic match!

Then what do we do with Greek οἶμος, οἷμος "way, course, path" (and the often related οἴμη "way, style [of singing/song]")? Some traditionally and, semantically, all well and good, put it to IE √ei- "go". Others object on the grounds that the more original form starts with *h- (hoimos)*. See CHAN-TRAINE, s.v., who scans the proposals for √wei (in a *woimos). Why not √sei-, etc.!? The Hesychian gloss on πάροιμος· ὁ γείτων suggests that given that "neighbours" live on a continuum of land or in a continuum of contiguous homes, the glossed word *par(a)-hoimos* must mean "along-side on the [same] road". An analysis of all the Hesychian glosses here will determine the precise definition. But now, so secure of our route here, well, what about the οἶτος "destiny", formally identical with Germanic words for "oath" (including New Eng. *oath*). If we check CHANTRAINE, s.v., we see (first) the traditional association with the IE √ei- "go" and, not surprisingly, (second) connections with the Iranian cognates to Greek αἶσα and, especially, with Avestan *aēta-*, a true uraboros. Yet now, for a total contradiction of the

etymon √ei- for "destiny" and/or "oath", see the views of PUHVEL (forth-coming), noted above.

So much for √ei- and √ai- (putatively in Hittite *pāizzi* and *pāi* resp.). Let us go in another risky direction: say we knew nothing of the geneology and the intermediate steps between Latin *pāgo* "to pacify" and New English *to pay* (forget about Old or Middle French, etc!). We could readily establish an etymology for Hittite *pāi* "he gives" as closely cognate with (an archaism?) in New English *he pay=s* and this, furthermore buttressed on the analogy: New English *pay* (and Latin *pāgo*, if we wish): NE *peace* (and Latin *pax* resp.) = Hebrew *Pi^cel* form (= D-stem) *šillēm* "pay": Hebrew *šālôm* "peace" (etymologically "to restore the rightful/proper condition" which, obviously and optimistically, also applied to "peace").

There is a tripartite frontal assault on the very core of the Indo-Hittite vocabulary of reciprocal and co-existence concerns such as trading and contracts and accepted behaviour, etc. in three totally different forms from three totally different sources of, shall I say, "Illumination"?

I will begin with the least venomous, that of TISCHLER (1977:50) who offers a summary of the only really and totally acceptable etymological proposal for Hittite *āra*- "Wohl, Recht, Angemessenheit" [my macron; YLA]. The lexeme ^LÜ*ara*- c. "Freund" he accepts from BENVENISTE as a concretization of *ara*- n. "Freundschaft" and, if there are any disagreements here, it is mere quibbling! The problem comes in his (p.53) analysis of the origin and genealogy of the syntagm *ara*- ... *ara*- *"socio- .... socio"*, for here he declares '^LÜ/SAL*ara*- 'Freund(in)' in pronominaler Verwendung, wohl nach akkad. *tappū ana tappī* 'socius socio', *tappū tappā* 'socius socium'... BENVENISTE HIE   109f.   scheint dagegen   diese Verwendungsweise für ererbt zu halten und vergleicht slav. Wendungen wie aksl. *drug druga* 'ἀλλήλους' ...".

This is most quite misguided. The idiom's typology is compared with all other varieties in ARBEITMAN'S (forthcoming) typological study. And, furthermore, all other IH *ar(ə)- words are connected with this syntagm.

SZEMERÉNYI'S (1977:140ff.) all out attack on any connection of the Hittite syntagm with the √ *"fügen"· et sim.* of IH reaches such a degree of absurdness that he seems to offer a new *sine qua non* for parallelism in Northwest Semitic languages on p. 147, a requisite that is his alone!

If all this weren't sufficient, Prof. SZEMERÉNYI'S anti-√*ar*-ism, in the end, forces him to spin a devious set of connexions for the Greek word for "mate, wife", ὄαρ. He tell us on p. 37:

> As I pointed out in my 1967 paper (216f.), an obvious cognate of the Hittito-Luwian *asar*- 'woman' is found in Homeric ὄαρ 'woman, wife'. It is now also clear that at long last, we have found the IE word for 'woman', which has been sought in **swesōr*: it is however not **sōr* but **esōr*. The Hittito-Luwian *asar*- represents an assimilated **esar*- from IE **esor*-, while Gk. ὄαρ is from **osṛ*. [See also pp. 34 where **su+esōr* is "sister", further expatiated upon on p. 150. This same **(e)sor* is probably the second element in *uk-sor* "wife" in Latin (p.73). YLA].

Outside of throwing up one's hands in despair, I can only refer to ARBEITMAN (1988:428-429 in particular) where I demonstrated that a root referring to gendre of a mate or to "sexual dalliance" has to be excluded from the set of root-choices for Greek ὄαρ.

Lastly on this root and lexeme, let me consider BERNABÉ'S (1983:40) adduction of Hittite *ḫardu* "descendiente". BERNABÉ presents a cogent and appealing **semantic** argument for the connection of his Hittite item, together with its Luwian abstract cognate, *hardu=watt*- "descendencia", with the IH/IE root that much of this paper is concerned with, i.e. to say almost all the items on chart III here **with the exception of** the ever so essential Hittite syntagm (and the far less important item of MELCHERT'S). BERNABÉ derives this Hittite-Luwian item of his from IE **H₂°r=tu*, a noun from the root **H₂er-*, our *"fügen"*. Now since a given laryngeal-bearing etymon should not have a **±H* outcome in one and the same language, I feel BERNABÉ owed us to state explicitly that he excludes *ara*- and *āra* from the descendants of this root in Anatolian.

Yes, the outcome of +laryngeal or -laryngeal in any proposed Anatolian cognate to other IE lexemes can be a tricky business - how tricky is once again to be demonstrated by the oft told and worthy of telling again tale of MÖLLER'S (1911:16, n.1) "discovery" of the *Ursprache's* *H_2 in his reading of Cuneiform *ḫar-ri* as the continuation, in Hittite, of the self-designation of the "*Arya*'s". We now know that the correct reading is *ḪUR-RI* (indeed, = "the Hurrians", more precisely, "the Ḫurri's"). Ironically, moreover, it is our very Hittite *ara-* (and in *ara-...ara-*) that is most likely to be the cognate of the Indo-Aryan term for themselves and their part of the Indo-European/ Indo-Hittite world, as widely argued in ARBEITMAN (1981), based much on summaries of the work of PUHVEL and many others. For the details of MÖLLER'S steps see e.g. EICHNER (1980:127).

In order to conclude not with polemics, but rather with irenics, I adduce The Gospel of Thomas (Nag Hamadi), logion 48:

er=ša=snaw r̄ eirēnē mn̄ now=erēw hm pe=inei owōt'...

If two make peace with each-other in one house ...

* * *

ADDENDUM I

The chastisement which BENVENISTE came under in ZGUSTA'S letter is obviously correct for the "Czech" in "Czechoslovakian". But consider the following: The test verses I used in ARBEITMAN (1981:913) were Gen 11:3, which I gave in Russian, Bulgarian, Czech, Serbian, Ukrainian, and Polish, (and, additionally in OCS on p. 916), Gen 11:7, and Gen 13:11. Here I will only repeat the Czech (which does follow ZGUSTA'S Czech Sprachgefühl):

11:3	Czech:	*A řekli jeden druhému.*	I now have two Slovak translations:
	Slovak 1978:	*Povedali si.*	
	.... 1991:	*Vtedy povedali druh druhovi.*	
11:7	Czech	*Aby jeden druhého jazyku nerozuměl.*	
	Slovak 1978	*Aby ani jeden nerozumel reči druhého.*	
	...... 1991:	*Aby nerozumeli druh reči svojho druha*	
13:11	Czech	*A tak oddělili se jeden od druhého*	
	Slovak 1978	*Tak sa oddelili jeden od druhého*	
	 1991	*A tak sa oddelili brat od brata.*	

CZECH	SLOVAK 1978	SLOVAK 1991
jeden ... druh-	reflexive (si)	druh ... druh-
jeden ... druh-	jeden ... druh-	druh ... druh-
jeden ... druh-	jeden ... druh-	brat ... brat-.

One can only decide that the 1978 "Slovak" version is much more of a "national language" (Czechoslovakian), whilst the 1991 is much more of a Slovakian translation.

For the Slovak *brat ... brata* of 13:11, see the discussion of the Hebrew Vorlage here and the translations in ARBEITMAN (1981:917 - Hebrew *'īš 'aḥīw*!; Cf. the Hebrew and the newly recovered Hittite (and Luwian) expressions on Chart I).

ADDENDUM II

In an article just come to my attention at press time, Eric P. HAMP ("Indo-European *(H₂)op-*", *MSS* 40, 1981, esp. p. 46) concluded: concerning the IE preverbs (or the category of that which became preverbs!).

> However, a similar question has been raised by Yoel [sic] ARBEITMAN (JIES 4, 1976:79-80) regarding the fossilization or original simplex status of Anatolian *piya-* 'give'. On the basis of the present evidence and the above reasoning, I would suggest in reply to ARBEITMAN'S implied question that *piya-* must either reflect an old simplex whose identity we have not yet traced or else be a verb derived from an ancient nominalization containing **pi-* affixed by rule. Since we have presently no Anatolian evidence for the latter and since the vocalism of Anatolian *pe-* which opposes *u/w-* fails to correspond with any of our present knowledge of **epi/op/pi-*, it seems most likely that *piya-* was a simplex of ancient date.

Alas that my friend has reached the same conclusions concerning the provenance and filiation or non-filiation of this Anatolian verb which I suggested in the article he cites and in ARBEITMAN 1987; however the bases he adduced for his conclusion are out of the realm of the plethora of reasons I adduced and, even as I missed his 1981 article here cited, so too does he seem to have missed my 1974 "Why Two Preverbs (and Only These Two) Became Inseparable in Hittite", *JIES* 2:1: esp. pp. 71-72), in the mortar of whose aedifice the 1976 cited article, is founded.

I hope to offer a thorough analysis of this matter in a future article, D.v.

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Jaromír Košut 1854-1880

Jiří BEČKA

For long years, Karel Petráček was my friend, one of our mutual bonds un-
doubtedly being the interest in the history of Czechoslovak Oriental Studies and
the relations of our country to the continents of the East, as well as our common
belief in the usefulness of these branches of study. He was pleased by every new
detail concerning the journeys of Czech and Slovak travellers to Asia and Africa,
the books and manuscripts dealing with Eastern countries and their culture, newly
discovered in our historical libraries, translations from Eastern languages into
Czech or Slovak published in old magazines and miscellanies, or traces of Eastern
subjects found in the writings of our writers and poets of the past. We regularly
exchanged offprints of articles on these themes. Naturally his main interest was
concentrated on the area of the Near East, which he also proved by his book,
Překlady z jazyků islámského Předního východu (Translations from the Islamic
languages of the Near East), published by the Association of Czech Translators in
Prague in 1984. Due place was given here to Jaromír Košut, and if the premature
death did not end his life, Karel Petráček would undoubtedly ring me up to express
his complacence with the fact that such an article had been written, as he always
did. He would most probably add a couple of inspiring suggestions which he was
never lacking.

In the 18th and 19th centuries when the European oriental studies arose and
started to flourish, the Czechs and Slovaks occupied, in respect of nationality and
language, a subordinate position in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The intelli-
gentsia was obtaining higher education in Latin, German or Hungarian and the
scholars and men of letters of Czech or Slovak origin were considered to be
Austrians or Hungarians. Such was the case, in Slovakia with A.F. Kollár, E.
Reviczky and J. Korabinský, and, in Bohemia and Moravia, with B. Kolenatý
(Kolenati), Th. Kočí (Kotschy), J.F. Polák and many others. For instance, the
Czech origin of Joseph von Karabacek (1845-1918), an outstanding Viennese
orientalist, is testified to by the fact that in his first contributions to magazines, his
name still bore the entirely Czech form of Karabáček.

Since the end of the 18th century, along with the growth of national con-
sciousness, efforts may be witnessed to diffuse the knowledge of Eastern culture
through contributions written in the mother-tongue. In Czech and, shortly after-
wards, also Slovak magazines, there appeared news, short translations of poems
and prose narratives from the Eastern milieu, translated from other European
languages. The very first direct translations from Persian were made by Jan E.

Schneider in 1846[1]. Very serious attitude to the study of oriental languages of T.G. Masaryk's friend[2] J. Brandejs (1853-1876 who, though dying at the age of twenty two years and four months, published a couple of original short stories as well as a few direct translations from Persian and Sanskrit[3].

The first Czech orientalist with a full erudition was Jaromír Košut whose life was also very short; nevertheless he managed to join up the Oriental studies in the world, to publish a number of writings of a more general importance for Oriental studies as well as Czech culture and literature, and to bring up an able successor of his own.

Jaromír Břetislav Košut was born on January 18, 1854, in Borová in Bohemia. His father Benjamin (1822-1889) was a free-thinking Protestant pastor officiating in Borová, then in Velenice near Poděbrady, and finally in Prague. Jaromír's grandfather was allegedly sent to the galleys for his creed, and Jaromír's uncle Vilém Košut who was also a clergyman was persecuted by the Hapsburg government and finally exiled from Austira, because "he aroused discontent with the extant state and ecclesiastic order, gave shelter, in his flat, to revolutionaries endangering the state and preserved religiously perilious and absolutely forbidden booklets, even distributing them along with his sexton"[4].

Jaromír attended parish schools in Borová and then in Modra in Slovakia, from 1870 onwards studying at the Academic Gymnasium in Prague where he passed his leaving examination in 1873. He left for Basel to study theology, in 1873-1875, but on October 10, 1875, we already find him at the Philosophical Faculty of the Leipzig University as a student of Islamic studies, Koran and various languages, such as Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Hindi, etc. He soon became an assistant of the famous Arabist H.L. Fleischer (1801-1888). During his university years already, he held lectures for a broader public, e.g. *O povaze proroctví Muhammada a způsobech jeho zjevení* (On the Character of the Prophecy of Muhammad and the Ways of his Revelation), in the Protestant Beseda in Prague, on October 19, 1876[5]. In 1878 he defended his doctor's thesis, *Fünf Streitfragen*

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[1] Cf. J. BEČKA, Z počátků české orientalistiky - J.E. Schneider (From the Beginnings of Czech Oriental Studies - J.E. Schneider). Nový Orient 43, 1988, pp. 281-2

[2] Dr. V.TH. MASARYK, Josef Brandejs. Světozor 10, 1876, p.282.

[3] Cf. J. BEČKA, Z počátků české orientalistiky - Josef Brandejs. (From the beginnings of Czech Oriental Studies - Josef Brandejs). Nový Orient 42, 1987, pp. 106-7.

[4] J. VOLF, Za vlády policejního ministra Kempena z Fichtenstammu (Under the Rule of the Minister of Police Kempen from Fichtenstamm). Osvěta 49, 1919, pp. 513-20.

[5] Literary Archives, Praha-Strahov, 20 pages.

der Basrenser und Kufenser über die Abwandlung des Nomen aus Ibn el-Anbari's.
This is a study in five treatises forming a part of the large work by al-Anbari (513-
577 H.) entitled *Kitāb al-inṣāf fī masā'il al-xalāf bayn al-naḥwīyīn al-baṣrīyīn wa
al-kūfīyīn*, and an edition of their text. The monograph was published by the
Viennese Academy of Sciences in 1878. According to Rudolf Dvořák[6], the thesis
should have been followed by an edition of the entire grammatical work of al-
Anbārī on the ground of its only manuscript preserved in Leyden. At the same
time when he won his Doctor's degree, Košut was elected an ordinary member of
the German Orientalists' Association as a specialist in Semitic language[7].

On the basis of this work, Košut was appointed Associate Professor at the
University of Prague in 1879, starting to teach his students. In the winter term of
1879/80, he held Czech and German lectures on Arabic and Turkish, and inter-
pretation of the Turkish novel *Kirk vezir*, the life of Muhammad and his teaching,
later on also an interpretation of Imrā'al-Qais' *Muʿallaqa*, etc. Eight students
attended his lectures - six Czechs, one of whom was Rudolf Dvořák, and two
Germans. Among the manuscripts left by Jaromír Košut, texts of some of his
lectures have been preserved, e.g. *Arabská gramatika* (The Grammar of Arabic)
held in 1879/80 (44 pages), *Glaubenslehre des Islam* from 1879/80 (49 pages),
Život Muhammadův (The Life of Muhamad) read in the summer term of 1880
(137 pages), etc. Košut was one of those teachers at the Prague university who
categorically demanded the separation of a Czech university, at which the highest
education would be conveyed to the Czechs in their mother-tongue[8]. The separa-
tion took place in 1882. However, the promising young scholar did not live long
enough to see it. He died after an accident on December 6, 1880. His death was
widely announced in Czech periodicals[9]. To the memory of Jaromír Košut, the
poet Jaroslav Vrchlický wrote a sonet:

On zvedl záhy tuto oponu,
o které jeho Háfiz stále pěje,

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[6] *Ottův slovník naučný*. Praha 1899, Vol. 14, c. 971

[7] Národní listy (16) 1876, No. 192, c. 3 (Spt. 14, 1876).

[8] J. GOLL, Rozdělení pražské university Karlo-Ferdinandovy roku 1882 a počátek samostatné
university české (The Division of the Charles-Ferdinand University of Prague in 1882 and
the Beginning of an Independent Czech University). Prague 1908, p. 93.

[9] Lumír 8, 1880, p.544; Ruch 2, 1880, p.551; Květy 3/1, 1881, p.128; Osvěta 11/1, 1881, pp.
360-1: Národní listy 20, 1880, No. 292, p. 2, No. 293, p. 3, etc. University professors, the
Dean and the Rector took part in the funeral, besides such personalities as Max Grünert, J.V.
Frič, Vojta Náprstek, etc.

v ráj Sulejky a Jusufa už spěchal
sám nyní, květ ráje záhonu
zří s Firdusím v ty velké světu děje
a nás v severních nivách tady zanechal.[10]

In spite of his premature death, Košut was a personality of considerable signficance for Czechoslovak Eastern studies. This is due, in the field of Iranian studies, to his predilection for the poetry of Ḥāfez, which resulted in a monograph on the poet and his writings[11], fully adequate to the time of its rise. In co-operation with the outstanding Czech poet Jaroslav Vrchlický, he prepared an anthology of Ḥāfez's verse in Czech[12]. Both these books appeared posthumously in 1881, especially thanks to Košut's pupil Rudolf Dvořák. Before that, only seven introductory ghazals had been published in the magazine Lumír, each with a reference to the Persian originals[13].

In his monograph on Ḥāfez, the author states that "Ḥāfez is undoubtedly one of the most talented spirits which the Persian literature, so rich in ingenious narrators... and especially poets of love and mystic poetry, may boast of." In the part dealing with the poet's personality, Košut presents documents both from his verse and the treatises of contemporary historians, proving that his poetry was characterized by two main features - a break with the clergy of his time, on the one hand, and his pessimistic Weltanschauung, on the other (p.27). Košut also assumes that Ḥāfez transferred the Old Persian cult of fire on wine; according to him, a Persian sūfī believer may have easily concluded that the invisible fire in wine was a much more dignified symbol of the invisible deity than the actual fire inflamed by means of coarse materials (p.33).

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[10] According to Arne NOVÁK, Muž, jehož jméno do vln psáno... (A Man whose Name is Inscribed in the Waves...). Lidové noviny 42, 1934, No. 30, pp.1-2. The translation of the poem: "He soon raised that curtain/ which Ḥāfez was constantly singing of/ into the paradise of Suleyka and Yusuf he hurried/ alone now, to see the bed of flowers of the paradise/ along with Firdousi in those great events of the world/ leaving us behind in these northern meadows."

[11] J. KOŠUT, Hâfiz. Jeho život a básně. (Ḥāfez. His Life and His Poetry. Prague 1881. 46 pages.

[12] Z dîvânu Hâfize. (From the Divan by Ḥāfez). Transl. by Jar. B. KOŠUT and Jaroslav VRCHLICKÝ. Prague 1881. 151 pages.

[13] Lumír 8, 1880, pp. 88-90.

For the book entitled *Z dîvânu Hâfize* (From the Divan of Ḥāfez), Košut selected the poems and translated them, Jaroslav Vrchlický then giving the translations a poetic garb. Another participant in the preparation of the book was Rudolf Dvořák who wrote about twenty pages of explanatory notes. The book comprises 66 ghazals, 14 fragments (muqataʿat), 53 couplets (rubaʿiyat), two poems from the Book of a Singer (Muganni-name), and the Book of a Waiter (Sakinama) of 280 lines.

In his Preface, Jaroslav Vrchlický deeply regrets the Košut's departure from life, expressing the following hope:"This book may perhaps arouse the love for foreign and especially Eastern poetry, slumbering in our country. May someone else realize those beatiful dreams of seeing Firdousi, Sa'di and Arab mystics in a Czech garb... May someone open for us those oceans in which beauty and truth are overtaking and overlapping each other in a wild mixture of rejoicing phantasy."

Both the books were well accepted. The reviewer -s stated that "the Persian Voltairian of the 14th century was presented to us in a true and dignified way. At a time when Europe was only awakening to start its new artistic creation, Ḥāfez philosophized and wrote poetry in such a manner as was done by the poet Heine, but without that biting bitterness of the latter and on a broader moral basis."[14] Another reviewer says that "a philosopher speaks in these poems"[15] and Otakar Mokrý expresses his enthousiasm in the following words: "We are amazed when reading the deep and true reflections of the kind which can only be dreamt by a soul of an Eastern sage"[16].

Košut also published a relatively long series of translations of Muslim legends for the broad public in the Czech magazine Květy in 1879-1881[17]. These were translated from the Arabic original *Ḏaḥīratu'l-ʿulūm wa natījatu 'l-fuhūm*, by Aḥmad ibn Zeynul'l-Ābidī al-Bakrī, on the ground of a manuscript preserved in the city of Gotha. The series is provided with a longer explanation of the origin of the legends and their character.

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[14] Lumír 9, 1881, pp. 415-6.

[15] Ruch 3, 1881, p. 415.

[16] Květy 4, 1882, the first half, p. 243.

[17] Muslimské legendy (Adam, Ibrahim, Jusuf, Musa a Harun, Samuel a David, Sulejmán a královna Bilkis). (Muslim Legends: Adam, Ibrahim, Yusuf, Musa and Hārun, Samuel and David, Suleyman and Bilkis the Queen). Květy 1, 1879, pp. 174-84, 424-433, 524-538, 672-681; Květy 2, 1880, pp. 612-21; Květy 3, 1881, pp. 87-96, 144-51.

From the point of view of the contemporary level of knowledge of the Arabic literature, we must highly appreciate his long articles on Arabic Pre-Islamic poetry[18] with numerous poems in translations, and especially the complete verse rendering of the famous mu'allaqa by Imrā'al-Qais, or a qasīda by the poet Šantara. They are followed by the article *Ze života pěvců a básníků na dvoře chalífa Hārūna al-Rašīda* (From the Life of Singers and Poets at the Court of the Khalīf Hārūn al-Rašīd)[19]. An intention to make the native readers acquainted with Arabic poetry is further testified to by the article *Abū Nowas, arabský Enšpígl* (Abū Nowas, the Arab Enspiegel), which appeared a few days after Košut's death[20]. The life and customs of ancient Israel made the subject of other articles, such as *Biblická svatba* (A Biblical Wedding)[21], depicting ancient Jewish customs and social relations, and an important treatise published posthumously, *Červnový den v Jeruzalémě* (A June Day in Jerusalem)[22], a picture dated to the last century B.C.

Till the age of twenty six, Košut could hardly do more for both the Oriental studies and the culture and literature in his mother tongue. It was of much importance that by his qualified and attractive writings, he enhanced the popularity of Eastern culture, i.e. literature, arts, philosophy and history of the East. Last, one of his most significant contributions to the Czech oriental studies was the fact that he introduced into the study and research a very able successor of his own, the later Professor of Oriental studies at the Charles University in Prague, Rudolf Dvořák (1860-1920)[23].

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[18] O poesii Arabů před islamem. Z orientalních studií. Lumír 7, 1879, pp. 275-277, 293-295, 324-327, 390-392, 405-407, 421-424.

[19] Lumír 8, 1880, pp. 149-152, 164-167, 181-183, 198-199.

[20] Národní listy 20, 1880, No. 296, p.1; No. 297, p.1.

[21] Lumír 7, 1879, pp. 100-3.

[22] Světozor 15, 1881, pp. 298-9, 311-3.

[23] Cf. Felix TAUER, Rudolf Dvořák. Zum hundertsten Geburtsjahr und vierzigsten Todesjahr. Archív Orientální 28, 1960, pp.529-546.

Sur la reconstruction du vocalisme radical en arabe et en sémitique.

Anna BÉLOVA

0.0. Jusqu' aux derniers jours les faits bien connus des langues sémitiques: l'apophonie vocalique, le rôle "morphologique" des voyelles qui s'oppose au rôle "lexique" des consonnes radicales, ont été considérés comme obstacles sérieux pour toute tentative de chercher des voyelles radicales.

0.1. Cependant la citadelle morphologique du système sémitique grammatical a ses défauts et ses brèches. Parmis elles on peut indiquer le vocalisme non-morphologique immotivé des thèmes sémitiques primaires: des termes de parenté, des noms de corps, de phénomènes de la nature, des animaux etc. Les premiers résultats de la reconstruction du vocalisme commun des thèmes nominals primaires sont représentés pour le sémitique dans DIAKONOFF 1967: 192-195; DIAKONOFF 1988: 45-46 et pour l'afroasiatique BÉLOVA 1987; OREL, STOLBOVA 1988. Le problème et son histoire sont traités aussi d'une façon complète dans l'oeuvre de K. PETRÁČEK (1989: 295-296 et d'autres). Tout cela ouvre de nouvelles voies aux rechèrches.

0.2. En partant de première étape nous pouvons poser une question suivante - question du vocalisme radical dans les thèmes sémitiques verbals (pour l'arabotchadiens v. OREL, STOLBOVA 1990). De fait, dans l'apophonie régulière du système verbal sémitique on peut trouver aussi ses défauts et ses brèches. Celles-ci sont le plus évidentes dans les systèmes verbals de l'arabe classique et de l'akkadien. Le vocalisme non-morphologique immotivé y est particulier aux thèmes verbals primaires aussi qu'en système nominal.

0.3. Le thème verbal primaire (simple) à une voyelle thématique est considéré ici comme thème non-derivé et comme base de départ. Il est le thème d'imparfait en arabe et le thème de prétérit en akkadien: $=C_1C_2VC_3=$, où C est une consonne radicale, V est une voyelle; le chiffre sous la lettre indique sa position dans le thème verbal ou nominal.

En arabe classique la voyelle du thème simple non-dérivé est représentée par *u/i/a* qui s'appellent "voyelles typiques" (GRANDE 1972: 123), "vocalisme fondamental" (KURYŁOWICZ 1961: 14-15), "voyelles caractéristiques, vocalisme immotivé" (COHEN 1978: 89-90). Ces voyelles sont des éléments nécessaires aux racines verbales dans la lexicographie arabe.

En akkadien on trouve les même voyelles des thèmes verbals primaires. Elles sont nommées comme "Wurzelvokal" (VON SODEN 1952: 51-52, 96; REIMSCHNEIDER 1973: 28-29).

D'habitude dans la grammaire arabe aussi que dans l'akkadienne (VON SODEN 1952: 96, 112-113) on cherche la relation entre le vocalisme thématique des verbes primaires et leurs sens lexico-morphologiques: $=u=$ verbes d'action, $=i,a=$ verbes d'état et de devenir ou - la relation avec la transitivité/intransitivité (KURYŁOWICZ 1961: 56-57) etc.

De fait, il y a certaines preuves en faveur de conclusion de se genre-là. Pourtant le processus de grammaticalisation des voyelles (en arabe et en akkadien) dans les thèmes verbals simples ne semble pas être conséquent et régulier. Il a aussi bien de déviations (v. ci-dessous des exemples et des comparaisons). En plus, le rôle des voyelles thématiques s'oppose à cel des voyelles des formes dérivées, lesquels composent des paradigmes reguliers en arabe ou en akkadien (cf. VON SODEN 1952: 113-114). Il y faut souligner aussi que les données comparatives attestent certaines variations des voyelles thématiques en arabe classique et ses dialectes aussi qu'en akkadien et ses dialects. Sont-elles causées par l'environnement phonétique ou non causées, cette variations ne changent pas la valeur lexico-morphologique d'un thème verbal.

0.4. D'autre part il y a d'autres difficultés devant la solution du problème du vocalisme sémitique radical. C'est l'existence de la relation, l'une et l'unique, entre le sceleton consonantique d'une racine verbale et d'une voyelle de son thème d'imparfait simple, c'est à dire: absence d'une opposition lexique entre deux ou plus de thèmes, l'opposition qui se baserait sur la différence de voyelles. Cependant, les reconstructions des racines afroasiatiques attestent une quantité considérable de racines consonantiques homonymes dont la différenciation lexique se sont basée sans doute sur la différenciation des voyelles ou du ton.

De même que la variation phonétique mentionnée - la variation du vocalisme d'un thème primaire en conservant le même sens, peut attester non seulement son irrelevance morphologique, mais aussi - son irrelevance lexique. Dans telles langues et dialectes sémitiques le rôle des voyelles radicales se réduit à cel de prosodie - de soutien syllabo-structural des consonnes radicales.

0.5. Tout cela pourrait présenter telle étape du developpement du système sémitique commun quand le vocalisme primaire commence à reculer devant lìnfluence de deux conditions, différentes par son origine: a) devant l'environnement phonétique (c'est-à-dire, la sémantique d'une voyelle radicale n'est pas déjà d'un élément nécessaire du sens, celui-ci se tient sur les consonnes); b) devant l'influence de l'analogie - sous la pression du système morphologique avec ses oppositions apophoniques régulières.

1.0. En prenant en considération toutes les difficultés mentionnées au-dessus nous proposons ici l'analyse comparatif interne d'un groupe de thèmes verbaux en arabe classique d'une côté, et - l'analyse comparatif des thèmes verbaux communs en akkadien et en arabe classique.

1.1. En arabe classique la comparaison s'est réalisée entre des thèmes verbaux à deux consonnes radicales et les mêmes thèmes verbaux élargissés par un des compléments consonantiques '/h/w/y; s/š; m, n (BÉLOVA Compléments) jusqu'au thème à trois consonnes. Quelques études précédentes (BÉLOVA 1987a, 1987b) attestent tel fait que les thèmes verbaux à deux consonnes conservent le vocalisme afroasiatique ancien. Justement à cause de cela le nombre de reconstructions arabes internes est limité par le nombre de thèmes verbaux à deux consonnes. Il va sans dire qu'en arabe pas tous les thèmes biconsonantiques ont leurs correspondances triconsonantiques.

1.2. Les thèmes verbaux triconsonantiques primaires ne peuvent être examinés que par l'analyse comparatif entre telles langues sémitiques lesquelles semblent avoir conservé leur vocalisme immotivé dans leurs thèmes primaires.

Les comparaisons akkado-arabes se sont réalisées sur la base des thèmes verbaux communs avec des correspondances phonétiques prouvées.

L'examen des thèmes communs part des thèmes akkadiens dont l'inventaire parait plus limité que cel de l'arabe classique.

1.3. Ci-dessous nous nous bornons à quelques exemples choisis du matériel plus large.

2.0. Les comparaisons et les reconstructions internes en arabe se basent sur les thèmes biconsonantiques d'imparfait à structures $=C_1VC_2C_2=$, $=C_1VC_2$ et $=C_1C_2V=$:

2.1. * $u/\bar{u}$

N 1. **kun/kūn* "être, exister; se trouver dans un lieu": *kwn(u)* "être"; *s=kn(u)* "habiter"; *m=kn(u)* "avoir lieu"; *knn(u)* "garder q-ch dans; cacher". Cf. aussi l'autre correspondance arabe: *w=kn(i)* "ê. assis" et des thèmes nominals *wak-n=at=/wukn=at=* "nid (d'oiseau)" avec la structure $w=C_1C_2$.

N 2. * *lus* "manger, lécher, déguster": *lss(u)* "manger, lécher"; *lws(u), ls=m(u)* "déguster"; *ls=n* "saisir la langue avec la main"; *lsw(u)* "manger, dévorer avec avidité". Cf. aussi un thème nominal *lūs=* "nourriture".

N 3. *qur (de ZABORSKI 1971: N. 186) "to make a hole": *qwr* "to make a hole", *n=qr(u), mqr(u)* "to pierce, to make a hole" (cf. aussi **Hbr.** *qwr* "to dig a well"). Cf. aussi l'autre correspondance arabe: un thème nominal *waqr=at=* "hole" avec la structure $w=C_1C_2$.

N 4. *ṭuf "verser, s'égoutter, transvaser": ṭff(u), h=ṭf(u); š=ṭf(u) "idem., laver"; **Syr. dial.** ṭāf(u) "remplir (un bassin)". Cf. aussi en **Akk., Bab.** ṭpp(u/u) "ê. plein, rempli", **Hbr.** š=ṭp(o) "wash off, overflow". La correspondance arabe d'un thème verbal w=df(i) "couler, s'égoutter" (voir la reconstruction afro-asiatique entière avec toutes les correspondances dans SISAYa, ", N. 83).

N 5. *ṭul "verser, tromper": ṭll(u), n=ṭl(u).

N 6. *ḥus "diminuer": ḥss(u), n=ḥs(u).

N 7. *ṭur "couper, séparer, retrancher": ṭrr(u), m=ṭr(u), n=ṭr(u) (mais h=ṭr(i) "déchirer"). Cf. la correspondance arabe w=ṭr(i) "séparer".

2.2. *i/ī

N 8. *kil "ê. las, fatigué": kll(i) idem; n=kl(i) "ê. impuissant devant un ennemi"; w=kl(i) "ê. las, fatigué (d'une bête de somme)".

N 9. *ṭim "cacher, dérober": ṭmm(i,u) "envelopper, couvrir q-ch. de sa masse", '=-ṭm-(i), w=ṭm(i) "cacher en baissant le rideau".

N 10. *biq [cf. ZABORSKI 1971: N. 17 *bq] "s'enfuir, se sauver": '=bq(i) idem, s=bq(i) "devancer q-n, arriver avant q-n", (?)w=bq(i) "périr".

N 11. *bid (biẑ) "couler, suinter": bdd(i), n=bd(i).

N 12. *gib "s'enfuir, pousser, éloigner": n=ğb(i), h=ğb(i), w=ğb(i) idem, cf. aussi ğbb (II) "s'enfuir".

N 13. *bid/bīd "périr, causer du dommage": byd(i), '=bd(i,u) idem, cf. aussi un thème nominal sibd= "malheur, infortune", mais: bdd(u) causer du dommage", et des variantes dans '=bd(i,u). (Voir d'autres correspondances sémitiques [ZABORSKI 1971: N. 10]).

2.3. *a

N 14. *ṭah "étendre à plat, s'étendre": ṭhy(a), s=ṭh(a) idem., m-ṭh(a) "frapper q-n avec paume de la main".

N 15. *dam "se repentir": s=dm(a), n=dm(a) idem. (voir des correspondances sémitiques [ZABORSKI 1971: N 59]).

N 16. *ta' "frapper": m=t'(a), h=t'(a) idem.

N 17. *bah "connaitre, comprendre, se souvenir, faire attention à": bh='(a), 'bh(a), n=bh(a), w=bh(a) idem.

N 18. *baṣ "ê. agile, rapide, adroit": '=bṣ(a), h=bṣ(a), w=bṣ(a) idem.

N 19. *baś "sécher, devenir sec": y=bs(a), ʿ=bs(a), aussi: Hbr y=bś(a) idem. Cf. aussi Arab. ʿ=bs(i) "contracter et rider la peau du visage" (voir aussi ZABORSKI 1971: N 57).

3.0. Les comparaisons akkado-arabes se basent sur le vocalisme du prétérit akkadien et sur cel de l'imparfait arabe. Des variantes vocaliques sont citées aussi après la voyelle commune.

Le sens identique des thèmes comparés est cité après la reconstruction.

Si le consonantisme ou le sens des thèmes comparés concrets ne sont pas identiques au cels de la reconstruction, on cite tous les thèmes concrets et leurs sens d'akkadien et d'arabe.

3.1. *=u=

N 20. *'kl* "manger": Akk =a/u= - Arab. =u=.

N 21. *bs* "ramasser, reunir": Akk š=bš(a/u), Bab. (u/u) - Arab '=bš(u). Cf. en arabe des thèmes nominals: wabaš=, bawš=/būš= "ramassis de gens, multitude", mais le vocalisme du thème verbal h=bš(i) "ramasser, reunir".

N 22. *gn* "couvrir, tenir caché, emprisonner": Akk. gnn/knn(a/u) - Arab. ǧnn(u), s=−ǧn−(u) (mais ǧnn(i) "ê. caché").

N 23. *ḫrt (ḫrč)* "dépouller, enlever de q-ch": Akk. ḫrs(a/u) - Arab ḫrt(u,i). Cf. aussi Hbr Aram. ḫrs Syr ḫrt. Mais il y a une autre racine *ḫrt: Akk. (i/i) - Arab. (i,u).

N 24. *ǧl* "insérer, introduuire dans": Akk. ḫll(a/u) "einsperren, festhalten" - Arab. ǧll(u) "insérer, introduire dans, mettre des menottes à q-n". Cf. aussi la correspondance arabe dans 1ᵉ thème verbal w=ǧl(i) "s'introduire, pénétrer dedans et s'y cacher" (Voir les correspondances sémitiques ZABORSKI 1971: N. 69).

N 25. *ḫnq* "étrangler, étouffer": Akk. =a/u= - Arab. =u=.

N 26. *dūl*: Akk. =ū= "umherlaufen" - Arab. dwl(u) "tourner, courir (à cheval) en décrivant un demi-cercle".

N 27. *dkr*: Akk. zkr/sqr(a/u) "aussprechen, nennen, reden" - Arab. dkr(u) "rappeler, raconter".

N 28. *rbk*: Akk. rbk(a/u) "Absud herstellen" - Arab. rbk(u) "préparer la soupe ou le met rabīk=at=".

N 29. *rsn*: Akk. rsn(u/u) "gewaltig sein" - Arab. rsn(u) "ê. ferme, solide".

3.2. *=i=

N 30. *bt* "battre, frapper": Akk. š=bt/š=bt(i/i) - Arab. h=bt(i,u), s=bt(i) idem. Cf. ZABORSKI 1971: N. 57).

N 31. *bkī* "pleurer": Akk. =bkī - Arab. bky(i) (Cf. aussi Arab. s=bk(i) "fondre, verser le métal fondu dans un moule").

N 32. *bnī* "bâtir, construire": Akk. =i= - Arab. =i=.

N 33. *$b\bar{\imath}t$ "passer la nuit": Akk. =i= - Arab. =i=, w=bt(i) "s'arrêter, faire halte dans un lieu et y séjourner".

N 34. *ḥśr : Akk. ḥsr(i/i) "abbrechen, blattern" - Arab. ḫšr(i) "nettoyer, monder".

N 35. *ḥlb (dénom.) "melken; traire": Akk. ḥlb(a/i) - Arab. ḥlb(i,u).

N 36. *rṣp: Akk. rṣp(i/i) "aufschichten, aufführen" - Arab. rṣf(i) "ranger des pierres l'une contre l'autre" (mais Hbr. rṣp(o)). Cf. aussi en arabe la variante phonétique avec le même vocalisme rḍf(i) "plier un coussin à sa guise".

N 37. *skr/ckr: Akk. skr(i/i) "abschließen, absperren" - Arab. skr(i) "endiguer (un cours d'eau)".

N 38. ḏmd (ç̂md): Akk. ṣmd(i/i) "anspannen, zusammenbinden" - Arab. ḏmd(i,u) "panser, bander" (en d'autres sémitiques: Hbr. ṣmd, Guèze ḏmd).

N 39. *ftl: Akk. ptl(i/i) "drehen, wickeln" - Arab ftl(i) "tordre, tresser (une corde, des fils)" (voir aussi la reconstruction afroasiatique [SISAYa, I, N 138]).

N 40. *psd/fṣd: Akk. psd(i/i) "einschneiden" - Arab fṣd(i) "ouvrir la veine".

N 41. *nkś: Akk. nks(i/i) "abschneiden, fällen" - Arab. nkš(i,u) "arracher avec la racine, exterminer, détruire".

3.3. *=a=

N 42. *rkb: Akk. rkb(a/a) "fahren, reiten" - Arab. rakiba(a) "monter, voyager à cheval" (Sém. *rkb).

N 43. *ḏbṭ (ç̂bṭ): Akk. ṣbṭ(a/a) Hbr. ṣbṭ(a) "packen, greifen, nehmen" - Arab. ḏbṭ(a) "faire q-ch avec les deux mains" (mais ḏbṭ(i) "tenir avec force après avoir saisi q-ch avec la main").

N 44. *s'l "demander": Akk. šāl=/ša'āl = Bab. i=šāl, i=ša"al - Arab. s'l(a).

N 45. *smᶜ "hören; écouter, entendre": Akk. šemû=šamû=(e/e), Akk. anc. i=šmaᶜ - Arab. smᶜ(a), Hbr. śmᶜ(a).

N 46. *lbs: Akk. lbš(a/a) Bab. anc. (i/i) Hbr. lbš(a) Arab. lbs(a,i).

N 47. *mhḍ (mhc): Akk. mḫs/mḫd(a/a), Hbr. mḥṣ "schlagen" - Arab. mḫḍ(a,u,i) "agiter, secouer violemment".

N 48. *mrḍ (mrç̂): Akk. mrṣ(a/a), Bab. (u/u) "krank sein" - Arab. mrḍ(a) "ê. malade".

Cf. aussi Akk. lmd(a/a) - Hbr. lmd(a) "lernen, kennenlernen".

4.0. En confrontant les faits examinés on vient à la conclusion que le vocalisme des thèmes verbaux primaires est en relation avec la structure de la racine: les thèmes à deux consonnes conservent leur vocalisme ancien lequel apparaît comme vocalisme radical par rapport aux thèmes élargis avec un des compléments. Il est évident que cels-ci (les compléments) sont d'origine morphologique archaïque.

4.1. Si l'on admet que semi-voyelles *w/y* peuvent dans certaines positions refléter les voyelles longues *$\bar{u}/\bar{\iota}$, on doit supposer l'existence de deux degrées de voyelle radicale: brève et longue.

4.2. Il en ressort une certaine assymetrie dans le système du vocalisme radical: *u:*$\bar{u}$; *i:*$\bar{\iota}$; *a:?[1]. Par ailleurs les voyelles longues sont restituées seulement dans les thèmes biconsonantiques. Quant aux thèmes triconsonantiques primaires ils ne montrent que les voyelles brèves.

4.3. On ne peut pas passer sous silence une autre supposition par rapport à l'origine des voyelles radicales longues - l'hypothèse traditionnelle de la racine sémitique triconsonantique. Selon cet hypothèse les consonnes "faibles", surtout - semi-voyelles *w/y* dans certaines positions formaient avec des voyelles voisines des voyelles longues secondaires. Ce pourrait expliquer la métathèse de *w* dans les cas par ex. *kwn/wkn* (V. N I, N 3, N 4, N 7). Mais cette conception est en certaine contradiction avec l'existence des racines biconsonantiques attestées par les études comparatives récentes (V. par ex. ZABORSKI 1971; ZEMÁNEK 1988; SISAYa 1-3).

4.4. En conclusion de l'essai il faut dire que le vocalisme de la racine verbale soit en arabe, soit en sémitique commun, pose bien de problèmes nouveaux. Néanmoins la restitution du vocalisme sémitique commun dans les formes verbales aussi que dans les formes nominales pourrait servir des études suivantes dans le domaine de la typologie historique et dans la théorie générale de la racine chamito-sémitique dont les problèmes différents on été posés et examinés par Prof. Karel PETRÁČEK (1960-1962; 1981; 1987; 1989: 117-126).

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[1] Ici il faut mentionner que les formes arabes *ya=ḥāf=* "avoir peur", *ya=ḥār=* "revenir" peuvent représenter *$\bar{a}$ radical qui se transforme plus tard en autres voyelles selon les règles du système morphologique triconsonantique.

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Saharan and Nilo-Saharan Verb Paradigms: Typological or Genetic Resemblances?

M. Lionel BENDER

1. Introduction

Among Karel PETRÁČEK'S many outstanding contributions to Africanist scholarship is his work on the languages known as Saharan (Central Saharan, GREENBERG 1955; East Saharan, LUKAS 1951/2; TUCKER and BRYAN 1956; Saharan, GREENBERG 1963). Here, I hope to make a small contribution to the question of genetic classification of Saharan within the Nilo-Saharan (N-S) Phylum. In BENDER 1989, 1991, I present evidence that Saharan is one of four "outliers" within Nilo-Saharan, the others being Songay, Kunama, and Kuliak. All these are rather distinct from each other and from the large core group consisting of the other branches (Maba, For, Berta, Central Sudanic, East Sudanic, Komuz, and Kado = Kadugli - Krongo).

My argument will be set against evidence for Afrasian membership of Saharan (e.g., MUKAROVSKY 1981) or Niger-Kordofanian (I know of no one favoring the latter view). MUKAROVSKY investigates a few morphological elements and some basic lexicon and shows putative Saharan-Afrasian correspondences (in lexicon, specifically Omotic, Cushitic, and fewer Semitic), but the latter seem forced to me. I am preparing a major investigation of N-S lexicon (BENDER forth.) and will say no more about lexicon here.

PETRÁČEK 1985 examines a number of features which might help place Saharan with respect to the two phyla; on pp. 557-8 he has a summary table (7) listing 17 items in Saharan vs. HS ("Hamito-Semitic", i.e. Afrasian), Maba, For, N-S, Proto-Bantu, Proto-Benue-Kongo, and PNKS (= Proto-Niger-Kongo, Sudan area?; I am not sure of the last-named, since it is not explicitly explained). The 17 items are (abbreviated) 1. ethnic situation, 2. phonology, 3. lexicon, 4. areal connections, 5. Saharan-Afrasian cognates, 6. verbal morphology, 7. stem-extensions, 8. copulas, 9. pronouns, 10. nouns, 11. class-markers, 12. gender, 13-16. sgs. and pls., 17. negation marker B/M. Here, I will be concerned mainly with 6. and 9., though I first review general isomorphs in N-S.

2. Review of N-S retentions

BENDER 1991 lists 46 putative N-S retentions with their occurences in the 12 N-S families I have identified in the first paragraph above; to sumarize roughly from west to east, following GREENBERG'S original order insofar as it applies: A

Songay, B Saharan, C Maba, D For, E East Sudanic, F Central Sudanic, G Berta, H Kunama, I Koman, J Gumuz, K Kuliak, L Kado. Table 1 to follow lists the clear occurrence (+), trace occurrence (t), or non-occurrence ( ) of the retentions in the four outliers (A, B, H, K) and in Saharan's neighbors C and D. The first seven retentions (R1-7) are considered "major" (systematic) and count two or more points each; all others count one each (R8-46). Features are abbreviated; for details see BENDER 1991.

Table 1: N-S retentions in selected families.

Family:	A Son.	B Sah.	H Kun.	K Kul.	C Maba	D For
R1 (x3)	+	t	+	+	t	+
Pronoun pattern Pi (1/2/3 typically *a/i/e*)						
R2 (x3)	t	t	t	t	+	
Pronoun pattern Po (1/2/3/ typically *a/o/e*)						
R3 (x2)	+	+	+	t	t	t
Sg. *a*/pl. *i*						
R4 (x2)	+	t	+		+	
Demon. near *o*/far *i*						
R5 (x2)	t	t		+	+	t
Demon. near *a*/far *i, e*						
R6 (x2)	+	+		+		
Demon. to *á*/away *u*						
R7 (x3)	t	+	t	+	+	
TMA system Perfect *K*/Imperfect *N*/Future or continuous *T*						
R8 1 sg. akwai	+	t		+		+
R9 2 sg. ini	+	+	+			
R10 3 sg. h, k	+	t		t		

R11 3 sg. n			+	+?		
R12 3 sg. t		+		. +	+	+
R13 acc. k	+?		+	+		+
R14 gen. b, m		+	+			
R15 gen. n		+	+		+	+
R16 gen. t		t		+		+
R17 loc. r, l	+	+	+			+
R18 demon. j, s		t		+	+	+
R19 demon. k	+	t		+	+	
R20 demon. l, r		+	t	+	+	+
R21 demon. n	+	t	+	+	t	+
R22 demon. t	+	+	t	t	+	+
R23 demon. w	+	t	+		+	
R24 demon. y	+	t			t	
R25 Q. b,m,w		+	+		+	
R26 Q. r,l		+	+			+
R27 Q. f, b	+	+				
R28 Q. mVn		+	+			
R29 Q. nd		+		+		
R30 Q. s		+		+	+?	
R31 Q.pl. n	+	+		+		+
R32 Cop. k	+	+	+	+	+	. +
R33 Cop. n		+	+		+	+
R34 Cop. t	+	+	+	+	+	
R35 Cop. (y)E	+	+		+	+	+
R36 Cont. g	+	+	+			
R37 Fut. k	+	+	+	+		
R38 Prf. E		+		+		
R39 Prf. n		+		+		+
R40 Prf. t		+		+		
R41 Neg. mV	+		+	+		
R42 N der. k		+	+		+	
R43 N der. L	+	+				
R44 N der. t		+		+?	+	
R45 Caus. k	+	+				

R46 Caus. t   +   +   +   +?

Totals (+ = 1, t = .5, +? = .5; note that R1-7 each is multiple):

        34.5   43   30   34.5   28.5   21

Normalized (see discussion immediately following):

        11.5   11   15   8.5 9.5   10.5

The non-normalized result is suprising: Saharan is the leader in N-S-like features and seems to be about twice as well-supported in sharing N-S retentions as For. However, I must enter a note of caution: whereas Songay, Kunama, and For are usually thought of as single languages (better: dialect clusters), the other three have several distinct varieties (Songay itself, Zerma, and Dendi) and For has two (For itself and Biltine; however, the latter has almost no morphological documentation). Kunama dialects are quite similar and do not affect the result much. But Saharan has three main varieties to draw on (Kanuri, Teda-Daza, Zagawa; data on Berti is too scant to use), Kuliak also has three (Ik, Nyangi, Soo), and Maba has two (Maba and Mesalit; others not well-documented).

Thus we might "normalize" the results by assigning weights as follows: A:3, B: 4, H: 2, K: 4, C: 3, D: 2 (I arrived at these according to my estimates of varying documentation). Then Kunama actually looks most orthodox as N-S, while the others fall into a range from 8.5 to 11.5 (obtained by dividing by the given weights), probably not really significantly different among themselves.

Thus, of the six putative branches of N-S, Saharan certainly is not any more questionable than the others, and there have not been questions raised about Kunama, Maba, and For to the extent that Songay, Saharan, and Kuliak have been doubted as N-S members. For Songay, see NICOLAI 1990 for a well-developed argument that its status involves creolization and other processes with Mande and Twareg as main contributors. I see NICOLAI'S case as certainly a *sufficient* one, but not a *necessary* one: Songay as N-S with Mande and Twareg influence seems to me to be a less demanding explanation of Songay's anomalies, though I reserve final judgment on this. For Kuliak, I do not find the arguments for Afrasian membership convincing (agreeing with FLEMING 1983; I believe LAMBERTI has argued pro-Afrasian, but I have no published reference). In this case, early Cushitic influence seems to me to be sufficient cause.

3. Bryan's analysis of Tama and Surmic conjugations

BRYAN 1955 is an early foray into comparative East Sudanic, although she surely didn't see it in this light. In fact, BRYAN, with her collaborator, Archibald TUCKER, eschewed the orthodox methods of genetic linguistics; both favored a curious mixture of the typological and genetic as seen in several publications (e.g.

TUCKER 1967, which links Kuliak to Afrasian, TUCKER and BRYAN 1956, 1966, which accept only low-level obvious genetic relationships).

What BRYAN actually says is that Tama (my East Sudanic E7) and Didinga (my E2- renamed "Surmic" by Pete UNSETH) are both "isolated groups" (ibid. 312) but sharing "startling resemblances". She adds (313) that there is little lexical resemblance, some morphological ones which are also found elsewhere (in particular in East and/or South Nilotic - her "Nilo-Hamitic"), and a conjugational pattern "unlike that in any other known language in Africa". On pp. 330-2 is a summary of the correspondences between the two groups as found in examples drawn from E7: Tama, Sungor, Mararit, and E2: Didinga, Murle, and Mekan.

In my most recent classification of N-S (see also 1 above), the core plus periphery is structured as follows: Core: E East Sudanic, I-J Komuz =I Koman-J Gumuz, L Kado = "Kadugli-Krongo";Periphery in order of increasing distinctness from Core: G Berta, F Central Sudanic, C Maba and D For. East Sudanic is divided into "moities" En and Ek based on innovated 1 sg. pronoun with -*n*- as against retained N-S pronoun with -*k*-. A number of other isomorphs support the division, especially of Ek, which is defined above by a retention, not an innovation. Ek consists of E1 Nubian, E3 Nera, E5 Nyima(?), and E7 Tama. Except for E5, EHRET 1989 independently supports this grouping. En consists of E2 Surmic, E4 Jebel, E6 Temein (?), E8 Daju, E9 Nilotic. EHRET 1989 supports this except for adjoining E5 Nyima and G Berta (to form his "Kir-Abbaian").

Returning now to BRYAN's correspondences, leaving aside the purely typological ones (e.g. verbs have consonant stems, aspect element occurs between verb prefix and stem), there are three good cases for use in genetic comparison: sg. and pl. in *n* in E7, sg. and pl. in *k* in E2; Definite Aspect marker *t* or *tV* in E7, Def. marker *tV* in E2; plural element with *k, g, ŋ, n, ɲ,* in E7, pl. element with *k, g, n, ɲ,* in E2. The rest are typological, ranging over phonological assimilations and order of elements, etc. Although the latter may be quite striking at times, nowadays one expects such similarities because of both universals of ordering and also genetic relationship[1]. BRYAN gives descriptions of the orders of elements in

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[1]Bryan's observation is reminiscent of an argument of Dell Hymes (1959:55-56). On the basis of having ten "positional verb categories" in the Tlingit verb (referring to Hymes 1956), there are 10! or 3,268,800 possible arrangements. Then if Tlingit shares an arrangement with Proto-Athapaskan, the probability of sharing the same order by chance is 10! squared, or 1,216,189,440,000. But he then enters the disclaimer that perhaps not all sequences are equally likely. Of course the latter is true, and some orders are never allowed and disappear from the set of possibilities. In fact, the set of possibilities may be so restricted that the impressive 10! may be reduced to a small number, perhaps even on the order of 10 rather than 10!. For example, Bickerton (1981:242, 280ff.) argues that the natural orders of Tense-

the two groups on p. 313 (Tama), Didinga (324). Here, I summarize by "slots" (omitting a few details):

	P1	PRE	ASP	VB	PL	PS	PRE	SUF
		PRE	ASP	VB	PL	PS	PRE	SUF
E2:	k	(PRE)	(Def. t)	VB	(PL)	usual	---	SUF
E7:	n	(PRE)	(Def. t(V))	VB	(PL)	---	PRE(PL)	SUF

The 1st-person prefix (P1) is found in sg. and pl., both Def. and Indf. aspects. The first vowel prefix (PRE) is found before C-initials vbs. in E7 and before most verbs in E2. The Def. *t(V)* is verb-particular. The plural marker (PL) is verb-particular in E2 and always occurs in E7 but may be before or after the second PRE. The final SUF is non-personal but varies for number.

Note also that there are morphological classes of verbs in E7, consisting of I: V-stem, II: C-Stem (which requires PRE in 1st and 2nd persons). E2 has almost all C-stem verbs.

BRYAN gives as excellent examples (332) Tama no. 5, Sungor 5, Murle 10 and 11. BRYAN notes that all three verbs illustrated have sg. impv. ending in *-k*. I reproduce the paradigms here.

Tama 5: wash, impv. *aisek*, Indef. Aspect

1 sg.	n-aise-i	1 pl.	n-aise-k-ɛ
2	aise-i	2	aise-k-ɛ
3	aise-i	3	aise-k-ɛ

Sungor 5: do, make, impv. *enek*, pl. *keneka*, Indef. Aspect

1 sg.	n-ane-i	1 pl.	n-ane-k-e
2	ane-i	2	ane-k-e
3	ane-i	3	ane-k-e

Murle 10: give, impv. *aɲek*, Indef. Aspect

1 sg.	k-aɲi	1 pl.	incl.	k-aɲc-e-a (?)
			excl.	k-aɲik-a
2	aɲi	2		aɲik-u
3	aɲik	3		aɲik

Murle 11: beat, impv. *ruk*, pl. *uruit*, Indef. Aspect

Mode-Aspect markers are TMA before the verb and AMT after; this reduces the 3! = 6 possibilities for TMA to one (and its mirror image) in the usual case.

1 sg.	k-a-ru-i	1 pl.	incl.	k-a-ru-k
			excl.	k-a-ru-k-a
2	a-ru-i	2		a-ru-k-u
3	a-ru-i	3		a-ru-k

I adjoin here another Tama (Indef.) paradigm (TUCKER & BRYAN 1966:213) which shows more clearly the pattern for a C-initial verb:

1 sg.	n-a-gıl-i	1 pl.	n-a-gıl-ɛ	
2	a-gıl-i	2	a-gıl-ɛ	gıl- "guard"
3	gal-i	3	gal-ɛ	

Note the "Umlaut" in the verb in 3rd person. In Tama the Indefinite aspect is marked by *-V,* the Definite by *-ŋV* except Merarit *-i).* A *t* element occurs with some verbs in Def. in Tama and Sungor. There is perhaps a Future in *-(s)a.*

In Surmic, the most divergent member, Majang, does not show the prefixes found in Didinga, Murle, Me'en. Several little-known varieties such as Kwegu and Muguji apparently do not, either, but they are probable linguistic hybrids and the data is problematical. I adjoin another "typical" paradigm in Surmic.

Me'en: Unmarked Tense; verb *lim-* "cut" (WILL 1989:140)

1 sg.	ki-lim-i	1 pl.	(gi-)lim
2	lim-i	2	lim-o
3	lim	3	lîm

Past tense:

1 sg.	ki-lim(-u)a	1 pl.	lim-d(-u)a
2	lim(-u)a	2	lim-d(-u)a
3	lim(-u)a	3	lim-d(-u)a

Me'en has Prs. *-i,* Pst. *-(u)a,* Prf. *-boy,* Cont./Fut. *-ina(n).*

My purpose here is not to criticize BRYAN's analysis of a generation ago, but rather to use it as a starting point in a wider investigation, building on what we like to consider our greater sophistication in linguistic analysis and in our deeper knowledge of genetic relationships in Africa.

In fact, BRYAN's presentation is partially the inspiration of this study of selected features of verbal conjugation (leaving out many details): specifically, structure of the verbal complex in main verbs including order of elements, subject person-marking, auxiliaries, and main tense markers. Based on my experience as to verbal morphologies which might show strong similarities to Saharan, I decided

to compare Saharan to the two East Sudanic groups above and also against Peripheral C Maba and D For, both geographical neighbors of Saharan. Tama is also a neighbor of Saharan, while Surmic is quite distant. Later I adjoined the other "outliers" and peripheral Berta.

4. Comparative verbal morphology in Saharan and other selected N-S families

As far as I know, prefix conjugations in N-S are not found to the exclusion of suffix conjugations, i.e. when conjugation for person is found, there will always be a suffix-type and only sometimes a prefix-type. Similarities between Saharan and other N-S families or sub-families may be more striking when both prefix and suffix conjugations are present, but looking for "sound-meaning" correspondences rules out assigning an all-or-nothing approach according to whether both are found or not. Here I review all the "outliers", starting with the targetted Saharan, then A Songay, H Kunama, K Kuliak, then selected core-periphery families, namely C Maba, D For, G Berta, and E2 and E7 of East Sudanic.

4.1. Saharan

CYFFER 1991 is an excellent starting-point for an understanding of the complexities of verb morphology in Saharan. In the following, I hope to summarize the main points without misrepresenting his analysis.

As in E7, Saharan has morphological verb classes, but the situation is more complicated (the numbering does not imply that the classes correspond from E7 to Saharan): I: subject-marking by prefix in 1st and 2nd person, zero in 3rd person; II: suffixes in 1st and 2nd, zero or prefix in 3rd; III: use of Aux. *n* ("say, think, intend") with main verb preposed. In Teda-Daza and Zagawa, all three classes are in use, but in Kanuri Class I verbs have shifted to II, retaining some I features. Class I verbs are usually intransitive, II verbs are usually transitive, and III verbs are mixed (CYFFER 1991:82).

I present now a summary of CYFFER'S illustrations to show typical paradigms (omitting some suprasegmentals which do not affect my argument). Abbreviations should be obvious; Sub. is used for subject markers, which may precede or follow verbs as given under the descriptions of classes above.

Zagawa examples: *mar* ripen, *oyaa* speak, *nɔɔ* see.

	Class I			Class II				Class III				
Per.	Sub.	Vb.	Asp..	Sub..	Vb.	Sub.	Asp.	Vb.	Sub.	Aux.	Sub.	Asp.
1 sg.	a	mar	i		oyaa	g	i	nɔɔ			g	i

2 sg.	na	mar	i		oyaa	n	i	nɔɔ			n	i
3 sg.		mar	i	k	oyaa		i	nɔɔ	ge	n		i
1 pl.	ta	mar	i		oyaa	d	i	nɔɔ			b	i
2 pl.	na	mar	i		oyaa	b	i	nɔɔ			d	i
3 pl.		mar	i	k	oyaa		i	nɔɔ	ge			i

Teda-Daza examples: *r* come, *ruk* go out, *wa* refuse.

	Class I			Class II					Class III					
Per.	Sub.	Vb.	Asp.	Sub.	Vb.	Pl.	Sub.	Asp.	Vb.	Sub.	Aux.	Pl.	Sub.	Asp.
1 sg.	t	ʌr	i		ruk		r		wa		n		r	
2 sg.	n	ʌr	i		ruk		m		wa		n		m	
3 sg.		ʌr	i	ki	ruk				wa	ki	n			
1 pl.	t	ʌr	du		ruk	t	r		wa		n	t	r	
2 pl.	n	ʌr	. du		ruk	t	m		wa		n	t	m	
3 pl.		ʌr	du	ki	ruk	t			wa	ki	n	t		tu

Kanuri examples: *lad* sell, *wa* refuse (recall no Kanuri Class I).

	Class I			Class II				Class III					
Per.	Sub.	Vb.	Asp.	Sub.	Pl.	Vb.	Sub.	Asp.	Vb.	Sub.	Pl.	Aux.	Sub.	Asp.
1 sg.						lad	k	o	wa			n	k	o
2 sg.						lad	m	o	wa			n	m	o
3 sg.			s			lad		o	wa	s				o
1 pl.						lad	ye	o	wa			n	ye	o
2 pl.						lad	w	o	wa			n	w	o
3 pl.			s	a		lad		o	wa	s	a			o

Note that CYFFER does not mention the presence of *t* following Aux. in Teda-Daza Class II plural conjugations or *a* following subject prefix in 3 pl. of Kanuri; these are plural elements as are the change of Asp. markers *i* to *du* or *tu* in Teda-Daza. (For Kanuri, see HUTCHISON 1981: 114; for Tubu, see LUKAS 1953:-64, para. 366).

The main TMA markers in Saharan are:

Zagawa: Present -*i*, Past: -*ri* (Cyffer op.cit.)

Teda-Daza: Perfect 1: ∅, Perfect 2: -*de* -*dɛ*, Continuous: -*(gi)i* ~-*(g)e*.

Kanuri: Past *ki-/ka-* + *o*, Perfect: *na*, Imperfect: -*in(ba)*, Future: *ti-/ta-* -*o* (HUTCHISON op.cit.:114).

4.2. Songay

According to PROST (1956:86 ff.) there is little morphology in the Songay conjugation. The formula is: Independent SUB prn. + PART + (OBJ) + VB. The

verb is not conjugated. The independent pronouns are: sg. *ay/ni/a*, pl. *ir/war/i*. The PART position is filled by: Progressive *ga*, Perfect ø if no object is present and *na* with object, Subjunctive *ma*. There are no pronominal verb affixes in Songay. Prf. *na* and Prog./Cont. with *g* are worth noting.

4.3. Kunama

Here is found one of the richest conjugational systems in Nilo-Saharan (see THOMPSON 1989). There are no gender distinctions, but there is a dual number, inclusivity distinctions, and both prefix (Type I) and suffix (Type II) conjugations[2]. One could also argue for morphological classes in verbs according to C-initial or V-initial, but the consequences are automatic phonological adjustments, not separate conjugations. When pronominal objects are present, a complex system of "selectors" is found. The formulas are:

     I: Vb. + SUB + TMA (where SUB is pronominal subject suffix).

     II: SEL + Vb. + TMA (where SEL is prn. subj./obj. selector)

Simplifying, sample conjugations without objects (and with suppression of some suprasegmentals) are:

Ind. Prns.	I: *ga* "go"	II: *ino* "drink"	
aba	ga-na-ke	1 sg.	na-no-ke
ena	ga-n -ke	2 sg.	ni-no-ke
unu	ga-s -ke	3 sg.	i- no-ke
ame	ga-ma-ke	1 pl. ex.	ma-no-ke
kime	ga-d -ke	1 pl. in.	ka-no-ke
ame	ga-na-ke	1 du. ex.	ma-no-ke
kime	ga-n-ke	1 du. in.	ka-no-ke
eme	ga-n -ke	2 pl.	me-no-ke
eme	ga-n-ke	2 du.	me-no-ke
ime	ga-n -ke	3 pl.	o-no-ke
ime	ga-n-ke	3 du.	mi-no-ke

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[2]In Kunama, verbs fall into (I) prefix or (II) suffix conjugational classes with no clear semantic basis except that I verbs are mostly intransitive and II are mostly transitive. This is strikingly similar to Saharan, with prefixing verbs mainly transitive and suffixing mainly intransitive. This is utterly unlike Semitic, in which most verbs are conjugated with prefixes or suffixes to mark an aspectual distinction. The personal markers are also utterly different. See more at end of 4.3.

In the I example above, dual falls together with plural. Also, the part following the main verb (*'ga-*) is identical to the conjugation of the auxiliary verb "say", which now forms part of the conjugation of all Type I verbs. Its longer form is *ake-*, e.g. *ake-na-ke* "I said". Independent pronouns, as at left, can be used to disambiguate. Here, I am using ' to mean stress; according to dialect, the realization may actually be stress, high tone, or long vowel e.g. *kíme* or *kiime* rather than *'kime*. Note that suprasegmental distinguishes dual from others in 1st and 2nd persons and that inclusivity is signalled by *k*. For fuller analysis, see THOMPSON op.cit. and see also my analysis in THOMPSON 1983: Note 6, pp. 318-9).

The TMA markers are: non-future ("aorist") *-ke*, (general) future *-na*, optative (direct future) *-naŋa*. There is extensive use of Auxiliaries, e.g. *go* "stay a little", *kos-* "be", *ina* "have".

A not-fully-explained *k* enters the paradigms in 3rd person. It is tempting to link this *k* up with GREENBERG's *k* as marker of dependent verbs (not "independent" as in the actual GREENBERG text!) in 3rd person (1963: 111-2, no. 7) as GREENBERG does, or to link it with the *k* appearing in 1st person in Surmic (see Murle examples in 3 above). But THOMPSON 1989: 313, referring to THOMPSON 1983:288 sees these as "anatyptic" (for "anaptyptic", but really should be "epenthetic"). (I recall a conversation with Alexander Naati, a Kunama-speaker, in which he said men today are talking of dropping the *k* as unnecessary, so that it certainly seems to be stylistic rather than functional).

There have been suggestions of Afrasian influence in Kunama, e.g., the presence of prefix-conjugations. But the Kunama formations are very unlike Afrasian (e.g. nearby Ethio-Semitic or Saho-Afar; see 5.2 below) and serve a different function (verb classes rather than aspect-marking). Furthermore, conjugational prefixes are not rare in Nilo-Saharan. Thus, I am not convinced that any outside influence need·be resorted to, although bilingualism of Kunama-speakers with one or more Afrasian languages cannot be ruled out as a possible factor in the peculiar Kunama development.

4.4. Kuliak

Sources are rare: HEINE 1975, 1976 and SERZISKO 1989 are best. Conjugations are by suffix only in Ik, but in So, there is a systematic prefix TMA slot (SERZISKO 1989: 396). Nyangi is poorly attested. The dependent pronouns are (ibid. 390):

	Ik	Nyangi	Soo (= Tepes)
1 sg.	-ia	-sa	-i(s)a
2 sg.	-idà	-bi	-(i)pa
3 sg.	-a	-kɛ	-ica

1 pl. in.	-isina	-gin	-iine
1 pl. ex.	-ima	-mis	-iise
2 pl.	-ita	-bit	-itte
3 pl.	-ata	-it	-itia

These are largely copies of the independent pronouns; note, however, that Ik has 2 sg. *bi*, 2 pl. *bita*, and So has 2 pl. *pitia*, so that the labial element in 2nd person is universal.

SERZISKO says that the TMA markers of Kuliak show such diversity that it is necessary to list them separately (ibid. 397-8; partially presented here):

	Ik	Nyangi	Soo
Present		-ø	ø-
Future	ta(a), tso, far		kut-
Past	naka, batse, noko	-ge	mut-
Perfect	-aka		it-, ka-

In Ik, the markers are enclitics, which usually follow, but may precede the verbal word. Future and Past have near, immediate, and far forms listed in that order; final vowels are voiceless. The Nyangi markers precede the personal suffix. In Soo, the markers are prefixes.

4.5 Maba family

All three well-documented Maba languages have complicated morphophonemics applying to the 2sg. personal prefix in verbal conjugations. EDGAR 1989 solves the problem for Maba, reducing the complexities to an underlying copy of the independent pronoun (as with other persons) and interaction with the first consonant of the verb. EDGAR 1991 gives the formula SUB (+OBJ) + VB + TMA for the Masalit verb phrase. Verbs in Masalit have two bases, sometimes identical but more often only similar, occasionaly suppletive. Base 1 takes Present suffixes and Base 2 takes Past and Future (ibid.21). Aiki (= Runga) is similar (NOUGAYROL 1990). A summary of the forms:

	Indep. (Maba)	Maba	Masalit	Aiki
1 sg.	ʔam	ʔa-	a-	a-
2 sg.	me(e)	*-m > ø	various	g-, j-, ø-
3 sg.	te	t-	t-	t-

1 pl.	maŋ	m-	m-	m-
2 pl.	kaŋ	k-	k-	k-
3 pl.	waŋ	w-	w-, V-	w-

The Maba independent pronouns are taken as representative of all, though they are by no means identical from language to language. Note that singular pronouns carry low tones, plurals high.

The TMA markers are: Maba (TUCKER & BRYAN 1966:203): Prs. -i, Pst. -a, -o, ri, Fut. -te(t); Masalit (EDGAR 1991:21): -ε ~ -i, Pst. -a, Fut. -ti ~ -ki; Aiki: here, a basic aspectual difference between "inaccompli" and "accompli" is signalled by various stem changes, Fut. has a residual marker -t- (NOUGAYROL 1990: 63-5, 71).

4.6. For (= Fur)

EDGAR (1989: 82-4) shows that the reconstructed proto-Maba consonantal inventory looks a lot like the internally reconstructed For inventory (JAKOBI 1990). Likewise, the 2nd-person morphophonemics of the Maba Family is reminiscent of the complexities in For. JAKOBI 1990:99 states: "The verbal morphology is the most complex subsystem of the Fur language. It is characterized by..." [summarizing]... a great variety of (mostly unpredictable) tense markers, several different third-person plural markers, tone-patterns which seem to serve person marking, and frequent occurrence of suppletion, i.e. different verbal roots in the same paradigm. JAKOBI arrives at four verbal morphological classes which do not exhaust the variation (ibid). 102-113). The tense markers are: Prs. -el ~ -i ~ -u ~ -iti ~ -ø; Prf.: -a, -o, -i (tones according to verbal classes); Fut. free morpheme (ni)N with Subjunctive paradigm. The subject pronouns and reconstructed person-markers are (ibid. 92):

1 sg.	ka	ø- < *C-
2 sg.	ji	j-
3 sg.	ie	*i-
1 pl.	ki	k-
2 pl.	bi	b-
3 pl.	iè-èN	+human: k- + pl. suf.
		-human: i- + pl. suf.

4.7 Berta

The Berta conjugational system is simple. According to the limited study presented in TRIULZI ET AL. 1976, there are two formulas: SUB (-ADV)-VB-ASP (where ADV is an optional adverbial particle) and VB-SUB. The subject-markers are (partial) copies of the independent pronouns. Aspect markers include: Prs.-Fut. *-i*, Prs.-Cont. *-i* with Adv. *(?)ale* "this, here, now", Recent past or completive *-e*, Definite past or past cont. *-o-i*, Intentive *-a*, and Prf.: VB-SUB. Sample conjugations with *ðiŋ*, "eat":

	Present Continuous		Perfect	
1 sg. al	·	-ale-ðiŋ-i	ðiŋ	-ali
2 sg. ŋgo-		etc.		-aŋo
3 sg. niŋ-				-ane
1 pl. haðaaŋ-			-aŋa	
2 pl. haðu-				-ahaðu
3 pl. meree-				-amere

5. How, really, should we compare Saharan to other groups?

One can find isolated points of correspondence between Saharan and many other families or groups, N-S or otherwise. I think the comparisons with Afrasian are not convincing: the Afrasian patterns of Imperfect Prefix-Conjugation, Perfect Suffix-Conjugation with the particular personal-marking involved is as unlike the N-S patterns displayed in examples above as one can construct (see Note 2). Then are the comparisons with other N-S groups convincing of N-S membership and in particular of sub-grouping within N-S? A list of similarities, especially if coupled with a corresponding negative display for Afrasian or Niger-Kordofanian is better than nothing, but ideally one should reconstruct the Proto-N-S system and show how Saharan and other groups derive from this. This is a goal for the not-distant future, perhaps.

For the present, I will try to present a plausible partial solution, using Afrasian, Semitic, Cushitic, and Omotic on the one hand, sample languages from N-K, and the following N-S groups: A Songay, B Saharan, C Maba, D For, E2 Surmic, E7 Tama, G Berta, H Kunama, and K Kuliak. The choices in N-S, as mentioned earlier, are in accord with my intuitions as to the most fruitful places to start. I omit most of East Sudanic, all of Central Sudanic, Komuz, for which I am planning another study, and Kado (= Kadugli-Krongo).

According to WILLIAMSON (1989:21), the highest-level split in Niger-Kordofanian is three-fold into Mande, Atlantic-Congo, and Kordofanian. Atlantic-Congo is by far the largest and in turn splits into Volta-Congo and (doubtfully)

Atlantic and Ijoid. I will use the following representative languages for which I have documentation at hand: Mande: Mende (INNES 1962), Atlantic: Fula (SWIFT ET AL. 1965), Volta-Congo: Zande (GORE 1926), Kordofanian: Moro (BLACK & BLACK 1971). I will neglect Ijoid, since it is a small group and its status is questionable.

To keep this pilot-study manageable, I will restrict features investigated to verb-affixed pronouns marked for person and number, TMA markers for: past (perfect, definite), present (imperfect, indefinite), future, progressive or continuous, presence of Auxiliary verbs, and morphological classes of verbs, especially based on a transitivity distinction.

5.1. Summary of Nilo-Saharan features: Table 1

Forms in parentheses are minority forms. An extra line has been provided for dual and incl./excl. pronouns as in Kunama. Forms in **Bold** are possible N-S retentions.

	B. Saharan	A. Songay	H. Kunama	K. Kuliak
Persons:				
1 sg.	t- -**K**	**ay-**	na- -na	-i(s)a
2 sg.	**n- -N**	**ni-**	**ni- -n**	B, (d)
3 sg.	K-, (s-)	a-	i- -s	K ?
1 pl.	t-	ir-	**ka- -di, t**	(m, n, s)
			ma- -ma	
2 pl.	**n- -Labial**	war-	me- -mu, -ŋ	(b), d, t
3 pl.	K-, (s-)	i-	mi-,o- -mu, -ŋ	t
sg./pl.	/(T, **a**)	/r	dual stressed, pl. unstressed	(/i)

TMA:				
past	(r, d, **k**)	**na,** ⌀	**-ke,** far prf.: **ina** "have"	**K, (t)**
pres.	(**n,** i)			⌀
fut.	(**T**)	**ka** "come", la (distant)	**-na**	(**t, k**)
prog.		**ga, go**	**go** "stay" pst. prog.: **kos-** "be"?	
Aux. Classes	n "say" **3, i.v./t.v.**	focus: n(o) **i.v./t.v. conjug. patterns**	see under TMA **2, i.v./t.v.**	no?
	C. Maba	D. For	G. Berta	E2. Surmic[3]
Persons:				
1 sg.	a-	c > ⌀	a-	**K-** -(n)a
2 sg.	(m), various	j-	ŋgo-	**-(n)i, -u**
3 sg.	t-	*i-	ŋine- (vowels)	-(n)V
1 pl.	m-	**k-**	haðaŋ-	**K-, -ii, nak**
2 pl.	k-	b-	haðu-	**-O, EEr, -nik**
3 pl.	w-	k-	meree-	-Er, **-nek**
Sg./pl.		3 pl.: Ca?, Co, k	hað	-**K**, -r, -to, o, u
TMA:				
Past	a	-o, **a,** -i	rec. **-e** def. -o-i	-wa?, **K** Bo
Pres.	E, (ri)	⌀,èl,i,ù,iti	cont. ale -i	-i,a,o,Eo
Fut.	t	(**ni**)ŋ	intent. -a	**ko,ka,**ŋan
Prog.	?	?	?	-inAn,-uno, d'i

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[3]Surmic is based on Majang (my notes), Mursi (TURTON and BENDER 1976), and Bodi (Will 1989).

Aux.:	n "want"	?	?	Fut.: ko "go" as above 3 or more classes?
Classes:	no ?	3 main classes not based on transitivity	none?	

	E7. Tama	*Nilo-Saharan	
Persons: 1 sg. 2 sg. 3 sg.	n-a- a-	a i, o e	Indep. **aik(w)a** **ini**
1 pl. 2 pl. 3 pl.	n-a- a-	a i, o e	**K + Pl.** **n + Pl.**
Sg./pl.	i/ɛ ? /N, K, s	**a/i ~ i/a**	(n)/g, k in core and periphery; sg. n less common
TMA: Past Pres. Prog. Fut.	Def. -ŋV -i, occ. t Indf. -V, i-ey, da -s(a) ?, opt. -r	**K; (E, N, T)** N (cont. g) **T; (K)**	(here, E = e, a range)
Aux. Classes:	? 3 ?, partly based on order	**Verb classes based on transitivity?** (i.e. conjugation varies according to whether t.v. or i.v.)	

5.1.1. Discussion of Table 1

The table, of course, obscures or glosses over many details. In order to make the following easier to follow, I have marked in **Bold** items which I think relate to Proto-Nilo-Saharan. According to BENDER 1989 and 1991, the Proto-N-S system had independent pronouns of 1st and 2nd person based on *k* and *n* respectively, but 3rd person is too variable to guess at (as usual, it draws on various

demonstrative elements). Note that I have postulated both *ay* and *wa* as later developments from 1st person **aik(w)a* or **ak(w)ai* (I am not fully satisfied with this, but I do think the *ay* and *wa* forms are secondary). Vocalically, GREENBERG'S *a/i/e* system prevailed, with 2nd person *o* secondary (perhaps the original split was between possessives with *o* against others, but the evidence is not sharp on this). Sg./pl. was based on *a/i* or its polar *i/a*, with Margaret BRYAN'S *N/K* being restricted to the core and periphery, thus an innovation. "Animate plural *r*", suggested by GREENBERG, seems to be restricted in pronouns to a few groups (A, E, G).

The most pervasive set of TMA distinctions seems to be Past *K*, Present *N*, Future *T*, (where capitals represent "archiphonemes"), but it is easy to see how Pres. and Fut. could be interchanged and thus I suggest possible "polarity" in these, but I would not advocate accepting further interchanges (else "anything goes"). There is also strong indication of a continuous/progressive in *g*. The possible secondary Past (*E, N, T*) and Future markers (*K*) complicate the picture. Thus it is quite possible that one language now has Fut. *k* and Past *t*, the reverse of the "pervasive" pattern while another in the same group has t/k respectively.

Finally, the presence of morphological classes of verbs based on transitivity in three outliers, A, B, and H and classes which are not so clearly delineated in D, E2, and E7 suggest that this may have been a proto-feature; could we be seeing vestiges of ergativity here?

Referring now to the individual language groups:

Saharan has the three verb classes, has at least traces of the *K/N/T* system in TMA, has a trace of *-a* pl., and has four person-markers like N-S independents (I hesitate to count the labial 2 pl. as reflecting *-o*). Call this a total score of 6: 3 for pronouns, not counting 2nd sg. twice, 1/2 for pl. marking, 1 1/2 for TMA, and 1 for verb classes.

Songay has two person-markers (here also like N-S independents), past, future, and progressive TMA markers like secondary N-S ones, and a distinction between i.v. and t.v. conjugations, though not a morphological one. Call the score 4 1/2 : 2 for pronouns, 2 for TMA, and 1/2 for verb classes.

Kunama has 2 1/2 on pronouns (counting 2 pl. *-n* as doubtful, 2 1/2 on TMA (counting "aorist" and far prf. as 1/2 for Fut., possible "polarization" of Present), and one for verb classes; total: 6. The *k* in 3rd person and Saharan *k(i)-* are intriguing similarities: after all, if *k* is epenthetic in Kunama, why *k* rather than something else?

Kuliak scores nothing on pronouns, having an innovative set throughout, 1/2 for trace of *-i* pl., 2 1/2 on TMA (having both N-S Futures plus 1 1/2 on Past); total 3. Already noted in BENDER 1989 is the striking 2nd-person *b* as in Saharan.

Maba also has innovated pronouns, but 1 sg. *a-* may count, Past *a*, Fut. *t*: total 3. Some striking similarities to Saharan reside in 3 sg. *t-* and 3 pl. *k-* (fitting

in with CYFFER's reconstructed systems of *t/n/t* and *k/b/k* for Saharan person-marking; see especially CYFFER 1981). Zagawa and Maba agree on Pst. *-ri*, Maba/Masalit and Zagawa have Pres. in *-i* or *ɛ*. Strikingly, also Masalit uses an Aux. *n ~ ind* "want" (EDGAR 1991: 29), cf. the Saharan Aux. *n* "say, think, intend".

For has in pronouns only 1 pl., in TMA only Past *-a* and possible polar use of *n* Future (1 point), and 1/2 for verb classes not based on transitivity; total 2 1/2. A striking correspondence with Saharan and Kuliak is the 2 pl. *b*.

Berta scores 2 1/2 on pronouns (I reduce the total slightly because 2 sg. has *ŋ* rather than *n* together with *-o*, while 3 sg. has a final *-e*), 1/2 on TMA for recent past; total: 3.

Surmic has orthodox N-S consonants and vowels in pronouns: I count these as 1 sg.: 2, 2 sg.: 2, 1 pl.: 1, 2 pl. 2, total 7; for TMA there are Past and secondary Fut. (1 1/2), and for verb classes 1/2; total: 9.

Tama has 1st sg. *-a*, perhaps extended to other persons (call it 2 for 1 sg. and pl.); sg/pl. in marking could be a reflex of N-S (call it 1); two secondary Pasts count as 1, while 3 verb classes count as 1/2; total: 4 1/2.

Finally, looking back at the two East Sudanic branches covered in 3 above, a summary of points of correspondence with Saharan is: E2 Surmic: prefix $k(V)^4$ (*V* is in harmony with the verb-root vowel) in 1st person compared to 3rd person in Saharan; Me'en Prs. *-i* (Zagawa same); Me'en Cont. *-ina(n)*, Kanuri Impf. *-in(ba)*; optional pl. *d* in Me'en, pl. *d, t* in Teda-Daza.

E7 Tama: Def. *-ŋV* may correspond to Pst. *k* in Kanuri; Fut. *s* in Tama and Kanuri Fut. *t* (?).

I did not count core-periphery features such as sg. *n*/pl. *k* or other restricted ones such as pl. *r*, nor Aux. *n*, which occurs in B and C (geographical neighbors; the focus *n* of Songay may or may not be relevant to this).

To summarize the scores of possible N-S features found in the groups examined:

Outliers	Periphery	Core
A: 4.5	C: 3	E2: 9

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[4]There is a very curious problem here: while E2 Surmic has 1st-person *k-* in verbal conjugations, E7 has *n-*, yet E2 is in the En group (with innovated 1st person pronominal *n*) and E7 is in Ek (with retained N-S 1st-person *k* or *g*). If it were the other way around, one could say "aha!, Tama has generalized 1st-person *k* to appear in verb paradigms and Surmic has replaced this with its new 1st-person *n*". But given the "polarity", what can we say? If we accept that 1st-person *k* is old and *n* is new, it may be that we just have to discount the neat explanation which "almost works" and look for the origin of the *k* and *n* somewhere else, e.g. in the *k* of 3rd-person dependent paradigms and *n* in the Aux. found in Saharan, Maba, and perhaps elsewhere.

B: 6   D: 2.5   E7: 4.5
H: 6   G: 3
K: 3

The score of E2 may be higher because of more languages to choose from. Single languages D and G score low but A and H are higher, while three of the other groups (B, E2, and E7) are somewhat higher; however C and K are not. But I am not trying to make much of these scores, based on so many questionable assumptions and such a small sample. After all, if a particular group innovates pronouns (e.g. C), it will reduce the score a lot, while if another is conservative on pronominal affixes (e.g. E2), it will score high. I am interested in looking at the overall pattern of the groups, especially Saharan vs. Nilo-Saharan and the other two large African phyla, which I now turn to.

5.2 Summary of Afrasian Features: Table 2

The main source is BENDER 1990a: 665-670). Gender distinctions in Afrasian are not emphasized (*t-/y-* in third person, secondary features in 2nd person, e.g. palatalization in Amharic fem.). There are no established markers in several categories[5].

	Pr-Afrasian	Proto-Cushitic	Proto-Omotic
Persons:			
1 sg.	ø-, ʔ-	ø-, V-	ta -n, -a
2 sg.	t-	tV- -t	ne -t, -i-n
3 sg.	ø-, y-, t-	yV- -ø, tV- -t	-isa, -isi, -n
1 pl.	n-	nV- -n .	-nu -i
2 pl.	t-...-n	tV-...-n, -tV-n	-int -u-n
3 pl.	ø-, y-...-n	yV-...-n, -uʔ, -V-n	-ints -n

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[5]One could probably find parallels to Nilo-Saharan in individual Afrasian groups of languages. For example, in Northern Ethio-Semitic, verbs fall into two classes according to the pattern of gemination of their medial radicals. In Amharic, there is a partial correlation between gemination and transitivity such that geminating verbs (in the Imperfect) are likely to be transitive, though non-geminating verbs are about equally divided between i.v. and t.v. (see BENDER 1974 for Amharic and HETZRON 1972 for the broader picture). But here the division reflects the old Semitic "intensive" form derived through gemination and thus may be not the same kind of phenomenon as in Nilo-Saharan, wherein basic (non-derived) verbs conjugate differently. Still, the whole subject needs study at a deeper level (PETRÁČEK 1985 mentions (re)duplication in plural, intensive, etc. roles (555, Table 6) but calls it a "universal tendency" (556, n. 8).

Sg./pl.	-m, -n,-u ?	-n	-n(t); -o, -u
TMA: past	form: ya-prus-suf.	-i,ay,ey,ye n or labial; -a in 2,3 pl. past	i-d, t-i,e
pres. fut. prog.	form: ya-paras-suf.	(a), ya .	a
Aux. Classes		.	

5.2.1 Discussion of Table 2

The Afrasian systems are utterly unlike Nilo-Saharan. The basic TMA distinction is aspectual: Perfect vs. Imperfect, the latter including Future, and the realization is by internal structure of the verb root. However, the two verb-root shapes do take different sets of affixes: suffixes for Prf., both prefixes and suffixes for Impf. But there is no general TMA marker such as the postulated Past K for N-S.

In pronominal affixes, the Afrasian system is pervasively *V/t/y* for the three persons, to condense it to its simplest components. N-S has *k/n/various*, thus sharing nothing on this level and also *a/i/e*, totally unlike AA. Of course, AA has pervasive gender distinctions; I assert that gender is an innovative development in N-S in the core group and that the exponents are quite unlike those in AA (masc. *B*/fem. *R*/neut. *n*; see BENDER 1989 for details).

If one looks at independent pronouns, there is more room to argue for possible similarities. Table 2 does not include these; a summary of the essentials for Pr-AA is (/ divides masc. from fem. forms): Prefixes: 1 sg. *ank, ink,* 2 sg. *ntk/ntt,* 3 sg. *h, su/s, ti,* 1 pl. *nkn,* 2,3 pl. sg. + *m,n*; suffixes; 1 sg. *-ku,ni,* 2 sg. *kua, kai/ke, ki,* 3 sg. *su/t,* 1 pl. *n, mu.* One can find 1 sg. **k** and 2 sg. **n** herein, but the two are seen to be formatives of all 1st and 2nd person pronouns; they are not really markers of persons like the **k** and **n** of N-S. In fact, HODGE 1969 says that AA chose from a multitude of deictic elements in forming the pronouns of the various branches and that one of the oldest 1st-person elements might have been *w*!

See note 5 for a brief discussion of verbal classes. I will not go into details about possible similarities to Cushitic/Omotic as found in Table 2, since I think that the two are not distinctively different from the general Afrasian case, with one exception. This is the well known *ta/ne* pronouns of Omotic, referred to by MUKA-

ROVSKY and PETRÁČEK in their cited works. In my 1990a, b, I argue at length for these as being from Afrasian. There is nothing that I know of which would favor a (pre)historical proximity of Saharan and Omotic. However, a better case could be made for examining Egyptian, Berber, and Chadic, not found in Table 2, in more detail.

5.3 Summary of Niger-Kordofanian features: Table 3

As noted in 5 above, the table includes only four representative languages from the 1200 or so of Niger-Kordofanian, one each from the Kordofanian "half" and from each of the three main branches of the Congo "half".

Persons:	Kordofanian: Moro	Mande: Mende	Atlantic: Fula	Volta-Congo: Zande
1 sg. 2 sg. 3 sg. 1 pl. 2 pl. 3 pl.	i- a- ø- lʌ-, excl.ŋa- ŋa- l-	ngi, -a bi, -a i, -a mu, -a wu, -a ti, -a	mi ʔa ʔo meŋ ʔeŋ,excl.ʔon b'e	mi mo ko/ri, ni ani oni i-~ -yo
sg/pl				
TMA Past Pres. Fut. Prog.	all take ga-: -o -(i)a ~ -e -e, -i cont. gafo	pst. -(n)i prf. -(ŋg)a -lɔ =habit.	pret. -no prf. -i impf. -a potent. -t,-y	-a,immed.ni prf. ø indf. a -a cont. na
Aux. Classes				

5.3.1 Discussion of Table 3

With a phylum as vast as N-K, much more work is needed to fill in the many gaps in the table. Although a few points of resemblance can be found to N-S, the N-K systems seem to be nearly as distinct as those of Afrasian. In pronouns, note that Moro 1 sg. *i*/2 sg. *a* could be a "polarization" of N-S *a/i*. Zande 1 pl./2 pl. could also fit the N-S *a/o* pattern. I do not see any other plausible pattern agreements: there are the sporadic ones such as Zande 3 sg. *ko*, agreeing with Saharan and Kuliak 3 sg. *k*, or Mende 2 sg. *bi* and both Saharan and Kuliak 2 pl. *bi*, not shown in Table 1), but here chance is surely the strongest argument.

In TMA, there are also several agreements, e.g. Fula potential *t* (like N-S Fut. *t*), Moro Cont. *gafo* (with *g* as in N-S), Zande Past -*a*. But again these have the appearence of sporadicity. It is more interesting to compare within the N-K representatives, where Fula and Zande share pronouns with *m*- and also Past *ni*. In other words, it would be more fruitful to look for N-K characteristics than to compare with N-S at this point[6].

6. Conclusions

The exploratory study of verbal paradigms in Saharan and some other Nilo-Saharan languages was motivated by my appreciation of the work of our departed colleagues, Karel PETRÁČEK and Margaret BRYAN, and by some vague recollections of a feeling of familiarity induced in me by the verbal paradigms in some of the languages they investigated. I hope I have shown that there is a "Nilo-Saharanness" about the paradigms in question and that by comparison with Afrasian and Niger-Kordofanian, one can see that all three phyla have their own distinctive patterns. I do not mean here only typological considerations such as "block or interlocking" patterns as discussed by TUCKER & BRYAN (1966: 15-16) but genetically inherited patterns involving both form and substance. To conclude, Saharan belongs to Nilo-Saharan, not with either of the other phyla. One must look on this as another case of "normal science", where contactual influence is not just a peripheral consideration in language classification. Language mixture is the expected state of affairs (cf. THOMASON & KAUFMAN 1988). I refer here mainly to lexicon, to which I am turning in a major study of N-S lexicon.

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[6]But I do think that N-S and N-K are related at a deeper level as a vast "Niger-Kordofanian" (see GREGERSEN 1972 and BENDER 1981), a relationship which I think may become largely accepted within the next couple of decades.

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Palm oil with which Swahili words are eaten: Use of proverbs in modern Swahili literature:[1]

Elena BERTONCINI ZÚBKOVÁ

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, to establish the function of the proverb used in the title of a short story, a novel or a play with respect to the text of the literary work in question. Second, to describe the techniques by which the proverbs are linked to the narrative text.

After having examined many Swahili titles published in the past twenty years, I chose several collectons of short stories, plays, novelettes and novels whose title refers to a proverb. I excluded traditional tales, overtly didactic booklets and the like, as well as the titles discussed by Senkoro and Parker at the 5th Annual Conference of the African Literature Association in 1979.[2]

A proverb story is more likely a short narrative than a long one, though several plays and novelettes belong to this category.

Thus a collection of short stories by Alex Banzi, entitled *Tamaa mbele na hadithi nyingine* ("Desire in front and other stories", 1980), contains a narrative with the same title which illustrates the proverb *Tamaa mbele mauti nyuma* ("Desire in front, death behind")[1077].[3] It is a story of a government official who loses his job because he is a woman-chaser.

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[2] Carolyn Parker (1982) in her paper discussed the two volume collection of proverb stories by Suleiman O.S.Baalawy, *Hadithi za Bibi Maahira* and *Bibi Maahira tena* (1968-69). F.E.M.K.Senkoro (1982) discussed J.K.Kiimbila's collection of short stories entitled *Visa vya walimwengu* (1974) and some L.O.Omolo's novelettes of the "crime-does-not-pay" type, e.g. *Mtaka yote hukosa yote* (1968) and *Mwerevu hajinyoi* (1971). Senkoro criticizes these moralistic proverb stories because "The moral ideology in proverbs in the treatment of social issues is not sufficiently influential in changing the vile system of capitalism which is the real enemy of the down-trodden people." (p.63) He then concentrates his attention on two works: the novel *Kusadikika* by Shaaban Robert (1951), built on the proverb *Ng'ombe akivunjika guu malishoni hujikokota zizini kusaidiwa* ("When a cow gets hurt while grazing, it limps home for help"), and the satirical short story *Wali wa ndevu* by G.Tilumanywa (the pen-name of G.Ruhumbika), published in the collection *Parapanda* in 1974.

[3] The number in square brackets refer to Scheven's classification in *Swahili Proverbs*, Washington, D.C., 1981.

The four tiny volumes of the Longman's series *Hekaya za kuburudisha* ("Amusing stories") contain several such stories, and three of the volumes have for the title a proverb:

Mapenzi ni kikohozi [1297] ("Love is like a cough", i.e. it cannot be hidden).

Pavumapo palilie [373] ("Where there is a howling there was crying").

Kinywa jumba la maneno [1822] ("The mouth is the home of words").

The narratives in the first volume are linked by the theme of love, while the other two volumes contain each a story with the same title as the whole volume.

Pavumapo palilie, the story by F.H.Nassor, opens with the literal explanation of the proverb, followed by a simple tale in illustration and ends with the proverb repeated again as a message. The complete proverb is quoted and explained in the appendix of the booklet: *Pavumapo palilie, si kazi kudamirika* ("Where there is a boom, there can be a bust, things can fall apart easily").

In the short story *Kinywa jumba la maneno* by one A.A.Mohamed, the proverb is quoted only at the end, when the heroine, deceived by two men, says to herself:

(1) "*Looo! Ama wanaume, wengi wao ni waongo. Hawana tofauti, si mweupe si mweusi. Ama kweli: kinywa ni jumba la maneno.*" (p.75)

"Lo! As for the men, many of them are liars. There is no difference between the white and the black. Indeed: The mouth is the home of words."

From the volume *Mapenzi ni kikohozi* I have chosen a short story by the young Mohamed Suleiman, *Siku ya arobaini* ("The fortieth day"). The title alludes to the proverb *Mwizi siku zake arobaini* [1871] ("The days of a thief are forty", i.e. a thief is bound to be cought). It is a humorous narrative centred on a woman-chaser, Sadiki, who accepts a rendez-vous with an unknown lady, whom at the last moment he recognizes as his wife.

Though technically immature, it is the best story of the volume. Mohamed Suleiman displays here already his rich language and his capacity of creating, with a few strokes of pen, characters full of life. The only weakness is the heavy handed ending in which, explaining the obvious, the author becomes overtly moralistic:

(2) *Sadiki alinaswa mtegoni, kwani ile barua aliyokuwa ameletewa ilikuwa imetoka kwa mkewe mwenyewe, Bahati. Hadithi hii inatokana na ule msemo maarufu wa Kiswahili,* 'Mwizi siku zake arobaini'. (p.26)

Sadiki was caught in a trap, because the letter brought to him came from his very wife, Bahati. This story is based on the well-known Swahili saying, 'The days of a thief are forty'.

There are several examples of what may be defined as proverb plays. Graham Hyslop published two such plays both in Kiswahili and in English.

Mchimba kisima ("He who digs a pit", 1974) illustrates the proverb (quoted under the Swahili title and explained in the English version) *Mchimba kisima hutumbukia mwenyewe* [660] ("He who digs a pit will fall into it himself"). A dishonest clerk steals the money from an office safe and tries in vain to put the blame on a colleague.

In *Kulipa ni matanga* ("Paying back is mourning", 1975) Hyslop presents a group of three friends, each of whom is at the same time indebted to one of them and the creditor of another, and although each of them claims vehemently the restitution of his money, no-one is ready to pay his debt. So the proverb *Kukopa harusi, kulipa matanga* [293] ("Borrowing is a wedding, paying back is mourning") is followed rather closely.

The play *Wala mbivu* ("They who eat well cooked food", 1974) by Angelina Chogo illustrates the proverb *Mvumilivu hula mbivu* [1156] ("A patient man eats well cooked food"). It features the parents derided by their relatives and neighbours because they make sacrifices in order to pay for the schooling of their seven children; they are, however, well repaid once the children are educated.

Another good example of a proverb play is *Mla nawe hafi nawe* by David Mwachofi (1968), in which a rich brother, abandoned by his friend when he is attacked by hooligans, is saved by his poor brother whom he despised. The title is a part of the proverb *Mla nawe hafi nawe ila mzaliwa nawe* [252] ("The person who eats with you will not die with you, unless he was born together with you").

Mbio za sakafuni ("Running upon a flat roof", 1976) by A.F.Muslim features the girl Halima whom her parents forced to marry a suitor because of his weel paid job, only to convince her soon after the marriage to abandon her husband in order to marry a rich tradesman. Needless to say, Halima ends up eventually without a husband, regretting bitterly her experience and blaming her parents for their bad advice. The proverb in question in *Mbio za sakafuni huishia ukingoni* [1154] ("Running upon a flat roof will end at the brink").

Ng'ombe akivunjika mguu is a school play written by the students of Matunga Girl's Secondary School in Kenya (1975). This lively play illustrates the proverb *Ng'ombe akivunjika mguu hukimbilia zizini* [1489] ("When a cow breaks a leg, it goes back to the stable")[4] through the misfortunes of the girl Liz who, after various unlucky experiences in Nairobi, returns to the native village just in time to see her mother dying. The proverb is quoted at the end of the last but one act, when Liz has lost at the same time her job, her rented room and her boyfriend, and hence decides to return home:

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[4] See also SENKORO 1982:64. (Cf. Note 2.)

(3) *Nitafanya nini maskini? Heri nirudi nyumbani kwa baba na mama. Ulimwengu umenipiga. Kweli, ng'ombe akivunjika mguu malishoni, hujikokota zizini kusaidiwa.* (p.16)

What shall I do, poor me? It is better to return home to my father and my mother. The world has hurt me. Indeed, when a cow gets hurt while grazing, it limps home for help.

Completely different is the handling of the proverb in the play Lina ubani by Penina Muhando (1984). Its title alludes to the proverb *La kuvunda halina ubani* [1474] ("There is no incense strong enough to hide a bad smell"). The action is set in present-day Tanzania after the war with Uganda which brought further econo-mic strife to the country. The play opens with Bibi (Grandmother) bewailing her son killed in the war. She goes out of her senses from grief, thus her other son, Huila, takes her to his home in Dar es Salaam. Bibi does not understand the difficult situation of the country and accuses her daughter-in-law of denying her food and soap. Huila has troubles in work, too, because his corrupt boss interferes with his efforts to find an alternative source of power for Tanzania. Just before the decisive debate, Huila must give up because his mother is dying. ·

Apparently the ending is pessimistic because the efforts of the honest Huila cannot be realized, and the difficulties in the country do not diminish. But here the importance ot the title reveals itself. It is in fact the clue to the message of the play. For Penina does not allude to the proverb as it is, but she negates it: instead of *Halina ubani* she says *Lina ubani,* which can be freely translated as "There is a remedy", hence she believes that the situation can improve. That is what the story-teller (a character in the play) sings at the end:

(4) *Ngoma tutaicheza* We shall dance a ngoma
 Itakuwa ubani   It will be the incense
 Uvundo kutuondolea To rid us of the bed smell.
 La uvundo! Lina ubani! The bad smell! There is an
 (p.57-58)   incense!

At last, however, he admits:

(5) *Ubani wa uvundo* The incense for the bad smell
 Mie siujui.   I do not know it.
  (p.59)

Thus P.Muhando offers no easy solutions, but a hope. Anyway, her use of the proverb in this play is truly artistic, original and creative.

Some authors build a whole novel or novelette on a proverb. A typical case is Leo Odera Omolo with his educational novelettes discussed by Senkoro[5]. Here are some other examples:

Baada ya dhiki, faraja ("After distress comes relief") [1455] by J.S. Mushi (1969, 54 pp.) is situated in Tanganyika before the arrival of the Europeans. It narrates the vicissitudes of a family which, after much suffering in a tribal war, reaches a deserved state of well-being and the respect of the whole tribe.

Sikusikia la mkuu ("I did not listen to an elder's advice") by Sulemani Abedi (1980, 48 pp.) is a novelette alluding to the proverb *Asiyesikia la mkuu huvunjika guu* [119] ("He who does not listen to an elder's advice, breaks his leg"). The young Shaabani, wanting to avoid the drudgery of the rural life, flees to the city. He finds a work in an Indian shop, but, seduced by bad friends, takes a part in robbing his employer and is duly arrested.

Tamaa mbele mauti nyuma ("Desire in front, death behind"), the same proverb [1077] used in a collection of short stories by Alex Banzi, is also the title of a novelette by Japhet Charo (1981, 65 pp.). It is a fantasy story in which the hero is eventually killed by the jinns whom he previously used to get rich. So the story is a literal illustration of the proverb.

Dunia hadaa ("The world is deceitful", 1982, 75 pp.) by Hammie Rajab centres on a woman, Diana. During a month when her husband is absent, she is lured by her girlfriend away from her conjugal duties into the pleasures offered by other men. When her husband returns and she has a car accident, she repents, but it is too late. The title may refer to two proverbs: *Dunia hadaa ulimwengu shujaa* [2027A] ("The world is deceitful, the world is for the brave"), or rather *Dunia ina hadaa kiumbe jitunze* [2031] ("The world is deceitful, mortal be on your guard").

In the thriller *Jogoo la shamba* ("The country rooster") by Eddie Ganzel (1978, 70 pp.) the reference to the proverb is less straightforward than in the previous novelettes. It features a young and brilliant manager from Dodoma, Heri. When he arrives to Dar es Salaam, a large sum of money, belonging to his firm, is stolen from him. Instead of reporting the theft to the police, Heri tries to find the money himself, knowing that the culprits are a school-mate and his mistress. After two days of hard searching he finds the thieves, but is nearly killed by them. At the last minute a policeman comes to his rescue. The complete proverb to which the title refers, and hence the author's message, is *Jogoo la shamba hawiki mjini* [1637] ("The country rooster does not crow in town").

Now we shall discuss in some length the novel by H.C.Mbelwa *Donda ndugu* ("An incurable ulcer", 1973, 81 pp.), which refers to the proverb *Donda ndugu*

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[5] See Note 2.

laisha dawa [1093] ("An incurable ulcer finishes medicine", i.e. there is no sub-
stitute for loss or separation of a dearly beloved person). It tells the story of the
teacher Dadi who has no luck in love. During his assignment in the National
Service his wife Nakodya runs away, because they have no children. After years
of despair, he falls in love with the barmaid Ema, but he is soon transferred to a
distant town and Ema, believing that she has been abandoned, marries another
man. Eventually Dadi takes part in the liberation war in Mozambique, where he
meets his former wife shortly before she is killed. Before dying, Nakodya entrusts
Dadi with the care of her son and exhorts him to return to Ema as soon as Mozam-
bique is independent.

The novel consists of 17 chapters, nine of which use a proverb as their title:

Chapter 3 - *Donda ndugu* [1093] - tells about Dadi's suffering for his wife's
abandonment, his state of prostration, growing melancholy and indifference for all
women. The proverb itself is alluded to in the next chapter:

(6) *Pendo la Nakodya lilikuwa kama donda ndugu, ila badala ya donda
     kuwa mwilini pawezapo kusafishwa lilikuwa moyoni.* (p.17)
     The love for Nakodya was like an incurable ulcer, only, instead of the
     ulcer being on the body where it can be cleaned, it was in the heart.

Chapter 4 is entitled *Hakuna msiba usio na mwenzie* [1462] ("There is no
misfortune which has no companion", i.e. a misfortune seldom comes alone). This
proverb is quoted at the end of the chapter when Dadi meets Ema who has been
also abandoned by her husband. However, it is quoted with another meaning,
similar to the proverb *Kifo cha wengi ni arusi* [463] ("The dying of many is a
wedding", i.e. common suffering is easier to bear).

(7) *Dadi akaona furaha kuishi na Ema. Alitambua kuwa kumbe hakuna
     msiba usio na mwenzie.* (p.22)
     Dadi felt happy living with Ema. He realized that indeed there is no
     misfortune which has no companion.

Chapter 5 refers to the proverb *Ganda la mua la jana chungu kaona kivuno*
[1575] ("The peeling of yesterday's sugarcane is a harvest to the ant", i.e. some-
thing discarded by one may be very useful for another). It is quoted in the middle
of the chapter by Ema when Dadi offers to take care of her children who were
abandoned by their father.

(8) *Ema alifurahi mno kusikia kuwa Dadi alikuwa na hamu na watoto wake.
     Kweli hii ni ajabu. Alifikiri kuwa yeye aliachika kwa kuzaa leo akutana
     na bwana mpenda watoto. "Ama kweli ganda la mua la jana chungu
     kupata kivuno," aliwaza moyoni mwake.* (p.24)
     Ema was very pleased hearing that Dadi liked her children. This is really
     surprizing. She thought about her being abandoned because of her
     fertility, and today she meets a gentleman who loves children. "Indeed,

the peeling of yesterday's sugarcane is a harvest to the ant," she meditated in her heart.

Chapter 6 - *Asiye na bahati habahatishi* [769] ("One who is not fortunate, does not trust his luck"): Here Dadi is transferred to a distant town and must leave Ema behind, so the proverb in question should be rather *Asiye bahati habahatiki* ("An unlucky person never becomes lucky").

Chapter 9 refers to the proverb *Mbuzi wa maskini hazai pacha*[6] ("The goat of a poor man does not bear twins"). Dadi returns to Morogoro during his holidays, but he does not find Ema there. The information about what exactly happened is delayed to the next chapter, where also the proverb is quoted by the narrator:

(9) *Kama Waswahili wasemavyo, "Mbuzi wa maskini hazai pacha".*

(p.47)

As the Swahili say, "The goat of a poor man does not bear twins".
What happened is that a jealous colleague of Ema intercepted all Dadi's letters. Ema, pregnant with Dadi's child and believing that Dadi will never return to her, marries another suitor. During his holidays Dadi fails to find her.

Chapter 11 - *Palipo nia ipo njia* [402] ("Where there is a will there is a way"): At last Dadi succeeds in finding Ema and their little son, but they belong to another man.

Chapter 12 - *Mtegemea cha ndugu hufa maskini* ("He who depends on his brother will die poor"). This proverb, not listed in Scheven, is quoted and explained by the narrator together with another proverb when Dadi decides to do his best in order to obtain the custody of his little son.

(10) *Dadi alitambua kuwa mla nawe hafi nawe ila mzaliwa nawe [252].*
     Alitafakari mno na kulinganisha semi zote za wahenga kwamba ndugu
     akizaa, nawe uzae kwani: mtegemea cha ndugu hufa maskini. (p.59)
     Dadi realized that the person who eats with you will not die with you,
     unless he was born together with you. He thought it over and compared
     all the sayings of the elders which affirm that when your brother procreates, you should procreate, too, because he who depends on his brother
     will die poor.

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[6] The proverb is not listed in SCHEVEN 1981, but its meaning is similar to that, much longer, of *Kuku wa mkata hatagi, na angetaga haangui, na akiangua halei, na akilea hutwaliwa na mwewe* [1582]: "The hen of a poor man does not lay eggs, and even if she lays eggs, she never hatches, and if she hatches, she never rears the chicks, and when she rears, the chicks are taken by the hawk."

Chapter 14 - *Baada ya kisa mkasa* [6] ("After a reason, a happening", or "tit for tat") - tells how Ema's second husband abandons her after having legally lost her child. (The proverb is not repeated.)

In the chapter 15 - *Muungwana ni vitendo* [1363] ("A gentleman is judged by his actions") - Dadi joins the liberation army in Mozambique, FRELIMO. (The proverb is not quoted in the text.)

In sum, Mbelwa's novel is a good example of a complex handling of proverbs in a long narrative. The author created a novel built on a proverb in which, besides, single chapters parallel the metaphors of several different proverbs, and yet the novel does not lose its inner unity.

The most subtle handling of the proverb is found, however, in the two powerful novels *Kikulacho ki nguoni mwako* and *Dunia mti mkavu.*

The well-known proverb *Kikulacho ki nguoni mwako* [656] ("That which bites you is in your clothing", i.e. close family and friends can hurt a person most), is the title of the complex novel by Peter Ngare (1975) about the Mau Mau insurrection. The main character in the first part is Manga, a young intellectual just returned from medical studies in Europe, who refuses good employment in a hospital for white people, preferring to teach in his native village. He falls in love with Nyara, the only daughter of the catechist Yohana, collaborationist who has become the most powerful man in the region, but their love is brief. Yohana himself shoots Nyara in the dark, not recognizing her, and his daughter's death will make him still more cruel. He sends Manga to a concentration camp where he dies.

In the meantime Manga's sister-in-law Nunga loses in the war, one after another, all the members of her family: her parents, her brothers, her husband and her little son. She also is sent to a concentration camp, and while trying to escape, she loses the baby she has had with a white commandant who had raped her. On the eve of independence Nunga finally returns home, embittered but hoping to start over again. Soon, however, she realizes, disappointed, that those who are in command of independent Kenya are the same men who fought the Mau Mau insurrection.

This bitter disappointment is reminiscent of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's treatment of the Mau Mau theme. Ngare does not idealize the liberation struggle; in his book there are no good and bad soldiers. He shows, instead, the psychological effect of the uprising on individuals; the victims in the novel are innocent children or youth dying casually, thus demonstrating the absurdity of war.

The title, not repeated anywhere in the text, conveys the theme of the novel effectively, but not too overtly.

The last novel discussed here is *Dunia mti mkavu* ("The world is a dry tree") by Said Ahmed Mohamed (1980). It is situated in colonial Zanzibar and culmi-

nates with the first general strike of 1948. The main characters are a peasant, a docker, a thief and a police inspector. They all are sons of a poor man who was unable to bring them up. Without recognizing each other, all the brothers commit themselves to the strike and die during its bloody repression, under the eyes of their father, just released from the prison where he has served a fifteen-year sentence, inflicted upon him unjustly by his son.

Before the opening of the novel the author quotes the first stanza of a poem by the great Swahili poet Muyaka bin Haji (1776-1840) which begins with the proverb *Dunia mti mkavu, kiumbe usiuelemee* [2033] ("The world is a dry tree, mortal, do not rely on it"). S.A.Mohamed uses this quotation as a motto prefixed to the book for conveying its theme, as western writers do. Shaaban Robert used the proverb *Ng'ombe akivunjika guu...* ("When a cow breaks its leg...") the same way in his novel *Kusadikika,* as Senkoro pointed out.[7]

<div align="center">* * *</div>

Now we shall turn to the second purpose of this paper, describing the techniques by which the proverbs are linked to the narrative text. The most common way of introducing a proverb is to quote it entirely by the narrator or a character, preceded by an introductory phrase such as *Waswahili wasema* ("The Swahili say"), *Wahenga wasema* ("The elders say") or simply *Wasema* ("They say"), or else defining what follows as a saying or a proverb *(usemi, methali).*

(11) *Mara nyingi alijificha nyuma ya vitabu ili asionwe na watu, bali kama wahenga wasemavyo, 'Mwizi siku zake ni arobaini'.* [1871]

<div align="right">(Mbelwa 1973:11)</div>

Many times he hid himself in the library lest he should be seen by people, but, as the elders say, 'The days of a thief are forty'.

(12) *Wazee walisema 'Usikate mbeleko kabla ya mtoto kuzaliwa'.*

<div align="right">(Mkangi 1984)</div>

The elders said, 'Do not cut the mbeleko[8] before the baby is born.

(13) *Ema alijua fika methali isemayo: mtumikie kafiri upate mradi wako.* [1071]

<div align="right">(Mbelwa 1973:57)</div>

Ema knew well the proverb which says: serve even an unbeliever to attain your own ends.

(14) *Nilikumbuka msemo usemao kwamba mkuki humwua yule aliyeufua.*

<div align="right">(Kezilahabi 1974:90)</div>

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[7] See Note 2.

[8] *Mbeleko* is a piece of calico used by women for carrying a child on the back or hip while at work or walking. (JOHNSON 1939:82)

I remembered the saying which says that a spear pierces him who made it.

The proverb may be marked by quotation marks, italics or introduced by a colon, which emphasize its separation from the flow of the narration. On the other hand, when the proverb, or a part of it, is introduced into the discourse more smoothly, the aesthetic pleasure increases.

(15) *Hawa alijua kuwa "Dua la kuku halimpati mwewe".* [1409]

(King'ala 1984:29)

Hawa knew that "The prayer of the chicken does not reach the hawk".

(16) *Aliyesema kuwa kumwashia taa kipofu ni kupoteza mafuta* [855] *haku-kosea.*

(King'ala 1984:29)

He who said that to light a lamp for a blind person is waste of lamp-oil, was not wrong.

(17) *Alisahau kuwa jogoo wa shamba hangeweza kuwika mjini.* [1637]

(ibid.p.112)

He forgot that the country rooster could not crow in town.

(18) *Nje, alipokuwa kasimama mlangoni, Bwana Maksuudi alianza kubaini kwamba, kweli paka akiondoka panya hutawala.* [1427]

(S.A.Mohamed 1980a:42-3)

Outside, when he was standing at the door, Bwana Maksuudi began realizing that, indeed, when the cat goes away, mice reign.

Sometimes the author showers a passage with a whole cluster of proverbs, as in the above mentioned short story *Kinywa nyumba la maneno*[9], where the German parents of the white heroine Lucky-Bahati give her the following advices:

(19)   *Mama mtu, mwisho wa kumnasihi bintiye, alimwambia, "Mwana-ngu, siri ya mtungi iulize kata.* [1791] *Kumbuka kuwa: Werevu mwingi, mbele kiza* [511]; *na: Asiyesikia la mkuu, mwisho huvunjika guu* [419]. *Mungu akusaidia." Mama mtu alimaliza wasia wake, huku machozi yakimtoka.*

   Baba mtu kwa upande wake, alimsihi bintiye kwa kumwambia, "Mwanangu, dua baya haombolezewi mtoto, lakini labda mimi si baba yako - utarejea hapa hapa. Kwani, mwenda tezi na omo, hurejea nga-mani [370]. *Nenda salama."*

   Bahati, maneno yote haya, hivi sasa ndio kwanza anayasikia yaki-gonga masikio yake. Ndio kwanza anafahamu maana ya wasia ule. (...)

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[9] See the example (1). It was published in a volume with the same title in the Longman's series *Hekaya za kuburudisha* ("Amusing stories").

Bahati alikuwa akijuta. Lakini, majuto ni mjukuu [857]. *Maji yakishamwagika, hayazoleki* [1476].

(A.A.Mohamed, p.69)

Mother, ending with a series of good advice to her daughter, addressed her thus: "My daughter, ask the laddle the secret of the waterpot. Remember that much cunning is followed by darkness, and that he who does not listen to an elder's advice breaks his leg. May God help you." Mother ended her exhortation in tears.

As for father, he appealed to his daughter, telling her: "My daughter, one does not curse his own child, but perhaps I am not your father - you will return just here. Because, one who goes to bow and stern returns to the hold of the ship. Go in peace."

Only now Bahati hears all these words hammering her ears. Only now she understands the meaning of that exhortation. (...)

Bahati was regretting. However, regret is like a grandchild.[10] If water is split, it cannot be gathered up.

In this long excerpt some of the proverbs are spoken by the characters. In these cases, as Parker points out,[11] the narrative comes closest to representing an actual social context for proverb use. Here are some more examples of proverbs in dialogue:

(20) *"Aaaaa, linalobudi kuwa huwa Dora. Ingawa asiyekuwapo na lake halipo [60], tutaonana babu, pindi mwakani."*

(S.A.Mohamed 1980a:84)

"Aaaaa, what must be, is, Dora. Even if he who is absent loses his share, we'll meet again, my dear, some day or other."

(21) *"Leo ni leo," Ti akawa anajisemea.*
"Na asemaye ya kesho ni mwongo," Mtue akampokea.

(Mkangi 1984:34)

"Today is today," Ti was saying to herself.

"And he who speaks of tomorrow is a liar," Mtue agreed.

The later dialogue is based on the proverb [91], quoted almost literally: *Leo ni leo: asemaye kesho ni mwongo.* ("Today is today, he who says 'tomorrow' is a liar.")

In the following passage Kezilahabi shows the functional use of a proverb in traditional society:

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[10] I.e. it comes considerable time after the event.

[11] PARKER 1982:73.

(22)   *"Tuseme ukimtongoza msichana, naye akikwambia - bado u mtoto mdogo - utamwambiaje?" (...)*

"Mzee, sisi tulokulia shuleni hatufahamu lugha hii."

"Basi msichana akikwambia vile, wewe mjibu kwamba mtoto akililia wembe mpe." [744]

(Kezilahabi 1975:28)

"Supposing you are wooing a girl, if she tells you - you are still a small child - what will you tell her?" (...)

"Madam, we who have grown up in the school don't know this language."

"Well, if a girl tells you so, you just answer her, if a child cries for a razor give it to him."

In this episode an old woman teaches traditional wisdom to a modern youth, but the didactic element is well hidden in the lively dialogue.

A great appeal is conveyed by the instances in which the proverbs are paraphrased, alluded to or further developed, as in the following examples:

(23) *Mbio zake za sakafuni zilikuwa zimeishia ukingoni.* [1154]

(King'ala 1984:59)

Her running upon the roof had ended at the brink.

(24) *La muhimu ni kwamba, ukimchukua yeye kipeke yake, unaweza kumfananisha na kidole kimoja: nacho hakivunji chawa!*

(Mkangi 1984:79)

What is important is that if you take him alone, you may compare him with a single finger: and it does not kill a louse![12]

(25) *Ama kweli hasira hasara [181]. Maji sasa ndio yamekwisha mwagika, haiwezekani kuyazoa* [1476].

(Mwanga 1983:30)

But indeed, anger is loss. Water now has been split for sure, it is not possible to gather it up.

(26) *Bernadeta alikuwa amefunzwa na ulimwengu na sasa alikuwa msichana aliyeweza kuaminika.*   (Kezilahabi 1975:161)

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[12] The proverb referred to is *Kidole kimoja hakivunji chawa* [462] ("A single finger does not kill a louse").

Bernadeta had been taught by the world and now she was a girl that could be trusted.[13]

The following passage, on the other hand, is an instance of a further elaboration of the proverb [1064], which provides the explanation of its inner meaning.

(27) *Lakini Waswahili husema, 'Mkamia maji hayanywi'. Na kweli mzee Kimbarura hakuyanywa. Kwani japo siku zilipowadia mama Semgumba alimzalia mtoto wa kiume lakini alikuwa kilema.*

(Mung'ong'o 1980:17)

"But the Swahili say, 'He who fixes his mind overmuch on water will not drink it'. And indeed, mzee Kimbarura did not drink it. For, even if in due time mama Semgumba did bear him a son, he was lame.

In the next allusion the proverb [293][14] is modified: instead of borrowing, it is lending which is compared to a wedding.

(28) *Kwa wale waliokopesha, ilikuwa harusi; matanga yalikuwa kwa akina wale waliokopeshwa.*

(Mkangi 1984:2)

For those who were lending, it was a wedding; it was mourning for those who were borrowing.

Compare the example (12) with the following elaboration of the same proverb:

(29) *Hasira zake nyingi zilitokana na kukata kwake kwa mbeleko kabla ya mtoto kuzaliwa.*

(King'ala 1984:112)

His great anger was caused by having cut the mbeleko before the baby was born.

The following two excerpts refer to the proverb *Pilipili usozila zakuwashiani?* [374] ("Chilies which you have not eaten, how can they burn you?"). According to Scheven, this proverb is used when people take personal offence at others' grievances: why should you feel guilty for something you did not do? However, in our text the meaning refers rather to people who interfere with affairs that do not concern them.

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[13] This is an allusion to the proverb *Asiyefunzwa na mamaye, hufunzwa na ulimwengu* [1370] ("He who is not taught by his mother, hufunzwa na ulimwengu [1370] ("Who is not taught by his mother, will be taught by the world").

[14] The proverb in question is *Kukopa harusi, kulipa matanga* ("Borrowing is a wedding, paying back is mourning").

(30) *"Kwa nini ujiumize kichwa chako kujiuliza maswali kwa kitu*
    kisichokuhusu? Pilipili ziko shamba, wewe zakuwashiani?"

<div align="right">(Mwanga 1983:9)</div>

"Why do you hurt your head asking yourself questions about something
that does not concern you? Chilies are in the field, how can they burn
you?"

(31) *Alikuwa ameusikia mnong'ono wa watu wakimtaja lakini hakujali kwani*
    alijua kuwa walikuwa wakiwashwa na pilipili isiyokuwa midomoni
    mwao.

<div align="right">(King'ala 1984:35)</div>

She had heard a rumour of people whispering about her, but she did not
bother because she knew they were burnt by the chilies which were not
in their mouths.

Now compare the following two examples referring to the proverb Dua la
kuku halimpati mwewe [1409] ("The prayer of the chicken does not reach the
hawk").

(32) *"Dua lako ni la kuku, halitanipata hata kidogo."*

<div align="right">(Mdoe 1984:68)</div>

"Your prayer is that of a chicken, it will not reach me at all."

(33) *Yeye alikiona chama na harakati zake kama upuuzi tu, akaviita vyote*
    dua za kuku zisizompata mwewe.

<div align="right">(Mukajanga 1985:26)</div>

He considered the party and its struggles a mere nonsense and called
them all the prayers of the chicken that did not reach the hawk.

In an example by S.A.Mohamed a proverb is quoted and then developed in
the free indirect speech of a character.

(34) *Mara ya ngapi hii kakaake amemfukuza kwake, halafu amesema damu*
    nzito kuliko maji [1518]. *Damu nzito... si kuliko pesa!*

<div align="right">(S.A.Mohamed 1980a:76)</div>

How many times his brother chased him away from his home, and then
said blood is thicker than water. Blood is thick... but not thicker than
money!

Of course, the appeal of a proverb does not depend only on the techniques of
incorporating it to the narrative text, but also on its literary function. We may
discuss this point beginning with a passage about young girls seduced by old, rich
men, taken from the novel *Rosa Mistika,* in which two proverbs are quoted enti-
rely without other linking than juxtaposition, and yet the rhythm of the narration
is not interrupted. The proverbs are: *Mpiga ngumi ukutani huumiza mkonowe*
[186] ("He who strikes the wall with his fist hurts his hand") and *Inzi hatui juu ya*

damu ya simba [318] ("The fly does not settle on the lion's blood", i.e. even a wounded lion is dangerous). Their role in the passage is that of argumentation.

(35) *Wazee wa mabinti hawa, hawana la kusema. Watasema nini hali mku-bwa amekwisha penda? Mpiga ngumi ukuta hujiumiza mwenyewe. Kijana gani atawazungumzia wasichana hao? Nzi hatui juu ya damu ya simba.*

(Kezilahabi 1971:51)

The parents of those girls have nothing to say. What can they say since the boss has fallen in love? He who strikes the wall with his fist hurts himself. Which boy will talk to these girls? The fly does not settle on the lion's blood.

Here is another proverb used in a similar way: *Mavi ya kale hayanuki* [659] ("Old droppings do not stink", i.e. the bad part of the past is forgotten).

(36) *Maisha ya Tegemea mimi nilikuwa siyajali. (...) Ya zamani hayanuki.*

(Kezilahabi 1974:77)

I did not care about Tegemea's life. (...) Old droppings do not stink.

In the next excerpt from a M.Suleiman's short story a character advances an argument in favour of his reasoning, using a proverb skilfully woven into his speech.

(37) *"Pesa nnazo alhamdulillah. Lakini ziko mbali, na fimbo ya mbali haiuwi nyoka* [72] *- seuze kupata mtoto kama yule."*   (Suleiman 1978:28)

"As for the money, I've got it, Praise be to God. But it is far, and the stick which is far does not kill the snake - let alone to get a young girl like that."

A proverb may also offer an economic way of portraying a character, as is the case in the following two excerpts from Kezilahabi:

(38) *Kweli chombo kilichopikiwa samaki hakiachi kunuka vumba [1730]. Tegemea alikuwa bado Tegemea.*

(Kezilahabi 1974:81)

Indeed, a pot in which fish has been cooked keeps a fishy smell. Tege-mea was still Tegemea.

(39) *Kweli maskini akiokota almasi ataimeza, na ili kuhakikisha kwamba haitapotea, hatakwenda kujisaidia chooni.*[15] *Ndivyo Kapinga alivyokuwa. Baada ya kumwoa bibi yake, alimchunga sana.*

(Kezilahabi 1975:16-17)

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[15] This proverb is not listed in SCHEVEN.

Indeed, when a poor man finds by chance a diamond, he will swallow it, and to be sure that it does not get lost, he will not go to the lavatory. Kapinga was exactly like that. After having maried his wife, he watched over her very carefully.

<p align="center">* * *</p>

Which conclusion can we draw from all these examples? Alluding to an Arab saying, we may affirm that proverbs are salt of the traditional as well as of the modern Swahili literature. Their use, however, is only in part identical.

In traditional literature it is above all the didactic role of the proverb that is stressed, and the same didactic role is the main concern of many modern short stories, novelettes and plays.[16] However, as I excluded from my examination books for children and for newly literate adults, I did not come across narratives merely imitating the stereotyped pattern of oral proverb stories, which limit themselves to illustrate the meaning of the proverb of the title, often re-enacting it literally and with a heavy handed final moralizing.[17]

Therefore my impression is that proverbs in written prose fiction are always aesthetically appealing, even in second and third-rate popular novelettes. Probably the reason is that the proverbs themselves are beautiful: most of them contain in a nutshell a profound wisdom cast in a refined poetic language. While a literary text containing many maxims and other gnomic utterances may leave the reader with heavy and boring impression,[18] on the contrary, a shallow narrative may improve with an appropriate use of proverbs, since the proverbs are expressed in metaphors, playing in this regard a role similar to other forms of figurative speech.

Many Swahili writers are more concerned with the literary use of proverbs than with their didactic function, and so they highlight the beauty of the proverbs by placing them in an appropriate context. The proverbs may be quoted in a witty dialogue, in an inner monologue or in an authorial comment; moreover, they may be cited in full, woven into a sentence, alluded to, modified or further developed. Their function also may be manifold: e.g. that of argumentation, of conveying a quick portrayal of a character, or the main theme of a literary work. In all these cases the best Swahili writers achieve masterly stylistic effects.

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[16] Cf. e.g. Parker 1979, 1982 and Senkoro 1982.

[17] As Parker deplored in her discussion on Baalawy (1982).

[18] See, for instance, several passages in Shaaban Robert's prose works.

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The Semitic divine name *ʿaṯtar(-at-) and its possible Afroasiatic cognates.

Václav BLAŽEK

1. The Semitic divine name *ʿaṯtar(-at-) is known from Akkadian *ištaru*, later *ištartu* "goddess" (generic), *Eštar* "Inanna, the goddess of love"; "the planet Venus" (AHw I, p. 399; DJAKONOV 1982: 20-21); Eblaic *aš-dar* /ʿattar/ "Inanna" (KREBERNIK 1983: 31, n. 805); Ugaritic *ʿṯtr* m., *ʿṯtrt* f. /ʿattar(t-)/ divine names (SEGERT 1984: 197), interpreted as "morning star", resp. "evening star" (HEN-NINGER 1976:140-141), cf. also geographical name *Aš-tar-tu* (Segert); Phoenician *ʿštrt* "goddess of fertility and war"; Moabite (Meša-inscription) *ʿštr-kmš* (HEN-NINGER 1976: 144); OCanaanite *ʿaṯtart* > Egyptian (New Kingdom) *ʿstr(t)* "Astarte" (ZIMMERN 1915: 68; EG I: 227); Early Hebrew *ʿaštart* > Masoretic Hebrew *ʿaštéret* ~ *ʿaštóret* "the goddess of Sidonians", in Greek transcription *Astártē* (GESENIUS, BUHL 1921: 627; DOLGOPOLSKY 1988: 15); OAramaic *ʿtr* divine name (this name appears even among Amorite names from early 2nd mill.), Aramaic *ʿAttarsamīn* male deity "ʿAttar of heavens", in cuneiform transcription *A-tar-sa-ma-a-a-in*, connected by Assyrians with Dilbat "deity of the planet Venus" (HENNINGER 1976: 147-149), Syrian *ʿesterā*, Mandeic *ʿstira*, Palmyrian *Bôl ʿAstar* divine name (HENNINGER 1976: 147, 153, 156); Thamudic *ʿṯtr*; ESA *ʿṯtr* "a male deity" (CONTI ROSSINI 1931: 215), with certain connection to morning star jud-ging according to frequent composite *ʿṯtr šrqn*, where *šrqn* means "eastern" (HENNINGER 1976: 133; LUNDIN 1978: 37, n. 27.4; p. 40, n. 34.5; p. 44, n. 37.2-3); ?Arabic *ʿaṯ(t)ar-* with the meaning near to the theonym *Baʿl*, cf. the parallel texts of various authors: "what is watered by the sky and the fountains or is *ʿatarī*" (BOKHĀRĪ) vs. "what is watered by the sky and the fountains or is *Baʿl*" (MOWA-TTA) and some toponyms as the oasis in West Sirhan, named by Guarmani *etera* and by lady A. Blunt *iteri*, correctly *ʿatarī* or *ʿattarī* "belonging to *ʿattar*", or the place *attar*, described as a jungle haunt of lions (ROBERTSON SMITH 1984: 99-100, ftn. 2); Geez *ʿastar* "sky)", Tigre *ʿastär* "heaven", Amhara *astär* "star" (< Geez); Bilin *astär* "sky" is also of Ethio-Semitic origin (LESLAU 1987:73).

2. The internal Semitic etymology of this theonym is not clear. E.G. KREBERNIK (1983: 31, n. 805) supposes the infixation of *-t-* into the root √ʿtr "to be rich" known from Hebrew, Aramaic, ESA, Arabic (GESENIUS, BUHL 1921:626), follow-ed by the metathesis *ʿattar- > *ʿaṯtar*. The original meaning was "the god(dess) of fertility" by KREBERNIK. The semantical connection "god" vs. "rich" is plausi-ble, cf. the example from Indo-European: Slavic *bogъ* "god" vs. *bogatъ* "rich", or

Avestan *baγa-* "lord, god" vs. OIndic *bhagaḥ* "the good, welfare, luck" (POKORNY 1959:107).

3. On the other hand, HENNINGER (1976) demonstrates the possibility that the original meaning was "morning star", resp. "the deity of morning star", although he does not suppose his conclusions to be proved definitely.

The following data confirm just this point of view. DJAKONOV (1982: 20-21) analyses the Semitic **ᶜattar-* as the old composite. His projection on Afroasiatic level supposes the protoform **ᶜač-tr-*, but without any external evidence. Our material allows the analysis **ᶜattar-* "morning star" < **ᶜač-tar-* < **ᶜağtar-* < **ᶜağ-* "day/sun" + *tary-* "star/moon", consequently "day star". The used reconstructions are based on the following lexical material:

(1) AA **ᶜağ-* "day-light, sun"

? Egyptian (Greek) *ᶜḏ* "designation of sun" (EG I: 238) // Cushitic: (E) **ᶜaz-* "sun" > Somali Isaq (REINISCH) *ᶜadᵈeed* "sun" (LARAJASSE) *ᶜadᵈed* "rays of sun", pOromo **adu'* "sun" (HEINE 1981: 71). ? Konso (SMITH) *audidi*, Daseneč (SASSE) *'aazu* "sun", (FLEMING) *azo* "sun, day"; (S) Dahalo *'aḍo* "sun" (< Oromo?), Qwadza *aso* id., Asa *'ağet* id., *'ağota* "day", *'ağa* "sky", Mbugu *i-'azé* "sun", *m'azé* "day", *ma'azé* "fire" (EHRET 1980: 284 reconstructs **'ats'-* or **ᶜats'* "sun"; see also DOLGOPOL'SKIJ 1973: 300-301) Chadic: (W)?Hausa *gáğá-gár* "sun-light" (BARGERY; by STOLBOVA from **ᶜağ-*); ?South Bauči (Shimizu): Zaar Lusa *zàn*, Zeem *šèŋ* "sun"; (C) Margi (HOFFMANN by REUTT, KOGAN) *iğu* "god, sky"; Gude (KRAFT) *'ùsura* "sun"; Fali of Mubi (STRÜMPELL) *ussərā* id.; pKotoko **'ağuri* or *'ağuni*? "sun" > Buduma *āği*, Logone *sə*, Šoe *cir*, Gulfei *cir, se, sə* (all LUKAS), Affade (SEETZEN) *zü[cü]*, (LEBEUF) *cə*, Kuseri, Makari *su* (LEBEUF); (E) Kera (EBERT) *ğè* "day", Gadang-Sarwa (JUNGRAITHMAYR & SHIMIZU 1981: 256) *ğa* "sun", Tumak (CAPRILE) *nğā* "day".

(2) AA **tary-* "moon/star"

Cushitic: (N) Beḍawye (REINISCH) *teríg, terík*, pl. *tírga*, (ROPER) *térig, tírig*, pl. *térga* "moon; month", maybe borrowed into Ethio-Semitic: Zway (BENDER) *tərka*, (LESLAU) *tərqa*, Muher, Gogot *tärraqqa*, Aymellel *därraqqa*, Amhara *čäräqä* "moon", Harari *čäräqa*, Čaha *tänaqa* "light of moon" (LESLAU 1963: 52); (E) Arbore (BENDER) *-tera* in *uuzuke-tɛra* "star", *awa-tɛra* "sun" (HAYWARD quotes *húzzuk*, resp. *'awaté*, cf. also Elmolo by HEINE *áó-te'* "sun"), ? Omotic: (N) Dizoid (FLEMING): Maji *dara*, Šako *dərtn* "star", with unexplainable voiced *d-*; Berber **a-tar(y)-*, pl. **i-taryan* "star" > (E) Siwa, Sokna, Ghadames *iri*, Fodjaha *irī*; (S) Ghat *itri/itran*, Kel-Ui *iran* (pl.), Ahaggar, Ayr, Awlemidden *atri/itran*, Awlemidden also *atar/itaren*, Adghaq *atarr*, Sergu *eteri/eteran*, Taneslemt *atar, etar*; (W) Zenaga (BASSET) *ədəri/ḍeren*, (NICOLAS) *edəri*; (N) Semlal, Ntifa, Seghrušen, Gu-

rara, Mzab, Wargla, Nefusa *itri*, Wirra *itli*, Izayan *iṯli*, Rif, Snus, Šenwa, Šawiya, Qabyle *iṯri*, etc. id. (all MILITAREV), cf. especially (S) Ahaggar (FOUCAULD) *tatrit/titratin* "étoille brillante", *tatrit ta n tufat* "the planet Venus"; (N) Tlit *titrit-n-tifaut* "morning star" (WOELFEL 1955: 147); Chadic: (W) **tārya/tāyra* "moon" (STOLBOVA 1987: 166, n. 189) > pAngas **tari* > Angas *tār*, Sura *tár*, Montol *táyí*, Ankwe *tar* (all JUNGRAITHMAYR) Chip (KRAFT) *tər*; pNBauči **tira* > Warji, Pa'a *čira*, Kariya, Mburku, Miya *tir*, Siri *təri*, Jimbin *tira* (SKINNER); SBauči: Guruntum *tààrà*, Bolu, Geji *kyààdəl*, Dira *kyarè*, etc. (SHIMIZU), evidently from **ki-tarV*, see East Chadic; pBolewa **tarya* > Karekare *tàrái*, Kanakuru, Bolewa *téré*, Ngamo *tèrè*, Kirfi *tèré*, Galambu *cìirá*, Gera *tèrá*, Bele *tíré* (all SCHUH), Maha (NEWMAN & MA) *tarya*, Tangale (NEWMAN) *tere*; Ron: Bokkos *tùrè*, Fyer *tuwé* (JUNGRAITHMAYR); Ngizim *tɨra*, Bade *təlá-an* (both KRAFT); (C) Tera (MEEK) *tera*, (NEWMAN & MA) *ndərra*, Jara, Hina *ndərra*, Hona *indre* (all MEEK), Ga-'anda *ndìra*, Gabin *ndìrra*, Boka *ndìrà'a* (all KRAFT), Bana *tila*, Baza *dera, tirri* (both LUKAS), Higi Baza *tiřə*, Higi Kamale *tuřə*, Higi Ghye *tɨra*, Higi Futu *tuřo*, Fali Kiria *tiři*, Fali Gili *tiř* (all KRAFT), Kapsiki (DE COLOMBEL) *tərə*; Wandala (STRÜMPELL) *tīré*, (MOUCHET) *tre*, (KRAFT) *tɨre*, Paduko (MOUCHET) *tra*, Glavda *kìlà*, Nakatsa *kilâ*, Zeghwana *tilè*, Gava *tilà* (all KRAFT), Dghwede *tələ*, Guduf *təlà*, Yaghwatudaxa *tələ*, Tutu *tili*, Vemgo-Vizik *tirri* (WOLFF), Hidkala (LUKAS) *tri*, Truade *tile*, Alatataghwa *čelia* (BÜCHNER), Hide, Lamang *təre*; Mora *tərə*, Muktele *tla* (all DE COLOMBEL), Mofu-Gudur (BARRETEAU) *kîyá*, Mafa (="Matakam" by KRAFT) *kíyà*; Daba (KRAFT) *tìrà*, Hina *nterá, ntrā*, Gawar *tèrǎ*, Musgoi *tra* (all STRÜMPELL); Gidar (MOUCHET) *təla*; Muzgu (LUKAS) *tilē, telē, tle*, Muskum *kìlè*, Mogrum (=Vulum) *tlè*, Mbara *tílè* (all TOURNEUX); pKotoko **tadi* > Logone *tēdi*, Gulfei *tēde, tandung*, Šoe *tedü*, Kuseri *tēde* (all LUKAS), *ted(u)*, Makari *tedə*, Afade *tedi* (LEBEUF), *tedü* (SEETZEN); Masa (MOUCHET) *tílɛ*, (NEW-MAN) *til-la*, Lame (SACHNINE) *tēr*, (LUKAS) *cere*, (KRAFT) *čéř*, Kulung (LUKAS) *kiēla*, Dari (STRÜMPELL) *čě*, Peve *ce*, Banana *tìyèla*, Musey *til-na*, Misme Zime *ter* (all KRAFT); (E) Somrai (LUKAS) *dur*, Tumak (CAPRILE) *dər*, Sarwa (GREENBERG) *tile*; Nancere *kédera*, Gabri *kídere*, Dormo *kederé*, Kaba *kedere* (all LUKAS); Kera (EBERT) *kítír*, "Tuburi" *kedír, kidil*, Kwang (="Modgel") *kedír* (all LUKAS); Jegu (JUNGRAITHMAYR) *téré*, Mubi *tírí*; Mukulu *téerè*, Sokoro *dāla* (LUKAS).

4. The connection between "moon" and "star" is evident in more Chadic languages, e.g. (C) Boka *xəndɨrà'a* "star" vs. *ndìrà'a* "moon", Gabin *wəndirra* vs. *ndìrra*, Ga'anda *wəndìra* vs. *ndìra* (all KRAFT), Wandala (MOUCHET) *tərẓǫkwa* vs. *tre*, (KRAFT) *tuřyyèkwà* vs. *tire*, Musgu *trgageía* (RÖDER) vs. *tilē* (by other authors quoted by LUKAS), probably Bana (LUKAS) *tinda* vs. *tila* and esp. (W) SBauči: Guruntum (SHIMIZU) *šaatèri* "star" vs. *tààrā* "moon", where the first component part can be identified with SBauči root for "sun", cf. Zeem *šeŋ*, Zaar

Lusa *zàn*, etc. (see above: AA *ᶜ*aǧ- "sun, daylight"). If this analysis is correct we have here the perfect equivalent of the Semitic *ᶜ*aṭ-tar- with the hypothetical original meaning "morning star".

5. Conclusion: The external Afroasiatic data confirm the original astral semantics of the Semitic theonym *ᶜ*aṭtar(-at-), while the shift to the idea of fertility can be explained by the contamination with the similar root √ᶜtr "to be rich".

6. Accepting the presented etymology of the Semitic *ᶜ*aṭtar- "morning star (deity)" we would have to try to solve the following two problems:

(i) The AA *tary- "moon/star" has a suspiciously near parallels in Nilo-Saharan: Kunama, Ilit (BENDER) *teera*; Ingassana (LISTER) *turia'*; Dagu *tuluŋei* "moon"; Central Sudanic: Mangbetu *turu, tulu* "star" (GREENBERG 1963: 102, n. 76; p. 124, n. 66).

We can exclude probably the accidental coincidence. A common heritage from a single proto-language is improbable for an indigence of common lexicon and grammar features, too. And so the only plausible explanation stays borrowing. But the cardinal question: Who from who? introduces also the question of original homeland of Afroasiatic. The Nilo-Saharan source implicates the African localization of the AA homeland. The possibility of an internal etymology of Nilo-Saharan words resulting from the existence of such parallels like Kunama (REINISCH) *tēlā, tērā* "shine, light; moon" and *tēla, tēra* "to shine, to light", resp. ENilotic: Bari *tyer(ja)* "to shine" (GREENBERG 1963: 102), confirms this point of view. On the other hand, also the Afroasiatic "moon/star" can be etymologized on the basis of the similar semantical motivation, cf. EChadic: Mukulu (LUKAS) *tóoré* "light" and perhaps Egyptian (late) *st'* "to light" with causative prefix *s-* (EG IV, p. 333). And so the question of the origin, resp. the direction of borrowing, stays open.

(ii) Some authors suppose, the Semitic *ᶜ*aṭtar- "morning star (deity)" was borrowed into IE as *Haster- "star" (ZIMMERN 1915: 68; ILLIČ-SVITYČ 1964: 6-7; GAMKRELIDZE & IVANOV 1984: 686). Others reject any connection on the basis of an internal etymology of the IE word, e.g. SCHRADER & NEHRING 1929: 481: "spilt on heaven" from *ster- "to spill", see POKORNY 1959: 1029-1030; PÂRVULASCU 1977: 47: *"fixed (star)" from *ster- "fixed, stiff", see POKORNY 1959: 1022, or BOMHARD 1986: 191-192: *Hs-tér- "the burning, glowing, shining thing or object". DJAKONOV (1982: 20-21) even supposes the opposite direction of the borrowing, from IE into Semitic.

The definitive solution is probably still far, but it is important to register the IE parallels without initial *(Ha)s-: OIndic *tārah* "stars", *t̥rbhih* "ray", Greek *teírea* "celestial sign, constellation", *téras* "augur sign" (MAYRHOFER I, pp. 497, 524). They can confirm the idea of a composed structure of the IE "star", parallel with Semitic.

Abbreviations: AA Afroasiatic, C Central, E East, ESA Epigraphic South Arabian, IE Indo-European, O Old, p proto-, S South, W West.

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About an Expression in *Sayf-i Sarāyī's*
Mamluk-Kipchak Translation of
Saʿdī's Gulistān

András J.E. BODROGLIGETI

In the sixteenth issue of the *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, the Journal of the Research Institute for Turkish Culture, O.F. SERTKAYA published an article on the interpretation of an idiom in *Sayf-i Sarāyī's* translation of SAʿDĪ'S *Gulistān*.[1] Claiming that the idiom in question has not been properly explained by previous editors of this document, the eminent Turkish philologist suggests that the sentence 14r: 11-13[2] should be read as follows: *al-qiṣṣa, ol oġlan on beš yašïna yetti isä, ol maḥallada ne kim azġarur nuṭṭārï bar edi barčasï munung qatïna keldilär*, His Turkish translation[3] is: *"el-kıssa: o oğlan on beş yaşına ulaştığı zaman, o mahallede ne kadar azdırıcı (yoldan çıkarıcı) serseri var idi, hepsi bunun (onbeş yaşındaki oğlanın) huzuruna geldiler"*. SERTKAYA'S contribution to this interpretation is the word *nuṭṭārï*, the grapheme for which had been read as *nuẓẓārï* from *nuẓẓār* 'spectators', with a possessive suffix in my edition,[4] or *qaṭārï ~ qiṭārï* in KARAMANLIOĞLU'S edition.[5]

SERTKAYA'S venture to shed light on this dark spot of Sayf's Gulistān was a welcome event since previous interpretations, for one reason or another, were not fully satisfactory. I was never entirely pleased with my solution for this enigmatic

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[1] Dr. Osman F. SERTKAYA, *Saraylı Seyf'in Kipçakça Gülistan tercümesindeki bir ibare üzerine*. Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları. XVI (1977-78), pp. 225-229.

[2] Not p. 146 as SERTKAYA indicates under his facsimile sample.

[3] His Turkish translation in English is: 'In short, when that boy reached the age of fifteen, all the corrupting (diverting from the right path) vagabonds that were in that quarter, came into his (the fifteen year old boy's) presence.'

[4] A. BODROGLIGETI, A Fourteenth Century Turkic Translation of Saʿdī's Gulistān. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969.

[5] A.F. KARAMANLIOĞLU, Seyf-i Serâyî Gülistan Tercümesi (Kitâb Gülistân bi't-türkî). Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1978. Reprint, expanded with KARAMANLIOĞLU's article from *Türkiyat Mecmuası* XV (see note 26 below) and a neatly reproduced facsimile (again, a few pages are not in the proper sequence!) of the Leiden manuscript, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989.

sentence and, as I see from his note,[6] KARAMANLIOĞLU was also somewhat sceptical about his own interpretation. What particularly disturbed me was that the manuscript, even in UZLUK'S edition,[7] was clear and easily readable and the script, simple and vocalized.[8] Yet, to make sense of the graphemes involved, concessions or "corrections" had to be made in the orthography: For the reading *nuzzārï* I had to presume that the copyist omitted the dot over the radical *t* and that the final -*ï* was a possessive suffix in a rather rare, emphatic function. For *qitārï* or *qatarï*,[9] on the other hand, KARAMANLIOĞLU had to assume that the scribe used an initial *nūn* instead of a *qāf*,[10] although he did not note that, the final -*ï* was a problem also in his reading. Such speculations cast doubt on the proposed interpretations. It was, understandably, with great interest that, during a visit to Istanbul in the seventies, I listened to SERTKAYA'S proposal for a new reading and interpretation of this critical sentence. He failed to convince me, mainly because he employed the same method of "correcting" the scribe and twisting the grammar and semantics of words and phrases. I had, however, nothing better to offer at that time. Soon after our meeting, Sertkaya published his views in the five-page article mentioned above.

Now, twelve years later, working on the second, revised edition (with an English translation this time) of SAYF'S *Gulistān bi't-turkī*, I decided to take a new look at lines 14r: 8-13 and take issue with SERTKAYA'S interpretation.

The Turkish scholar says, instead of *nuzzārï* or *qitārï*, we should read *nuttārï*. This reading, indeed, comes very close to the Arabic grapheme, except that there is no *tashdīd* over the second radical *t* and the diacritic *damma* is not in the right position of indicating the vowel that follows the *nūn*. In addition, the final -*ï* must

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[6] Pp. 179-180, note 18 in the Istanbul edition.

[7] F.N. UZLUK, Seyfi Serâyî Gulistan Tercümesi, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Publications, 1954, pp. XVIII + 372.

[8] SERTKAYA blames UZLUK'S *"berbat"* ('dreadful') facsimile edition for his former teacher's as well as for his American colleague's inability to decipher this phrase (p. 228). I believe, Feridun Nafiz UZLUK, the great lover and promoter of Classical Turkish literature, deserves credit and appreciation for his Gulistan edition which brought this invaluable document into the arena of international scholarship. We, on the other hand, do not deserve SERTKAYA'S excuse because the facsimile we worked with was readable. We were simply not ready for some of the secrets of Sayf's masterpiece.

[9] *Qitār* is Arabic or Ottoman, *qatār* is Modern Turkish.

[10] This is not an unrealistic assumption. Writing *t*- or *n*- for initial *q*- belongs to the characteristic errors scribes make.

still be accounted for. He refers to REDHOUSE'S [11] *nāṭir* that has several plural forms, one of them being *nuṭṭār*. As a definition, SERTKAYA lists the meanings REDHOUSE gives: 1. 'A watchman, keeper of a vinyard or orchard'. 2. T. 'A keeper of a public bath'. Most Arabic dictionaries (KAZIMIRSKI DE BIBERSTEIN,[12] FREYTAG,[13] LANE[14]) support the first meaning. The second, which REDHOUSE marks as Turkish (i.e., Ottoman), occurs in AL-BUSTĀNĪ'S *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*,[15] quoted by DOZY[16] (II, 691a). Nothing in these sources entitles us to conclude that *nuṭṭār* was used in a pejorative sense to describe a group of vagabonds or low-class individuals.

Thus the first difficulty in SERTKAYA'S solution is semantic, both in the Persian lexicon and in the context of SAʿDĪ'S story.[17] *Nuṭṭār* in SAYF'S *Gulistān* should be the equivalent of *avbāš* or *avbāš-i maḥalla* in SAʿDĪ'S text. *Avbāš*, however, has nothing to do with keepers of vineyards and orchards, or keepers of public baths. The Teheran edition of the *Burhān-i Qāṭiʿ* [18] explains it as *"mardum-i ʿāmī-i hēč nafahmīda bē sar u pā, ʿalaf va bar sar-i hwad va mutaʿassib"* (p. 130b) 'ignorant, unintelligent, destitute, mean, stubborn, and bigoted people'. The Cairo edition[19] translates it as *"söze gelmez ve söz diñlemez ʿāmī ve cuhūl ve müteʿassib ve yosma ve levend"* (p. 83) 'not worthy of being mentioned, not listening [to good advice], lowly, extremely ignorant, bigoted, stupid and good-for-nothing'. VULLERS[20] gives the following definition: *"homo ex plebe, rudis, miser, otiosus et erro; pertinax, obstinatus"* (I, 139) 'a person from the common

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[11] J.W. REDHOUSE, A Turkish and English Lexicon. Constantinople: H. Matteosian, 1921.

[12] A. KAZIMIRSKI DE BIBERSTEIN, Dictionnaire Arabe-Français. Vol. 1-2. Paris Maisonneuve et Cie, 1960.

[13] G.W. FREYTAG, Lexicon Arabico-Latinum. Vol. 1-4. Halis Saxonum: C.A. Schwetschke et filii, 1830.

[14] E.W. LANE, An Arabic-English Lexicon. Vol. 1-8. London, 1863-93. Reprint, Beirut: Librarie du Liban 1968.

[15] Butrus AL-BUSTĀNĪ, *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*. Vol. 1-2. Beirut, 1286 (1869/70).

[16] J. DOZY, Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes. Vol. 1-2. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1881. Reprint, Beyrouth, Librarie du Liban, 1968.

[17] Chapter I, On the Nature of Kings, No. 4.

[18] Muhammad Ḥusayn bin Ḥalaf-i Tabrīzī, *Burhān-i Qāṭiʿ*. Teheran: Chāpkhāne-i Tabān, 1341 A.H.

[19] Cairo, 1251 A.H.

[20] I.A. VULLERS, Lexicon Persico-Latinum. Bonnae ad Rhenum: Impensis Adolphi Marci, 1955

people, rough, destitute, lazy and vagabond, pigheaded, stubborn'. STEINGASS[21] defines it as 'the common people, the mob; ruffians, mixed multitudes of every class' (118a). These sources do not allow us to make any semantic connection between SAʿDĪ'S *avbāš* and Ar. *nuttār*.

Another lexico-semantic difficulty with *nuttār* is that *avbāš*, as in the *Gulistān*, generally occurs as part of the phrase *avbāš-i mahallat* 'the lowly people of the district', indicating a class or a layer of the community, rather than people of the same occupation. KALEKIAN, in his dictionary,[22] lists *avbāš-i mahalla* as "les mauvais sujets du quartier" (p. 170). NĀCĪ,[23] after defining *avbāš* as "laubali, terbiyesiz, çapkın takımı " ('a group of good-for-nothing, uneducated, dissolute people'), adds the phrase *avbāš-i mahalla*. In poetry *avbāš* would also occur with the word *maykada* 'tavern', e.g., in FUZŪLĪ'S *Mayl-i mascid mi edär maykadalar avbāšï* (quoted by NĀCĪ, p. 133a) 'Is it, perhaps, that the lowly people of the tavern would love to go to the mosque?'.[24] *Nuttār*, or any of its plural variants, does not seem to occur in a collective sense to indicate a social group or class.

In SAʿDĪ'S story some ruffians get in touch with a young man in the Sultan's court and talk him into joining them as their leader. He happens to be a former bandit who, together with his father, was captured by the Sultan's men. His father was executed but he himself was pardoned through the intercession of one of the Sultan's viziers. He accepts the brigands' offer and takes over the position his father had in the mountains. The keepers of vinyards and orchards or the keepers of public baths do not fit the role of these ruffians. Why would they leave their jobs, congregate in large numbers around the former bandit's son, rob the Sultan's palace, and kill the good-hearted vizier upon whose intercession the young man's

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[21] F. STEINGASS, A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1892.

[22] D. KALEKIAN, Dictionnaire Turc-Français. Constantinople: Imprimerie Mihran, 1911.

[23] Muʿallim NĀCĪ, *Lugat-i Nācī*. Istanbul: ʿAsr Matbaʿası, no date. Facsimile edition, with an introduction by F. TIMURTAŞ, Istanbul: Cağrı Yayınları, 1978.

[24] The word *avbāš* occurs also in Yūsuf Amīrī's *Bang u Čagïr* ('The Hashish and the Wine'). At the beginning of the contest Wine concludes his introductory speech by saying: *Va men avbāš islāhï bilän ol ʿallāmaē dur men kim harābātïlar mäning qašïmda tacrīd šarhïn oqurlar* (332v: 5-6). 'And in reforming the rabble I am so skilled that [even] the frequenters of taverns, when I am there, [return to the right path so completely that they] recite the Commentary on *Tajrid* (i.e., they profess complete disengagement from worldly things).' NAVĀĪ used *avbāš* in the sense of 'evil, hooligan, bandit, an unruly person' in *Laylī va Macnūn*, and in *Hayratu 'l-abrār*. (Cf. FAZYLOV, and others, Алишер Навоий асарлари тилининг изохли луғати. Vol. 1. Tashkent: Ўзбекистон ССР "ФАН" нашриёти, 1983, p. 27.)

life was spared? Unless they were brigands themselves. Indeed, SERTKAYA attributes to the term *nuṭṭār* an entirely new meaning: *"natırlar, sağda solda dolaşan, başıboş kişi, ipsiz takımı, serseri, külhanbey"* (p. 229) (*'natirs*, empty-headed people aimlessly wandering in all directions, a gang of vagabonds, vagrants, rowdy individuals') in order to reconcile the socio-semantic discrepancies of his interpretation. Unfortunately, this unusual extension of the semantic field of *nuṭṭār* is nowhere attested. SERTKAYA was aware of that. He, however, justified these meanings for *nuṭṭār* by semantically equating this word with SAʿDĪ'S *ṭāʿifaē az avbāš-i maḥallat* or *ṭāʿifa-i avbāš-i maḥallat*. In other words, his argument - the only one he presents - for the meaning he suggested is that since *nuṭṭār* in SAYF'S translation stands for a Persian phrase that conveys these meanings it must also have the same meanings: an unusual semantic expansion even if the word in question is *nuṭṭār*, which, as I see it, is not the case.

Before we decide what, in fact, that word is, let us consider the first part of SAYF'S intriguing phrase which SERTKAYA reads as *azǧarur* and translates as *"azdırıcı, yoldan çıkarıcı"* (p. 229) ('the one who leads astray, diverts one from the right path'). In doing so he admittedly follows my edition of SAYF'S text,[25] a vote of confidence on his part that, it turns out, I did not deserve. For much as the grapheme lends itself to being interpreted as *azǧarur*, it was only with some concessions - again - that we arrived at that form: We had to presume that the scribe had omitted the dot over the *ghain* and put one above the final *re*.

Now I suggest that we abandon the reading of *azǧarur*, tempting solution though it was. Along with it we will, of course, give up the convenience of an *-r* participle (for which SERTKAYA refers us to KARAMANLIOĞLU'S article in the *Türkiyat Mecmuası*)[26] that modified the ensuing noun and together with it fit propery into the grammatical frame of *ne kim ... bar edi*. Instead of a structure of modification we will complete that frame with two nouns in the singular joined by a hyphen, of the type *oğul-qïz* 'children', *ata-ana* 'parents'. Before we do so, however, I propose that we exempt the *nuṭṭār*, the brave "keepers of vinyards, orchards, and public baths" from the charges of diverting the young courtier from the right path and killing the good-hearted vizier. We must rather put the blame on

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[25] SERTKAYA explains that it was in fact KARAMANLIOĞLU who borrowed this word from my edition: "After BODROGLIGETI'S edition, KARAMANLIOĞLU changed the phrase he had read as *ez'arun kıtarı* to *azǧarur katarı*" (p. 227) and refers to note 18 in the posthumous edition.

[26] A.F. KARAMANLIOĞLU, *"Seyf-i Serâyî'nin Gulistan tercümesinin dil hususiyetleri"*, Türkiyat Mecmuası XV (1968), pp. 75-126.

the *az͏ʿarus* and the *zuntārīs* of all kinds in the district, infamous counterparts of the *avbāš-i mahallat*.

To find the proper solution we must simply "read" what is in the text, without concessions and corrections. In fact, reading the ominous phrase was never a problem as KARAMANLIOĞLU also pointed out. The "difficulty" was in identifying the obvious readings in Persian or Arabic lexical sources and in establishing their proper grammatical function.

KARAMANLIOĞLU read the first element of the phrase as *ez'ar* and identified it in AhTARĪ'S dictionary[27] as "*gaddar, zâlim*" ('traitor, tyrant'), and in BE-LOT'S[28] as "*hırsız*" ('thief'). The second element looked like *zuntarı* to him. Since, however, he was not able to find such a word in Arabic dictionaries, he read *kıtarı* (i.e., *qitārı*) instead and explained it as *katarı*, i.e., Ottoman *qaṭār* 'string, file, train (of animals, carts, and so on)' and the possessive suffix *-ı*. According to him the two words in question formed a possessive structure. To accomodate this grammatical frame he suggested that we take *ez'ar* in its plural form (!) as *ez'arūn* (sic!) 'thieves'. In this fashion *ez'arun kıtarı* 'the file or train of thieves' could be the equivalent of SAʿDĪ'S *ṭāʿifa-i avbāš-i mahallat*.

The first difficulty with KARAMANLIOĞLU'S phrase is that the plural of *az͏ʿaru* is *zuʿr* or *zuʿrān* as DOZY indicates on the authority of the *Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ* (I, 592b). The word *ez'arun* (KARAMANLIOĞLU probably meant **az͏ʿarūn*) as a plural form of *az͏ʿaru* is not known. The second difficulty is semantic. The word T. *qaṭār* (< Ar. *qitār*) indicating 'a train, string, or file of animals or things' is not used for humans, not even for people moving in single file one after the other.[29] The most elementary problem with this word, however, is that the equivalent grapheme in the original clearly begins with a *nūn* and not with a *qāf*. It is obvious that the phrase *ez'arun kıtarı* is not the solution we are looking for.

The solution I recommend is that we accept the second part of the phrase to be what it looks like, i.e., *zuntārī* for which a place in RASHIDU'DĪN'S *Cāmiʿu 't-*

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[27] Karahısarlı Mustafa b. Şemseddin AHTERI, *Ahteri-i kebir*. Istanbul, 1242 (1823/27).

[28] P.J.-P. BELOT, Vocabulaire arabe-français à l'usage des étudiants. Beyrouth: Imprimerie catholique, 1899. Interestingly, in his French-Arabic dictionary (Dictionnaire français-arabe. Beyrouth: Imprimerie catholique, 1928) BELOT does not include *az͏ʿaru* among the definitions of 'voleur' (p. 1598a) or 'larron' (p. 739).

[29] Shaybānī KHĀN'S *Risāla-i Maʿārif* uses the phrase *bir bir mang-* 'to walk in single file' (15r: 5) to convey that meaning.

tavārīḫ[30] could be enlightening. In the chapter about some disturbances in Bagdad we read: *va dar ān miyāna-i ḥādiṣa zanāṭira, cumrīyān, va runūd va avbāš dast-i taṭāvul va istīlā darāz kardand va har rōz ḥalqīrā bēgunāh mīsitadand.* (p. 226). 'And in the very middle of the disaster, troublemakers, rebels, ruffians, and hoodlums manifested in excess their arrogance and domination and seized some innocent people every day'. QUATREMÈRE, in his text edition, adds the following note to this word:[31] "Le mot pluriel *zanāṭirat*, don't j'ignore l'origine, désignait une classe d'habitants de Bagdad, probablement des gens remuants et amateurs de troubles". He also quotes two places two places form the *Kitāb ar-raudatain*[32] where *zanāṭirat* occurs alongside with *ahdāṣ* 'youths, young people'. DOZY lists QUATREMÈRE'S data under the singular *zunṭārī* without any comments (I, p. 607a). For the singular *zunṭārī* he refers to SCHIAPARELLI'S Arab-Latin and Latin-Arab Vocabulary[33] which includes this word as the Arabic equivalent of Latin '*strenuus*' ('strong', 'forceful').

SAYF'S *zunṭārī* indicates one individual from the class of *zanāṭira*. His reason for using the singular instead of the plural lies in the phrase structure he selected. To express an all-inclusive, generalizing meaning ("all kinds of", "of all kinds") he employs two singular nouns in a word pair combination such as CHAТАGAY *faqīr-miskīn* 'all kinds of needy people' (RM[34] 3r: 7), or Modern Uzbek *oziq-ovqat* 'provision' (< 'all kinds of food') (RESHETOV,[35] p. 94). The phrase *aẓᶜaru-zunṭārī*, by its Turkish structure, conveys the idea of 'all kinds of thieves and troublemakers'.

On these considerations I propose that we read SAYF'S sentence 14v: 11-13 as *al-qiṣṣa, ol oğlan on-beš yašïna yetti esä, ol* (12) *maḥallada ne kim aẓᶜaru-*

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[30] É. QUATREMÈRE, *Raschid-eldin, Histoire des Mongols de la Perse.* Texte Persan, publié, traduit en français. Paris, 1836. Reprint, Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1968.

[31] The French text in English is: 'The word in plural, *zanāṭirat*, the origin of which I do not know, designates a class of the inhabitants of Bagdad, probably some unruly people inclined to cause troubles (p. 226, note 68).

[32] Šihābu'd-dīn AL-MUQADDASĪ, *Kitāb ar-raudatain fī ta'rīḫ ad-daulatain.* Vol. 1-2. Cairo: Matbaᶜat Vādī an-Nīl, 1287/88 A.H.

[33] M. SCHIAPARELLI, Vocabulista in arabico pubblic. Florence, 1871. A thirteenth century Arab-Latin and Latin-Arab Vocabulary by Raymond MARTIN.

[34] Muhammad Shaybānī Khān's *Risāla-i Maᶜārif.* MS British Museum, Or. 12, 956.

[35] V.V. RESHETOV, Основы фонетики, морфологии и синтаксиса узбекского языка. Tashkent: Государственное издателъство "Средняя и Высшая Школа" УзССР, 1961 & 141 жуфт отлап ('noun pairs'). pp. 94-95.

zunṭārī bar edi, barčasï (13) *munung qatïna keldilär* and translate it as 'In short, as soon as that young man reached the age of fifteen, the thieves and troublemakers of all kinds that were in that district, all came into his presence.'

Das "Gebrochene" Femininum des Semitohamitischen

Gerhard BÖHM

§ 1. Wir dürfen davon ausgehen, daß der semitohamitische Sprachstamm schon ursprünglich die Einteilung der Nomina nach dem grammatischen Geschlecht und im besondern die Bezeichnung des femininen Genus vermittels einer Endung -*t* gekannt hat. Wir führen dieses Femininzeichen, wie es uns noch gegenwärtig im Semitischen, Berberischen, Bedauje (nur restweise in andern Kuschitensprachen) und Ägyptischen als lebendiges Element der nominalen Morphologie begegnet, auf ein ursprünglich in determinierendem und zugleich substantivisch begriffsbildendem Sinne dem an sich unveränderten nominalen Stamm angefügtes Geschlechtspronomen **ti* (welchem übrigens ein Masculinum **kpu* gegenübersteht) zurück;[1] daher wollen wir diese Art und Weise der Femininbildung eine - in bezug auf die Stammesbildung, bei welcher ein Flexionsvorgang in die Stammesbildung des Nomens eingreift, eine "innere" heißen (analog der Gegenüberstellung "äußerer" und "innerer" Pluralbildung). - Eine solche zeigt sich an den folgenden Formenpaaren aus dem Arabischen:[2]

a) Femininform auf -*ā'#* (mit diptotischer Deklination)

    m. '*af'al#*: f.*fa͑lā'#* Adjektiva für Farben und körperlichen Eigenschaften (z.B. *azraq.u : zarqā'.u* 'blau', '*a͑uar.u : ͑aurā'.u* 'einäugig' u.dgl.);

    vgl. **pl.** *fu͑alā'#* zu **sg.** *fa͑īl#* oder *fā͑il#*,

    pl. '*af'ilā'#* zu sg. *fa͑īl#*.

b) Femininform auf -*ā* [Alif maqsūra] (undeklinierbar):

    m. '*af'al* : f. *fu͑lā* Steigerungsform der Adjektiven (z.B. '*ahsan.u : husnā* '(der/die) schönst(e)' u.dgl.), ebenso '*ahad.u : 'ihdā* 'ein';

    m. *fa͑lān#* : f. *fa͑lā* (oder *fa͑lā'#*) (z.B. *sakrān.u : sakrā* 'betrunken');

    vgl. **pl.** *f^a/_i͑lā* zu **sg.** *fa͑lān#*, '*af'al#* u.a.,

    pl. *fa͑ālā* zu **sg.** m. *fa͑lān#* : f. *fa͑lā'#* u.a.

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[1] S. G. BÖHM: Die Sprache der Aithiopen im Lande Kusch. Wien, 1988. S. 95 ff. - "Rekonstruktion des semitohamitischen Stativs in tschadischen Sprachen". Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blätter I, 1989, S. 52-64.

[2] Vgl. C. BROCKELMANN: Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen. I. Band. Berlin, 1908. S. 410 ff. - W. WRIGHT: A grammar of the Arabic language. I. Band. Cambridge, 1896. S. 184 f., 218 ff.

Den unter **a)** vorgeführten Flexionsvorgang, welcher wesentlich durch das Einfügen eines Morphems -*ā'*- gekennzeichnet ist, bezeichnen wir als flexivische "Brechung" und nennen darnach die so gebildete Form das "gebrochene" Femininum.

§ 2. Die Adjektiva der Formen m. *'afal#* : f. *fa^{c}lā'#* stellen neben den weitaus zahlreichen Verbaladjektiven und den denominalen nisbischen Adjektiven eine Klasse ursprünglicher Eigenschaftsnomina dar: die zugehörigen Eigenschaftsverba des IX. Stammes *ifalla* und des XI. Stammes *ifālla* (Intensivform) verstehen wir als Inchoativableitung mit ursprünglich in der Art schwacher Verbbildung suffigiertem **i* 'sagen'.[3] Wenn nun gerade diese altertümlichen, primär nominalen Adjektiva flexivische Brechung als Femininmotion aufweisen, wird auch dieser Abwandlungsart selbst ein hohes sprachgeschichtliches Alter zuzuerkennen sein. Und da ein solches Eigenschaftswort immer entweder auf einen masculinen oder einen femininen Substantivbegriff - sei dieser selbständig genannt oder hinzugedacht - bezogen gebraucht wird, ist es wohl von Anfang an in beiden Genusformen ausgebildet. Die "Urform" eines solchen Eigenschaftsworts mag nach dem einfachsten nominalen Schema mit **fa^{c}l#* anzusetzen sein. Das Kennzeichen der Masculinform ist ein vor den eigentlichen Lautkörper des Stammes gesetzter Starkton, welcher als Träger einen augmentartigen prosthetischen Sonanten erheischt: **'fa^{c}l#* ~ *áfal#* (mit Verschiebung des Stammsonanten; den anlautenden Kehlverschußlaut halte ich in diesem Falle für sekundär zum Schutz des prosthetischen Sonanten entstanden). Im Gegensatz dazu erscheint in der Femininform der Stamm um das stets betonte Morphem -*ā'*- erweitert: **fa^{c}lā'#*. Also ist nicht nur das Femininum durch den eingefügten Lautkörper -*ā'*- sondern zugleich überhaupt der Gegensatz der Genera durch den Gegensatz der Akzentposition: masculin vor dem Stammkörper : feminin hinter dem Stammkörper, ausgedrückt.

§ 3. Ein wahrscheinlich verwandtes Formenverhältnis findet sich im Afar-Saho, vgl. m. *bádā* 'Sohn' : f. *bādá* 'Tochter', m. *okalóitā* : f. *okalōitá* 'Esel', m. *lubăktō* : f. *lubākto̊* 'Löwe' &c.[4]2. Ebenso beschreibt HEINE die tonale Genusbezeichnung im Rendille:[5] "Masculine nouns have the tone pattern high-low on the last two syllables, all preceeding syllables being low. With monosyllabic nouns this pattern is reduced to one high-falling contour tone. Feminine nouns have the

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[3] S. BÖHM 1988 a.a.O., S. 120 Fußnote.

[4] L. REINISCH: Die Sahosprache. ZDMG XXXII, 1878, S. 415-456. - Die Sprache der Irob-Saho in Abessinien. Wien, 1878, S. 25. - G. COLIZZA: Lingua ^{c}Afar nel nord-est dell'Africa. Wien, 1887, S. 65ff.

[5] B. HEINE: Language and dialect atlas of Kenya. II. Band, Berlin, 1980, S. 225 ff.

opposite tone pattern low-high on the last two syllables, again with low tones on any preceeding syllables. In monosyllabic nouns the low-high pattern is replaced by a low-rising tone". Nach SCHLEE haben die Feminina den Akzent auf der zweiten bzw. auf der letzten geschlossenen Wortsilbe, die Masculina haben ihn häufig (obschon nicht ausschließlich) auf der ersten Silbe.[6] Besonders bemerkenswert ist jene Gruppe masculiner Nomina des Rendille, welche ihre Pluralform ohne irgendein Suffix allein durch Verlagerung des Akzents von der ersten auf die letzte Silbe bilden, z.B. sg. *uáǧel* : pl. *uaǧél* 'Nashorn', sg. *éhel* : pl. *ehél* 'Esel', sg. *árab* : pl. *aráb* 'Elefant'; denn im Sinne der hier gleich wie in der nah verwandten Somali-Sprache herrschenden Polarität der Genera gelten die Plurale von Masculinen in der Konkordanz des Prädikats für feminine Singulare, die Plurale von Femininen hingegen für masculine Singulare.[7] Der vorgeführte Sachverhalt ist wohl so zu verstehen, daß jene Nomina in Wahrheit keinen echten Plural bilden sondern eine feminine Form, die für den Plural genommen wird. Ausdrucksmittel dieser Abwandlung ist allein der Akzent in wesentlich demselben Verhältnis wie in dem zuvor erörterten arabischen Formenpaar.

§ 4. In der Bedauje-Sprache werden bei einigen zweisilbigen Nomina Singular und Plural hauptsächlich durch die Position des Akzents unterschieden, indem im Singular stets die letzte Silbe betont und der betreffende Sonant lang (im Plural dagegen unbetont kurz und manchmal auch qualitativ abgeschwächt) erscheint:[8]

'Pflug'	**sg.**	*angáš*	:	**f.**	*ángaš*
'Ohr'		*anguíl*			*ánguil*
'Beil'		*gaddúm*			*gáddum*
'Flügel'		*anbúr*			*ánbir*
'Wolke'		*ba'elúk*			*bá'lek*
'Eber'		*hallúf*			*hállef*
'Knie'		*gundúf*			*gíndef*,[9]

ebenso bei sonantisch auslautenden Stämmen nur in der Form mit genusbezeichnender Endung, vgl. sg. *hadá.b (adír)* 'einen Löwen (tötete ich)' : pl. *háda.b (adír)* 'Löwen (tötete ich)'; manchmal erhält die Pluralform zusätzlich das gewöhnliche Pluralsuffix *-a* wie sg. *isín* : pl. *ísin=a* 'Nilpferd'. (In einigen Fällen unterbleibt die

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[6] G. SCHLEE: Sprachliche Studien zum Rendille. Hamburg, 1978. S. 22 ff.

[7] S. C. MEINHOF: Die Sprachen der Hamiten. Hamburg, 1912, S. 171. Vgl. G. BÖHM: Die Sprache der Ful. Wien, 1989, S. 143 ff.

[8] L. REINISCH: Die Bedauye-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika. Wien, 1893, S. 62 ff.

[9] Ursprünglich wohl **gindúf : gíndu/ef* (mit assimilatorischer Umlautung des schwachtonigen Sonanten in der ersten Silbe der Singularform); *e* ist Verfallsgestalt zu *u* und *i*.

Akzentverschiebung, so daß sich Singular und Plural nur durch die Quantität des Sonanten der letzten Silbe voneinander unterscheiden, z.B. sg. *derā̆f* : pl. *deráf* 'Giraffe', daneben zuweilen auch durch qualitative Umlautung, z.B. sg. *genū̆f*: pl. *geníf* 'Nase' vgl. *i* als Schwachstufe zu *ū* in *anbūr : ánbir.*) - Hier hat also stets die Singularform ursprünglich feminine Betonung der letzten Silbe. Aber gewiß ist der Genuswechsel zum Ausdruck der Zahl im Sinne der Polarität zunächst chiastich erfolgt, wie es im Somali und Rendille in der Konkordanz noch allgemein geschieht, so daß zum masculinen Singular ein femininer Plural und zum femininen Singular ein masculiner Plural gebildet worden ist. Im Rendille haben - in der Morphologie - nur Formenpaare der erstern Abwandlungsrichtung überlebt; im Bedauje erscheint die andre mechanisch verallgemeinert, wobei gegenwärtig ja kein Zusammenhang des Singular : Plural-Gegensatzes mit dem Genuswesen mehr empfunden wird. Indessen mag die herrschende singularische Bewertung der femininen Form von einem femininen Nomen unitatis ausgegangen sein.[10]

§ 5. In demselben Sinne meinen wir weiterhin die eigenartige Singular : Plural-Flexion durch "konsonantischen Ablaut" in den Agau-Sprachen verstehen zu können. - Wir geben zunächst eine Übersicht der betreffenden Abwandlungsvorgänge. Hauptsächlich unterscheiden sich Singular- und Pluralform durch eine Art

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[10] Anders zu diesem Thema A. ZABORSKI: Some internal plurals in Cushitic. In: P. FRONZA-ROLI: Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica Camito-Semitica. Florenz, 1978, S. 369-378. Er bezieht sich auf REINISCH 1893 a.a.O., S. 171 f.: Nomina actionis wie sg. *rāb* : pl. *rab* 'Haß' von *rib* 'hassen', sg. *dān* : pl. *dan* 'Anfang' von *din* 'beginnen' u.dgl. zeigen Wechsel zwischen langem und kurzem Stammsonanten zur Unterscheidung der Numeri. ZABORSKI erklärt aber weder die Bildung dieses Nomen actionis auf *-a-* als solchen noch den flexivischen Quantitätswechsel. Und daß *tāt : tat* 'Laus', *kām : kam* 'Kamel', *iās : ias* 'Hund' &c., oder mit Qualitätswechsel *'ōr : 'ar* 'Kind', *bōk :bak* 'Bock', *mēk : mak* 'Esel', *šēi : šai* 'Nashorn' u.dgl. "are original verbal nouns (abstracts)", können wir uns nicht entschließen zu glauben. Vielleicht ist bei solchen einsilbigen Stämmen die Akzentverlagerung - die ja bei *angāš : ángaš* &c. mit Kürzung des im Singular betonten Sonanten in der Pluralform einhergeht - durch den Quantitätswechsel als einzigen Stammsonanten ersetzt, und liegt also meist der Vorgang wie bei den vorgeführten zweisilbigen Stämmen zugrunde. Dieses Muster mag auf einsilbige Nomina mit *ō* oder *ē* als Stammsonanten so übertragen worden sein, daß zu dieser Singularform eine Pluralform auf *a* (als mit quantitativem und qualitativem Wechsel) entstanden ist. Was nun die dreiradikaligen Verba betrifft, so ist bei diesen zunächst das Nomen actionis mit dem verbalen Perfektthema identisch, vgl. *i.fdíg* 'er befreite' : *fedíg* 'das Befreien', und daneben besteht ein andres Nomen actionis "mit mer concreter bedeutung" der Form *fedúg* 'Befreiung'. Wir möchten aber ein Formenpaar wie *fedúg* 'Befreiung' : *fedíg* 'das Befreien' von einem solchen wie sg. *hallū̆f* : pl. *hállef* 'Eber' doch trennen. Jedenfalls bietet weder das Auftreten des verbalen Themas als Nomen actionis I noch die Bildung eines Nomen actionis II der Form *fᵒ̄ul* (sg.) ein ernstzunehmendes Argument, um jene innere Numerusflexion über verbalnominale "Abstrakt-" und Kollektivbildung zu erklären.

Stufenwechsel in der Realisierung eines Stammkonsonanten: sg. "schwach" : pl. "stark".[11]

a)		sg. *b*	:	pl. **p~f*:
	bil.	sg. *bän*	:	pl. *fän* 'Lohn', 'Anteil'
	bil.	sg. *ăb.a*	:	pl. *ăf* 'Brunnen'
	bil.	sg. *ăb* k	:	pl. *ăfĭf* 'Mund';

b)		sg. *r*	:	pl. *t* (~ cht.*t'*):
	bil.	sg. *gämär*	:	pl. *gämät* 'Strick'
	bil.	sg. *gir.a*	:	pl. *git* 'Berg'
	chm.	sg. *gĭnjir.a*	:	pl. *gĭnjit* 'Klippschliefer'
	cht.	sg. *zägr.a*	:	pl. *zägit'* 'Pavian';

c)		sg. *r*	:	pl. **ḍ ~ l*:[12]
	bil.	sg. *gär*	:	pl. *gäl* 'Kalb'
	bil.	sg. *gĭr*	:	pl. *ğĭlĭl* 'Gedärm'
	bil. } cht.	sg. *bir.a*	:	pl. *bil* 'Ochse'
	cht.	sg. *ḥuĭr*	:	pl. *ḥuĭllĭ* 'Kind'

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[11] L. REINISCH: Die Bilīn-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika. Wien, 1882. S. 90 ff. - Die Chamir-sprache in Abessinien. Wien, 1884. S. 102. - Die Quarasprache in Abessinien. Wien, 1885, S. 89 Anmerkung. - C. CONTI ROSSINI: La langue des Kemant en Abyssinie. Wien, 1912. S. 128 ff. - D. APPLEYARD: A descriptive outline of Kemant. BSOAS XXXVIII, 1975, S. 316-350. - A grammatical sketch of Khamtanga. BSOAS L, 1987, S. 241-266 und 470-507. - The internal classification of the Agaw languages: A comparative and historical phonology. In: J. BYNON: Current progress in Afro-Asiatic linguistics. Amsterdam, 1984, S. 35-67. - G. BÖHM: Der Bau des Prädikats in den Agau-Sprachen. Wien, 1983. - Wir können hier kein volständiges Verzeichnis solcher Formen bieten sondern nur ausgewählte, für den Flexions-vorgang repräsentative Beispiele. - Abkürzungen der Sprachennamen: BIL. = Bilin, chm. = Chamir, cht. = Chamta, kmt. = Kemant, qua. = Quara. ·

[12] APPLEYARD 1984 a.a.O., S. 54 ff., lehnt die Annahme eines agauischen Protophonems *ḍ ab. Wenn es, wie wir meinen, allgemein mit *l* zusammengefallen ist, so wird es auf dem Wege interner Rekonstruktion kaum zu ermitteln sein. Das Postulat bietet uns indessen eine gute Erklärung für den Ablaut *r : l*, da ein ursprüngliches *l* kaum die Starkstufe zu *r* darstel-len kann wohl aber *r* die Schwachstufe zu **ḍ* ebenso wie zu *t*. Für unsre Auffasung spricht auch das Ablautbeispiel bil., cht. *bir.a :bil* 'Ochse' von äthiopisch *beʿerāi* über agau **bid(a)* *: r* unter dem Einfluß des sonst geschwundenen ʿ "emphatisiert" zu **ḍ*, welches dann dem Stufenwechsel unterworfen ist.

| cht. | sg. *dĭq̇uar.a* | : | pl. *dĭqual* 'Esel' |
| chm. | sg. *dŭq̇ar.a* | : | pl. *dŭqal* 'Esel' |

d)   sg. bil.   *d* ~ cht. *z*   :   pl. *s* (~ cht.*s'*):

bil. sg.	*fädän*	:	pl. *fäsän* 'Samen (vgl. *fĭs* 'saen')
bil. sg.	*gud*	:	pl. *gusĭs* 'Eisenplatte zum Brotbacken' (vgl.saho *gāssā* idem)
bil. sg.	*gĭdĭng*	:	pl. *gĭzĭng*
cht. sg.	*gĭzĭng*	:	pl. *gĭs'ĭng* 'Hund'(vgl. aungi *gseng*)[13]
cht. sg.	*gĭz.a*	:	pl. *gĭs"ĭ* 'Nachbar';

abweichend 'Bruder' bil. sg. *dan* : pl. *ğan* ~ *žan*, kmt. sg. *zän* : pl. *šän* , cht. sg. *zĭn* pl. *-s'ĭn* 'Bruder' : *śn.t* 'Schwester', bedauje *sān*, in tschadohamitischen Sprachen *s°n#*, was jedenfalls auf semitohamitisches *c°n#* zurückführt und mithin für die Agau-Sprachen *3°n[~d/z°n]* : *c°n[~s°n]* voraussetzen läßt; daneben steht bil. *žan*, kmt. *šän*, cht. *sin* 'Schwester' wohl von *c/3°n.(t)i* (mit Femininendung wie an bil. *gĭdĭngi* 'Hündin' oder *tĕgri* 'Tante väterlichrseits' zu *ĕgĕr* 'Vater' u.dgl.) mit Palatalisierung des Anlauts infolge kontraktiver Einbeziehung der Endung ins Innere des Stammes, darnach analog ist im Bilin und Kemant die Pluralform des Masculins umgestaltet, während im Chamta das Femininum dem masculinen Plural angeglichen ist (völlige Ausgleichung der Gestalten mit erneuertem Femininum zeigt aungi m. *sen* 'Bruder': f. *sen.a* 'Schwester';

e)   sg. *g, ġ* ~ *j* ~ [geschwunden], *ḫ, q̇* :   pl. *k* (~ cht. *k'*), *q*

                                      und

sg.	*(ġ)u, q̇u*	:	pl. *ku* (~ cht. *k'u*), *qu*:
bil.	sg. *ăg*	:	pl. *ăkĭk* 'Oheim'
cht.	sg. *big.a*	:	pl. *bik'* 'Schaf'

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[13]Im Bilin ist der Stufenwechsel in diesem Falle unregelmäßig. Das Wort für 'Hund' ist vielleicht - nach tschadohamitischen Gestalten wir hausa *karē* von *karne*, bokkos-ron *ḳiara*, kotoko *k/geleu*, mokulu *gede* &c. (vgl. H. JUNGRAITHMAYR & K. SHIMIZU: Chadic lexical roots. II. Band. Berlin, 1981) - auf die Radikale *ḳdn* zurückzuführen. Vgl. bil. *mad.a* : *mas*, chm. *miz.a* 'Freund', für das wir nach meroitisch *maḏ* voraussetzen müssen, welches im Agau schon früh zu *3* - ablautend *d/z* : *s* - gewandelt ist. Weitere Beispiele mit unregelmäßiger Sibilantenentwicklung sind bil. *kĭdĭng˙* : *kĭğĭng* 'Feld', *ămğ.a* : *ămĭž* (vgl. chm. *ămz.a*) 'Brot', *färd.a* : *färĭž* (von äthiopisch *faras* 'Pferd').

bil.	sg. *ăg.a*	:	pl. *ăk* 'Haut'
cht.	sg. *gĭrj.a*	:	pl. *gĭrĭk'* 'Tag'
cht.	sg. *gĭlw.a*	:	pl. *gĭlĭk'u̧* 'Mann'
cht.	sg. *zil.a*	:	pl. *zĭlk'* 'Vogel'
bil.	sg. *ĭnšäḥ*	:	pl. *ĭnšĭk* Lanze'
bil.	sg. *laḳ̇.a*	:	pl. *laq* 'Mehl'
cht.	sg. *dĭḳ̇uar.a*	:	pl. *dĭqual* Esel'.

Das Schlüsselwort zum historischen Verständnis dieser Abwandlungsweise ist 'Mann', 'Mensch' bil sg. *ĕgĭr* : pl. *ĭk*, cht. sg. *ĭgĭr* : pl. *ĭk'* (in verkürzten Gestalten sg. qua *jĕr*, kmt. *ir* : pl. qua. *i*, kmt. *ij(j)ĕ*), dessen vorliegende unregelmäßige Formgestalten noch den ursprünglichen Betonungsgegensatz erkennen lassen: wir rekonstruieren sg. $*^{ok}/_g{}^ór$: pl. $*^{ok}/_g(°r)$; an der Pluralform ist die unbetonte zweite Silbe zuletzt verstummt wie an der Singularform - die im Bilin und Chamta gut erhalten - im Quara und Kemant die unbetonte erste Silbe. Vgl. 'Weib' sg. bil. *(ĕ)g̣uín.a*, kmt. *un.a* : pl. bil. *ŭku̧in*, kmt. *ĕku̧n*. - Ebenso wie im Bedauje hat der Singular ursprünglich den Starkton auf der zweiten bzw. letzten Stammsilbe; die schwachstufige (stimmhafte, spirantische oder liquide) Vertretung des konsonantischen Radikals ist durch diesen verstärkt sonantischen Charakter des folgenden betonten Vokals bedingt, nach Aufgabe des prominenten Akzents allein als Flexionserscheinung zurückgeblieben. Dagegen hat der Plural ursprünglich den Starkton auf der ersten bzw. vorletzten Silbe, und der Anlautkonsonant der folgenden unbetonten, schwachsonantischen Silbe wird dann starkstufig (als stimmloser Verschlußlaut) realisiert.

§ 6. Auch im Arabischen besteht ein Zusammenhang zwischen Genus- und Numerusbegrifflichkeit, indem die inneren Plurale - im Unterschied zu den äußeren, deren Endungen eindeutig als pluralisch (charakteristisch ist die Ausweitung der Funktion des alten Genetivs zu der eines allgemeinen Casus obliquus) und jeweils in Übereinstimmung mit dem Genus der entsprechenden Singularform eindeutig für masculin oder feminin zu erkennen sind - morphologisch als Singulare gelten; wir sehen darin die Auffassung des Feminins als Kollektivgenus bezeugt.[14]

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[14] Vgl. die masculinen Berufsnamen der Form *faʳ āl#*, deren Plural durch die Femininmotion (als äußeres Femininuum) ausgedrückt wird, z.B. sg. *baḥḥār.un* : pl. *baḥḥār.at.un* 'Seemann'. Andrerseits ergibt die Femininmotion auch das Nomen unitatis zu masculinen Gattungsnamen wie *tamr.un* 'Datteln' : *tamr.at.un* 'eine Dattel'. In beiden Fällen liegen besondere Anwendungsarten des femininen Genuscharakters vor. Mit der Polarität des Somali haben diese Erscheinungen wohl nichts zu tun: Dort zieht der Wechsel vom Singular- zum Pluralbegriff notwendig den Wechsel des im Singular vorgegebenen Genus zum jeweiligen Gegenteil nach ·

Einige innere Plurale sind als äußere Feminina gebildet. Gebrochene Feminina mit Pluralbedeutung sind die Stammformen *'af ilā'#* (z.B. sg. *šadīq.un* : pl. *'asdiqā'.u* 'Freund') und *fuʿalā'#* (z.B. sg. *'amīr.un* : pl. *'umarā'.u* 'Fürst'): Die Vereinigung des Morphems *-ā'-* mit einem Thema *faʿīl#* oder *fāʿil#* hat zunächst Enttonung und Kürzung der thematischen Sonanten bedingt, und so hat *faʿīl#* + *-ā-: (a)f ilā'#* (mit silbengesetzlich notwendigem Vorsatzsonanten) ergeben. Die andere Form *fuʿalā'#* läßt sich über Vermittlung des Adjektivthemas *fuʿal#*[15] und in Angleichung an das innere Pluralthema *fuʿal*[16] entstanden erklären.[17]

§ 7. Endlich stellt sich uns noch die Frage, ob die Feminina und inneren Plurale auf *-ā* ebenfalls in ihrer Bildung als gebrochene Feminina zu verstehen seien. Geschrieben wird dieser Wortausgang mit *jā* (statt *'alif*) als Mater lectionis, und darf daher möglicherweise eine ältere Lautung *-āi* (vgl. aramäisch *-ē* in *'ohrē* = arabisch *'uhrā* 'eine andere') vorausgesetzt werden.[18] Die feminine Steigerungsform *fuʿlā* verstehen wir dann als gebrochenes Femininum vom Deminutivthema *fuʿail#* - indem dem Gegensatz der Genera zugleich ein Gegensatz Augmentativ : Deminutiv entspricht - mit gestaltlicher Entwicklung über *fuʿail#* + *-ā'-* zu **fuʿlái ~ fúʿlā* (Enttonung der nach Endungsverlust letzten Silbe). Zu den masculinen Adjektiven auf *-ān#* ist aber wahrscheinlich zunächst eine Nisbe **faʿlīi#* und davon erst das gebrochene Femininum mit vor dem nisbischen Suffix infigiertem *-ā'-* gebildet: **faʿlái ~ fáʿlā*. Die gleiche Form fungiert als Plural zu Adjektiven auf *-ān#* (z.B. *ǧarbān.u* : *ǧarbā* 'hungrig') sowie (vielleich für *faʿlā'#* eingetreten) zu solchen der Form *afʿal#* (z.B. *'ahmaq.u* : *hamqā* 'dumm'). Daneben beruht die Pluralform *faʿālā* auf der Pluralbildung durch infigiertes *-ā-* (wie in *qidh.un* : *qidāh.un* 'Pfeil' u.dgl.) ausgehend vom sg. f. *faʿlā*, vgl. sg.m. *sakrān.u* : f. *sakrā* : pl. *sakārā* 'betrunken', oder auch vom sg.f. *faʿlā'#*, vgl. sg. *sahrā'.u* : pl. *sahārā* 'Wüste'.

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sich, während hier das Femininum sowohl als kollektiv- wie auch als Singulativgenus fungiert.

[15] BROCKELMANN a.a.O., S. 336.

[16] WRIGHT a.a.O., S. 199.

[17] Zu arabisch *-ā-* vgl. nach BROCKELMANN äthiopisch *-ā* (stets betont!) an Nomina actionis wie *mahalā* 'Schwur' oder *hansā* 'das Bauen', an Tiernamen wie *'anbasā* 'Löwe', *ʿāšā* 'Fisch', *'anṣĕua* 'Maus' u.a. vielleicht ursprünglich als Nomina unitatis von kollektiven Gattungsnamen.

[18] Zu arabisch *-ā* weist BROCKELMANN äthiopisch *-ē* (unbetont!) an Kollektiven wie *saruē* 'Heer' oder Tiernamen wie *dādē* 'Motte'; vgl. ferner syrisch *saluai* 'Wachtel', *gĕuāghai* 'Spinne', *daiuai* 'Weihe' und hebräisch *gōbhai* 'Heuschreckenschwarm' sowie die femininen Nisben wie *šārai* (weiblicher Personenname), vielleicht auch die hebräischen Formen auf *-ä* wie *'arbä* 'Heuschreckenschwarm', *libhnä* 'Pappel', *issä* 'Opfer'.

§ 8. Aufgrund der vorgetragenen Betrachtung gelangen wir zur hypothetischen Rekonstruktion einer ursemitohamitischen Femininmotion durch flexivische Brechung: Einfügen eines Morphems *-*á'*-, die in der arabischen Morphologie am besten bewahrt erscheint und im kuschitischen Bereich fortwirkt in der akzentualen Kennzeichnung nominaler Femininformen (Afar-Saho, Rendille) sowie im Sinne der Polarität in der akzentualen Singular : Plural-Abwandlung (Rendille, Bedauje), worauf endlich der konsonantische Ablaut in der nominalen Morphologie der Agau-Sprachen zurückgeführt werden kann. Wenn uns abschließend ein vergleichender Ausblick erlaubt sei, läßt sich eine verwandte Erscheinung in der indogermanischen Femininmotion auf *-*ā*- erkennen: vgl. die Adjektiva thematischer Bildung (das ist die einzige motionsfähige Stammklasse indogermanischer Adjektiven) wie 'neu' m. *$n^e/_o \underset{\sim}{u}.o.s$* (sanskrit *náv.a.h*, griechisch *né(v).o.s*) : f. *$n^e/_o \underset{\sim}{u}.\bar{a}$* (sanskrit *náv.ā*, griechisch *né(v).ā*), deren feminine Form durch das Eintreten eines Morphems *-*ā*- für den Themavokal *-$^e/_o$*- gekennzeichnet ist.[19] Dasselbe Morphem ist wohl auch an der Bildung der femininen Stammform auf *k*-*ī̆*- : *-*ī̆ā*- beteiligt, vgl. sanskrit *devī́* : Gen. *devjā́s* 'Göttin' zu m. *deváh* 'Gott' (ebenso an den häufigen germanischen Femininen auf *-*nī̆*- : *-*njō* z.B. altnordisch *ásynja* 'Asin', althochdeutsch *kuningin* 'Königin').[20] Damit findet sich zu der gedanklichen semitohamitisch-indogermanischen Isoglosse des grammatischen Geschlechts (wofür allerdings nur die Opposition masculin : feminin in Betracht kommt!) eine entsprechende morphologische Übereinstimmung, die uns also ein wichtiges Argument für eine - wie auch immer historisch zu deutende - Urverwandtschaft der beiden Sprachstämme bietet.

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[19] Die Neutra der thematischen Deklination unterscheiden sich von den Masculinen hauptsächlich im syntaktischen Casusbestand: Sie bilden keinen Nominativ und für diesen tritt der Akkusativ ein; dahinter steht ursprünglich wohl die Meinung, daß nur eine Person Subjekt sein kann, eine Sache hingegen von Natur nur Objekt (vgl. Böhm 1989 a.a.O., S. 50 f.). Zudem haben die Neutra ursprünglich wohl auch keinen Plural gebildet, sondern ein Kollektiv Akk.=Nom. pl. auf -*a* (Femininum?), wie ja noch im Griechischen der Plural der Neutra in der Konkordanz beim Verbum für einen Singular gilt.

[20] Vgl. H. Krahe: Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft. II. Band. Berlin, 1969. S. 9 und 33. - H. Krahe & W. Meid: Germanische Sprachwissenschaft. III. Band. Berlin 1967. S. 72 f. und 119 ff.

The Root in Indo-European and Afroasiatic

Allan R. BOMHARD

1. Introduction

In a 1982 article entitled "La racine en indoeuropéen et en chamitosémitique et leurs perspectives comparatives", Karel PETRÁČEK explored the similarities and differences between root structure patterning in Indo-European and Afroasiatic (Hamito-Semitic). PETRÁČEK concluded that article by noting several problems that he felt needed to be resolved.

This paper picks up where PETRÁČEK left off. It will be demonstrated here that the earliest forms of root structure patterning found in Proto-IndoEuropean on the one hand and Proto-Afroasiatic on the other were essentially identical, lending further support to the hypothesis that both of these protolanguages developed out of a common Nostratic background.

2. The Proto-Indo-European stop system

Since I do not accept the traditional reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European stop system, it is necessary to clarify my own views. However, since the primary purpose of this paper is to compare the root structure patterning of Proto-Indo-European with that of Proto-Afroasiatic and since I have devoted numerous other studies to discussing the Proto-Indo-European stop system, I will discuss my views in only the briefest of terms here.

There are internal inconsistencies in the traditional reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European stop system that make the traditional system highly improbable from a typological point of view, specifically: (A) the unexpected extremely low frequency of occurrence of the traditional plain voiced bilabial stop $*b$, (B) the problem that the three-stop contrast of plain voiceless ~ plain voiced ~ voiced aspirate, which results from the removal of the traditional voiceless aspirates posited by the Neogrammarians, has no unambiguous typological parallels among the known languages of the world, and (C) the unexplained root structure constraint that prohibits the cooccurrence of two plain voiced stops in a given root. Reinterpretation of the traditional plain voiced stops ($*b$, $*d$, $*g$, $*g^u$) as glottalized stops (that is, ejectives: $*p'$, $*t'$, $*k'$, $*k'^w$ respectively), as proposed by Thomas V. GAMKRELIDZE and Vjačeslav V. IVANOV (1973:150-56), accounts better for the distributional patterning of this series than does the traditional reconstruction. Furthermore, according to GAMKRELIDZE and IVANOV, the traditional plain voiceless stops ($*p$, $*t$, $*k$, $*k^u$) are to be reinterpreted as voiceless aspirates

(*ph, *th, *kh, *k^wh respectively), while the traditional voiced aspirates (*bh, *dh, *gh, *g^uh) are to remain unchanged. In this revised interpretation, aspiration is viewed as a redundant feature, and the phonemes in question could also be realized as allophonic variants without aspiration.

Traditional Proto-Indo-European GAMKRELIDZE and IVANOV:

A	B	C	A	B	C
(b)	bh	p	(p')	b[ʰ]	p[ʰ]
d	dh	t	t'	d[ʰ]	t[ʰ]
g	gh	k	k'	g[ʰ]	k[ʰ]
g^u	g^uh	k^u	k'ʷ	gʷ[ʰ]	kʷ[ʰ]

Not only do the revisions proposed by GAMKRELIDZE and IVANOV eliminate the problems inherent in the traditional reconstruction of the Proto- Indo-European stop system, they are also fully consistent with the typological data. Moreover, they provide new insights into the underlying principles governing GRASSMANN'S Law and BARTHOLOMAE'S Law.

It should be noted that a similar proposal was advanced by Paul J. HOPPER (1973:141-66) at about the same time as GAMKRELIDZE and IVANOV.

3. Root structure in Proto-Indo-European

Before beginning, it is necessary to define several key terms. A "root" may be defined as the base form of a word. It carries the basic meaning, and it cannot be further analyzed without loss of identity (cf. CRYSTAL 1980:308). A "stem", on the other hand, may be defined as an inflectional base. A stem may or may not be coequal with a root.

There have been several attempts to formulate the rules governing the structural patterning of roots in Proto-Indo-European. Without going into details, it may simply be noted that none of the proposals advanced to date has escaped criticism, including the theories of Emile BENVENISTE (1935:147-73, especially pp. 170-71). The problem is complicated by the fact that the form of Proto-Indo-European traditionally reconstructed—what I call "Disintegrating Indo-European"—is the product of a very long, largely unknown evolution. Disintegrating Indo-European contained the debris of earlier successive periods of development.

For Disintegrating Indo-European, Jerzy KURYŁOWICZ'S (1935:121) description is adequate:

 ... the root is the part of a word (it is a question of only the simple word) made up of (1) the initial consonant or consonantal group, (2) the fundamental

vowel, (3) the final consonant or consonantal group. -- The final group can consist of no more than two consonantal elements, the first of which has greater syllabicity than the second. In other words, the first consonantal element is i, u, r, l, n, m, while the second is a consonant in the strictest sense of the term: stop, s, or laryngeal ($ə_1$, $ə_2$, $ə_3$).

A careful analysis of the root structure patterning led BENVENISTE to the discovery of the basic laws governing that patterning. According to BENVENISTE (1935:170-71), these laws may be stated as follows (see also LEHMANN 1952:17-18):

1. The Indo-European root is monosyllabic, composed of the fundamental vowel $ĕ$ between two different consonants.

2. In this constant scheme: consonant plus e plus consonant, the consonants can be of any order provided that they are different: however, the cooccurrence of both a voiceless stop and an aspirated voiced stop is forbidden.

3. The addition of a suffix to the root gives rise to two alternating stem types: Type I: root in full-grade and accented, suffix in zero-grade; Type II: root in zero-grade, suffix in full-grade and accented.

4. A single determinative can be added to the suffix, either after the suffix of stem Type II or, if n, inserted between the root element and the suffix of stem Type II.

5. Further addition of determinatives or suffixes points to a nominal stem.

BENVENISTE'S views are not necessarily incompatible with those of KURYŁO-WICZ. These theories can be reconciled by assuming that they describe the root structure patterning at different chronological stages.

Now, comparison of Proto-Indo-European with Proto-Afroasiatic (assuming common origin within the context of the Nostratic Hypothesis) allows us to refine BENVENISTE'S theories. The most ancient patterning was probably as follows:

1. There were no initial vowels in the earliest form of pre-Proto-Indo-European. Therefore, every root began with a consonant.

2. Originally, there were no initial consonant clusters either. Consequently, every root began with one and only one consonant.

3. Two basic syllable types existed: (A) *CV and (B) *CVC, where C = any non-syllabic and V = any vowel. Permissible root forms coincided exactly with these two syllable types.

4. A verbal stem could either be identical with a root or it could consist of a root plus a single derivational morpheme added as a suffix to the root: *CVC-VC-. Any consonant could serve as a suffix.

5. Nominal stems, on the other hand, could be further extended by additional suffixes.

At this time, there were three fundamental stem types: (A) verbal stems, (B) nominal and adjectival stems, and (C) pronominal and indeclinable stems.

The phonemicization of a strong stress accent disrupted the patterning outlined above. The positioning of the stress was morphologically distinctive, serving as a means to differentiate grammatical categories. All vowels were retained when stressed but were either weakened (= "reduced-grade") or totally eliminated (= "zero-grade") when unstressed: the choice between the reduced-grade versus the zero-grade depended upon the position of the unstressed syllable relative to the stressed syllable as well as upon the laws of syllabicity in effect at that time. Finally, it was at this stage of development that the syllabic allophones of the resonants came into being.

The stress-conditioned ablaut alternations gave rise to two distinct forms of extended stems:

Type 1: Root in full-grade and accented, suffix in zero-grade: *CVCC-.

Type 2: Root in zero-grade, suffix in full-grade and accented: *CCVC-.

When used as a verbal stem, Type 1 could undergo no further extension. However, Type 2 could be further extended by means of a "determinative". Further addition of a determinative or suffixes pointed to a nominal stem (cf. BENVENISTE 1935:171; LEHMANN 1952:17). According to BENVENISTE (1935:148), a "suffix" was characterized by the fact that it had two alternating forms (*-et-/*-t-, *-en-/*-n-, *-ek-/*-k-, etc.), while a "determinative" was characterized by a fixed consonantal form (*-t-, *-n-, *-k-, etc.). Finally, BENVENISTE (1935:164) notes:

> ... in the numerous cases where the initial [consonant group has been reconstructed in the shape] *(s)k-, *(s)t-, *(s)p-, etc., with unstable sibilant, it is generally a question of prefixation, and it may be observed that the root begins with the [plain] consonant [alone excluding the sibilant].

In pre-Proto-Indo-European, ablaut was merely a phonological alternation. During the course of its development, however, Proto-Indo-European gradually grammaticalized these ablaut alternations. (For a speculative account of the prehistoric development of the Proto-Indo-European vowel system, cf. BOMHARD 1984:37-59.) Whether or not the series of changes affecting vowel gradation and root structure patterning in Proto-Indo-European was influenced by or itself exerted influence upon the patterning developing in neighboring languages cannot yet be determined with absolute certainty. What is certain, though, is that the parallels between the systems of vowel gradation and root structure patterning found in Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Kartvelian are so close that coincidence

can be all but ruled out (cf. GAMKRELIDZE 1966:69-83 and 1967:707-17; GAM-KRELIDZE and MAČAVARIANI 1982:93-100). An alternative would be to view both Indo-European and Kartvelian as branches of Nostratic, which would mean that the parallels are to be accounted for by descent from a common ancestor. This alternative is the explanation favored here.

Proto-Indo-European had constraints on permissible root structure sequences. These constraint laws may be stated as follows (cf. HOPPER 1973:158-61, §3.2.6; GAMKRELIDZE 1976:404-05 and 1981:608-09):

1. Each root contained at least one non-glottalic consonant.

2. When both obstruents were non-glottalic, they had to agree in voicing.

The Proto-Indo-European root structure constraint laws thus become merely a voicing agreement rule with the corollary that two glottalics cannot cooccur in a root. Comparison of Proto-Indo-European with Proto-Afroasiatic indicates, however, that the forbidden root types must have once existed. Two rules may be formulated to account for the elimination of the forbidden types:

1. A rule of progressive voicing assimilation may be set up to account for the elimination of roots whose consonantal elements originally did not agree in voicing: $*T \sim *B > *T \sim *P$, $*B \sim *T > *B \sim *D$, etc.

2. A rule of regressive deglottalization may be set up to account for the elimination of roots containing two glottalics: $*T' \sim *K' > *T \sim *K'$, etc. This rule finds a close parallel in GEERS' Law in Akkadian.

According to GAMKRELIDZE (1976:404 and 1981:608), BARTHOLOMAE'S Law is a later manifestation of the progressive voicing assimilation rule, applied to contact sequences.

4. Root structure in Proto-Afroasiatic

There has been much discussion, some of it rather heated, concerning root structure patterning within Afroasiatic. Until fairly recently, there was strong resistence to look objectively at the data from all of the branches of the Afroasiatic language family, far too much emphasis being placed on the importance of the Semitic branch alone, which was often uncritically taken to represent the original state of affairs.

In the Semitic branch, the vast majority of roots are triconsonantal. It is certain, however, that at one time there were more biconsonantal roots and that the triconsonantal system has been greatly expanded in Semitic at the expense of roots with other than three consonants (cf. MOSCATI 1964:72-75; ULLENDORF 1958:69-72). In particular, we may note Igor M. DIAKONOFF'S (1984:1-2) comments on Afroasiatic root structure patterning:

The latest argument which has recently been advanced in favour of retaining the term 'Hamitic' was, as far as I know, the supposed fact that the Hamitic roots are mainly biconsonantal while those of Semitic are triconsonantal. Our work on the Comparative Historical Vocabulary of Afrasian (CHVA) has shown without a shadow of a doubt that this is wrong. The Common Afrasian roots were in principle biconsonantal; most of them have been extended to a triconsonantal status either by reduplicating the second consonant of the root, or by adding a real or fictitious 'weak' consonant (forming either *mediae infirmae* or *tertiae infirmae* roots); the choice between the formation of a *secundae geminatae,* a *mediae infirmae* or a *tertiae infirmae* secondary stem is virtually non-predictable (i.e. these types of the root are allomorphic at the Proto-Afrasian level). An additional method of forming secondary roots is the one well known from Proto-Indo-European, viz., the adding of a suffixed (very rarely a prefixed) consonant 'complement' to the root. In about 90% of the cases (at least in that part of the vocabulary which we have worked through) the so-called 'three-consonantal roots' can with a great certainty be derived from well attested biconsonantal roots plus a complement which is used to modify the main semantics of the biconsonantal roots. Note that the 'biconsonantal cum complement' roots are well attested not only in Semitic but also in Cushitic, Berber and Egyptian, and though they are somewhat more rare in Chadic and some of the Cushitic languages, the reason for this phenomenon is: (1) the loss of external inflection which later also caused losses in the final stem consonants and (2) the loss of a number of Proto-Semitic phonemes in Late Stage languages.

Recent work by Christopher EHRET (1989b:109-202) closes the case. Through careful analysis, fully supported by well-chosen examples from Arabic, EHRET demonstrates that the third consonantal elements of Semitic tricosonantal roots were originally suffixes, which, in the majority of cases examined by him, had served as verb extensions. In particular, he identifies and categorizes thirty-seven such extensions. Extending his argumentation to the other branches of Afroasiatic, he notes:

The morphological history that can be proposed from the materials presented here is unusual but not especially complicated. Early on in the evolution of the Afroasiatic language family, all or nearly all of the consonants of PAA had developed the capacity to act as verb extensions, modifying the meaning of simple biconsonantal roots in regularly definable ways. In Cushitic and Chadic many of these extensions became nonproductive during the evolution of the mother languages of these branches of the family and before the ends respectively of the Proto-Cushitic and Proto-Chadic periods, probably well

before. Relatively few of the extended roots containing these suffixes became lexicalized and maintained as distinct roots; in Proto-Cushitic they probably constituted 10-15 percent of the vocabulary. In the evolution of Egyptian, Berber, and Semitic, however, these extensions must have remained productive for a longer period, so that when they finally ceased to be active elements of morphology, a much larger proportion of the vocabulary in those three came to be lexicalized extended roots. In Semitic this process was carried the furthest, the outcome being a system in which the great majority of verb roots were of such origin. Verbal morphology presumed a triliteral surface of contact with the verb root. In consequence, the remaining biconsonantal verbs were converted formally into triconsonantals by a morphologically rather than semantically motivated gemination of the second consonant.

We may establish the following chronology for the branching off of the various Afroasiatic daughter languages: Chadic must have been the first branch to split from the rest of the Afroasiatic speech community. The next split was between Omotic and Cushitic on the one hand and Egyptian, Berber, and Semitic on the other. Finally, first Egyptian and then Berber split off from Semitic.

Now, the Proto-Afroasiatic root may be assumed to have had two forms, either *CV or *CVC. As in pre-Proto-Indo-European, *CVC could be extended by means of a suffix to form an inflectional stem: *CVC-VC-. Originally, these suffixes appear to have been utilized primarily as verb extensions. Depending upon when they became separated from the rest of the Afroasiatic speech community, each branch exploited to a different degree the patterning that was just beginning to develop in the Afroasiatic parent language, with Semitic carrying it to the farthest extreme.

It thus emerges that the rules governing the structural patterning of roots and stems in the earliest form of Proto-Afroasiatic are nearly identical to the rules posited in the preceding section of this paper for the earliest form of Proto-Indo-European (cf. DIAKONOFF 1988:42-56):

1. There were no initial vowels in the earliest form of Proto-Afroasiatic. Therefore, every root began with a consonant.

2. Originally, there were no initial consonant clusters either. Consequently, every root began with one and only one consonant.

3. Two basic syllable types existed: (A) *CV and (B) *CVC, where C = any non-syllabic and V = any vowel. Permissible root forms coincided exactly with these two syllable types.

4. A verbal stem could either be identical with a root or it could consist of a root plus a single derivational morpheme added as a suffix to the root: *CVC-VC-*. Any consonant could serve as a suffix.

5. Primary (that is, non-derivative) nominal stems displayed similar patterning, though, unlike the verbal stems, they originally were characterized by stable vocalism.

There were three fundamental stem types in Proto-Afroasiatic: **(A)** verbal stems, **(B)** nominal and adjectival stems, and **(C)** pronominal and indeclinable stems. Only pronominal and indeclinable stems could end in a vowel. Verbal and nominal stems, on the other hand, had to end in a consonant (cf. DIAKONOFF 1988:42).

As in Proto-Indo-European, the consonants carried the basic meaning of the root, while the vowels were used as modifiers: that is to say that grammatical categorization was partially achieved by means of fixed vocalic patterning, at least in the verbal stems.

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Les Banū Hilāl et la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord: Récit arabo-yéménite.[1]

Giovanni CANOVA

I. Après avoir quitté l'inhospitalier Naǧd, en proie à une terrible disette, les tribus hilaliennes connurent une grande migration qui les conduisit en Egypte et, par la suite, sous l'instigation des Fatimides, en Afrique du Nord. De grands historiens comme Ibn Ḥaldūn (m. 1406) nous ont laissé des pages célèbres sur l'invasion de l'Ifrīqiyā et sur le bouleversement ethnique, social et économique qui s'ensuivit.[2] Ibn al-Atīr (m. 1234) et al-Nuwayrī (m. 1332) ont retenu le témoignage de la parabole du tapis, attribuée à Muʾnis b. Yaḥyā, qui synthétise la stratégie de l'avancement des Banū Hilāl. Face à l'impatience des Hilaliens d'attaquer Qayrawān, l'émir des Riyāḥ étala un tapis et demanda si quelqu'un pouvait parvenir au centre sans marcher dessus. Ensuite il enroula le tapis et il avança jusqu'à ce qu'il eût rejoint le centre: les Banū Hilāl devaient procéder de la sorte, en conquérant petit à petit la région jusqu'à enserrer Qayrawān dans un étau.[3]

Cet épisode trouve confirmation dans la *Sīrat Banī Hilāl*, l'ouvrage populaire qui réinterprète à sa manière ces événements historiques.[4] L'enjeu, Qayrawān ou

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[1] Cet essai est fondé sur une documentation recueillie au cours de la recherche "Sviluppo e continuità culturale e linguistica degli insediamenti nell'area di al-Ḥadāʾ", coordonnée par le prof. P. FRONZAROLI.

[2] IBN ḤALDŪN, Kitāb al-ʿibar, VI, Beirut 1959, pp.27 sqq.; Histoire des Berbères, trad. de Slane, Ï., Paris 1968[2], pp.28 sqq.

[3] IBN AL-AĪR, al-Kāmil fī l-taʾrīḫ, éd. TORNBERG, IX, Beirut 1979, p.567; AL-NUWAYRĪ, Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab, éd. G. REMIRO (Historia de los musulmanes. España y Africa-), II, Grenada 1919, texte ar. p.143, trad. esp. p.151. Voir aussi H.R. IDRIS, La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes. Xᵉ-XIIᵉ siècles, I, Paris 1962, p.212.

[4] Pour un tableau synthétique de la tradition épique arabe on se reportera à K. PETRÁČEK, Volkstümliche Literatur, dans H. GÄTJE (éd.), Grundriss der Arabischen Philologie, II, Wiesbaden 1987, pp.234-236 et bibliographie. Parmi les études les plus récentes, nous signalons: M. GALLEY - A. AYOUB (éds.), Histoire des Beni Hilal et de ce qui leur advint dans leur marche vers l'ouest, Paris 1983; A. AYOUB - A. ROTH, Un fragment manuscrit de la Sīrat des Banī Hilāl, dans MASGELLAS 1984, pp.9-196; A. LERRICK, Taghrībat Banī Hilāl Al-Diyāǧhim. Variation in the Oral Epic Poetry of Najd, diss., Princeton University, 1984; L. SAADA (éd.), La geste hilalienne. Version de Bou Thadi (Tunisie), Paris 1985; B. CON-

l'Ifrīqiyā toute entière, est représenté symboliquement dans les versions orales tunisiennes par "un boisseau de louis d'or, une écuelle remplie de ʿaṣīda, un plat de bouillie creusée de sept trous qui contiennent sept aliments: lait, petit lait, eau, miel, beurre fondu, sucre et huile", placés au centre du tapis.[5]

II. Si la tradition maghrébine et égyptienne sont assez connues, la tradition hilalienne yéménite l'est beaucoup moins. Comme nous l'avons remarqué ailleurs,[6] la *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* assume au Yémen des caractéristiques particulières où prévalent des épisodes vraisemblablement inspirés de légendes locales. Bien des vestiges himyarites sont attribués aux Hilaliens, ce qui renforce la conviction que la *Sīra* est, dans la phase qui précède la grande migration, une expression de l'histoire yéménite. Le ton belliqueux, si accentué dans la tradition égyptienne, se nuance en des épisodes où les héros hilaliens se distinguent plus à cause de leur sagacité et de leur ruse que de leur épée. Ce n'est pas par hasard qu'Abū Zayd al-Hilālī est souvent pris pour ʿAlī b. Zāyid, le fondateur de l'agriculture yéménite, dont les maximes jouissent jusqu'à présent d'une grande popularité.[7] Les Yéménites ont toujours revendiqué le privilège d'une antique sagesse.[8] Le Prophète lui-même aurait dit: "La foi est yéménite, la sagesse est yéménite".[9]

Il nous a paru intéressant de retrouver la parabole du tapis au Yémen, dans un contexte de situations énigmatiques très appréciées par les auditeurs (mais difficilement compréhensibles pour les étrangers...). Dans les versions recueillies dans

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NELLY, Arab Folk Epic and Identity, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1986; S. SLYOMOVICS, The Merchant of Art: An Egyptian Hilali Oral Epic Poet in Performance, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1987.

[5] M. GALLEY, Histoire et épopée, dans "Quaderni di studi arabi", 8(1990), p.161. L'auteur remarque dans son étude comparative (fondée sur des versions recueillies par elle-même avec A. AYOUB, par L. SAADA et par A. BAKER): "L'intensité du langage visuel que représente le boisseau rempli d'or, ou le plat de nourriture, réside dans sa capacité de concrétiser la signification profonde de la taġrība dont tout autre aspect historique est ici éliminé. Ces objets bien réels sont, pour les intéressés à l'intérieur de la sīra, une preuve tangible de la récompense attendue" (ibid.).

[6] G. CANOVA, Testimonianze hilaliane nello Yemen orientale, dans "Studi yemeniti", 1(1985), pp. 161-185.

[7] Voir G. AGARIŠEV, Aḥkām ʿAlī b. Zāyid, Sanaa 1986; J. LAMBERT, La geste d'Ibn Zāʾid ou la sagesse de l'honneur (Yémen du Nord), dans "Cahiers de littérature orale", 17(1985), pp.163- 183.

[8] "insoupçonnée, pensaient-ils, des Arabes du Nord". J.-C. VADET, L'"acculturation" des Sud-Arabes de Fusṭāṭ au lendemain de la conquête arabe, BEO 22(1969), p.11.

[9] BUḪĀRĪ, Ṣaḥīḥ, éd. AL-ḪAṭĪB et al., II, Le Caire 1403 h., p. 503, n. 3499.

la région d'al-Hadā' et dans le Bilād ʿAns,[10] le personnage principal est le fils qu'Abū Zayd al-Hilālī aurait eu de sa soeur, appelé ʿAzīz ben Hāleh (au nord du Ǧabal Isbīl) ou Halīl ben Hāleh (au sud). La situation de ce "fils de son oncle" suscite déjà quelques perplexités dans la comparaison avec les traditions hila-liennes des autres pays arabes.[11] C'est justement notre ʿAzīz/Halīl qui résout l'énigme visuelle du tapis, conçue par son père-oncle Abū Zayd en vue de la migration; cette épreuve est précédée par une autre, consistant en la rupture d'un fagot.

III. Le texte que nous publions a été enregistré en novembre 1986[12] à Ha-līma, sur les coteaux méridionaux du Hayd al-Halāl (3000 m, Ǧabal Isbīl), où se trouverait, selon la légende, la résidence du sultan Hasan al-Hilālī.[13] ʿAlī Nāsir Muhammad, notre informateur, un paysan âgé de 50 ans environ, appartient à la tribu des ʿAns. Au cours d'une deuxième entrevue visant à obtenir des éclair-cissements sur des passages obscurs, il nous a été possible de recueillir d'autres récits, qui nous ont permis de mieux connaître son répertoire et la tradition narra-tive de la région. Il connaît en effet d'autres histoires hilaliennes (Halīl ben Hāleh et ʿAlyā'), des anecdotes et des chants sur ʿAlī b. Zāyid (l'histoire de Badra, le taureau Faraǧ Allāh), des légendes religieuses (la ville de Lot, Salomon et la perte de la bague, le Prophète Muhammad et ʿĀ'iša, le Pharaon et Moïse). ʿAlī Nāsir Muhammad a commencé son récit en rappelant que les Banū Hilāl avaient habité longtemps le Hayd al-Halāl avant de partir pour Tunis "la Verte": il ne restait plus maintenant que les ruines de leurs demeures, des inscriptions (himyarites), des résidus des digues qui avaient permis autrefois la culture de pêches, abricots, vignes (remplacées aujourd'hui par le qat), une grande citerne. Dans l'espoir de rentrer un jour dans leurs terres, les princes hilaliens auraient caché, dans les viscères du Hayd al-Halāl, leurs trésors sur lesquels le peuple ne s'arrête pas de faire travailler son imagination.[14]

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[10] A une trentaine de kilomètres à Nord-Est et à Est de Damār.

[11] Cf. G. CANOVA, Remarques sur l'histoire de ʿAzīz ben Hāleh du cycle épique hilalien, dans Actes du XIVᵉ Congrès de l'UEAI (Budapest 1988), sous presse.

[12] Les enregistrements ont été effectuées avec Lidia BETTINI, auteur d'une étude sur un des dialectes de la région: Note sull'arabo parlato al Baraddūn (Yemen del Nord), dans "Studi yemeniti", 1(1985), pp. 117-159.

[13] Cf. CANOVA, Testimonianze hilaliane, p.173.

[14] Sur les trésors cachés (par les Himyarites), voir AL-HAMDĀNĪ, al-Iklīl, éd. Muhammad AL-AKWAʿ, VIII, Sanaa 1979, pp.191-195.

Le texte qui suit possède, à notre avis, une certaine importance comme témoignage d'une tradition peu connue, malgré ses incongruités, ses répétitions, ses passages d'interprétation incertaine.

IV. *salla ʿan-nabi! Kānat bekra min ğimāl Aba Zeyd al-Hilāli -esmaʿ esmaʿ!- kānat bekra... Al-ğimāl aṭ-ṭāniya mātat min al-ğūʿ fī hāḏīka š-šidda. Wa-hī kānat tesraḥ lā Berga w Gābes w aṣbaḥat baʿarha ḥudr.*

2. *Rikib ʿAli ben Zāyid fowg ḏahraha w šadd ʿala nafsah w hī gāmat miṭl ar-rīḥ, láma wuṣlet Berga w Gābes. Aba Zeyd al-Hilāli, Aba Zeyd al-Hilāli... Fa-hī terʿ wa-hū yeğni lal-masabb lal-masabb lal-masabb, ma-ṣbaḥat illa beyn ḥawāyeha fī Ḥayd al-Ḥalāl.*

3. *ʿAṣab ʿaṣb al-ahilla. Gāl: ē yā Beni Hilāl! Gālu: ēš? Gāl: man dī bā-ya... w fereš naṭʿ w tarah-laḥ al-ğena hāna. Gāl: man kasar al-ahilla wa-ʿaẓag an-naṭʿ wala yedʿasah... akal min hāḏīka l-fawākih.*

4. *Dawwaru dawwaru, ma-hadd gadar, ma-hadd gadar. Gālu: ʿād Ḥalīl ben Ḥāleh rāʿi al-gurāš. Gāl: eddūh. Sār. Gāl Aba Zeyd al-Hilāli, gāl: in ğā rākib fowg al-hoṣān allaḏi sār rasúl-leh, fa-huwa bā-yegḏi l-qaḏiyya wa-in ğā ʿala-rğí-leh māši...*

5. *Gal-lah: sīr ridd al-gurāš lama atamm atgadda'. Sār yeridd al-gurāš, rikib ʿala l-gurāš wal(la) fārr... Agbal bil-hoṣān.*

6. *Gāl: gudiya l-amr. Wuṣel, gāl: hiya gad ʿağazat Beni Hilāl ʿala l-gadiya hāḏih. Ḍarab al-ahilla hākeḏa ṭūl, gaṭam al-ʿaṣb w gāl: eksir eksir eksir! Lama kammalhen.*

7. *Gāl: hā, in... ar-riğāl ʿaṣb wāhid, ma-hadd yegdir-lah! Wa-'in gad-hī tfāḥaḏat kull wāhid wahdah... Eksir eksir, kasar al-kull. (Ḍarab an-naṭʿ bis-seyf w) gudum akal (al-fawākih).*

8. *Gāl: šaddu! šaddaw Berga w Gābes fa-sawwa' -esmaʿu!- lil-gaḏiyya. Fa-kān yisawwi ʿedla trāb wa ʿedla rağğāl, wa ʿedla mā' wa ʿedla rağğāl...*

9. *Kānu yidrubu r-raml fī Berga w Gābes. Kānat tigūl: hā, gowm mugbila mugfiya sahābiyya terābiyya, lā dert keyf tūgaʿ, sāreha māwiya...*

10. *Kān yisawwi rās wāhid l-āḥir gafa l-ğimāl w rās wāhid l-awwalah. Mā ʿād darat bir-raml keyf tisawwi. Mā darat illa hīn haṭṭ waṣt al-madīna -esmaʿ!- ḥaṭṭ, wa-hī ntašarat ar-riğāl.*

11. *Amma baʿda wugaʿ ṭaʿn lama ḥtama d-damm lā manḥar al-hoṣān! Lama nāda l-munādi min as-sama: nuṣṣeyn nuṣṣeyn yā ahl Berga w Gābes entu w Beni Hilāl! Gasamu nuṣṣeyn baʿd mā ahtama d-damm lā manḥar al-hoṣān. Hāda llaḏi yigaddim-lak ʿAli Nāṣer Mohammed min mahall Ḥalīma...*

1. Prie pour le Prophète! Il y avait une jeune chamelle du troupeau d'Abū Zayd al-Hilālī -écoute, écoute!- il y avait une jeune chamelle... Les autres chameaux sont morts de faim dans cette disette. Elle s'en allait paître à Barqa et

Qabes et ses excréments devinrent verts (puisqu'elle se nourrissait de feuilles fraîches). [15]

2. ʿAlī b. Zāyid monta sur son dos et s'accrocha. (A cause du poids, la chamelle) se leva (et fila à toute vitesse) comme le vent, jusqu'à ce qu'elle arriva à Barqa et Qabes. (Je me corrige:) Abū Zayd al-Hilālī, Abū Zayd al-Hilālī (non pas ʿAlī b. Zāyid)... Pendant que la bête broutait, il ramassait des fruits... et hop, dans sa sacoche! Le lendemain matin la chamelle était déjà (rentrée) parmi ses compagnons dans le Hayd al-Halāl.

3. Abū Zayd al-Hilālī lia un fagot et appela les Banū Hilāl. Ils lui demandèrent: qu'y a-t-il? Il répondit: qui est-ce que... [16] Il étala un tapis de cuir et y posa (le narrateur indique le centre du tapis) les fruits ramassés. Il continua: celui qui brise le fagot et parvient (au milieu du tapis) sans le piétiner mangera les fruits.

4. Ils essayèrent, ils essayèrent mais personne ne réussit. Ils dirent: il reste encore Halīl ben Hāleh, il est à la pâture. (Abū Zayd) demanda de le faire venir. (Un messager alla le voir). Abū Zayd dit: si (Halīl) arrive sur le cheval avec lequel le messager est allé chez lui, alors il résoudra la question. S'il arrive à pied (en revanche il ne réussira pas, lui non plus).

5. (Halīl) dit au (messager): va donc réunir le bétail jusqu'à ce que j'aie fini de manger. L'autre s'en alla réunir le bétail. Halīl monta sur le cheval (du messager) et partit au galop. Il avança (vers le camp hilalien).

6. (Abū Zayd) dit (le voyant arriver à cheval): la question est résolue! Halīl arriva. Abū Zayd (lui) dit: les Banū Hilāl n'ont pas réussi cette épreuve. (Alors Halīl) frappa le fagot (avec l'épée) de cette manière, dans le sens de la longueur, il coupa le lien et dit: brise, brise, brise! Jusqu'à ce qu'il termina (de briser) tous (les roseaux).

7. Il dit: voilà, si les hommes sont (unis) comme un fagot, personne ne peut (les vaincre). S'ils se séparent, en restant chacun de son côté... Brise, brise! Il brisa tout! (Halīl alors frappa le tapis avec l'épée, se fraya un passage et) il avança (jusqu'au centre; il mangea les fruits). [17]

8. Il dit: partez! (Les Banū Hilāl) partirent pour Barqa et Qabes. Il avait résolu -écoutez!- la question. Il fit préparer (pour chaque chameau) un sac de sable et un sac avec un homme, (ou bien) un sac (avec une outre) d'eau et un autre avec un homme.

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[15] Nous avons mis entre parenthèse des éclaircissements fondés sur le commentaire du conteur et d'autres personnes présentes à la séance narrative.

[16] Le conteur ne complète pas le mot.

[17] Intégration du conteur lors de son commentaire au texte enregistré.

9. Pendant ce temps à Barqa et Qabes on pratiquait la divination avec le sable. (La personne qui se livrait à la géomancie) dit: (il y a) du monde devant, du monde derrière, nuageux,[18] poussiéreux -je ne comprends pas ce qui se passe-, il y a un va-et-vient...

10. (Abū Zayd ou Ḥalīl) avait disposé (ses hommes) l'un avec la tête (à l'arrière) vers la partie postérieure du chameau, l'autre (en avant) vers la partie antérieure. (La femme) ne comprit point la réponse de la divination, ce qu'il fallait faire. Elle se rendit compte (de ce que cela signifiait) seulement lorsque (le chef hilalien) s'arrêta au milieu de la ville -écoute!- et les hommes (cachés dans les sacs sortirent et) s'éparpillèrent.

11. Après cela il y eut un grand combat, à tel point que le sang (des blessés) arriva jusqu'au cou (gorge) des chevaux. Jusqu'à ce qu'une voix du ciel dit: (partagez le territoire) en deux parties, ô peuple de Barqa et Qabes, vous et les Banū Hilāl! Ils partagèrent en deux parties, après que le sang était arrivé jusqu'au cou des chevaux. Voilà ce que te raconte ʿAlī Nāṣir Muḥammad, du village de Ḥalīma...

V. Ce récit est bien connu dans la région: il nous a été possible, au cours de notre mission, d'en recueillir deux autres versions complètes[19] et une fragmentaire, contenant le seul motif du fagot. Dans l'une des versions, ʿAzīz ben Ḥāleh mène les chevaux hilaliens au pâturage et revient au camp sur le pur-sang d'Abū Zayd al-Hilālī: c'est là l'élément susceptible de convaincre le chef hilalien, toujours perplexe, qu'il s'agissait justement de son fils.[20] Dans un autre récit c'est Abū Zayd lui-même qui mène à bien l'épreuve du fagot et du tapis.

Cet épisode se place avant l'histoire tragique de ʿAzīz et ʿAlyā', l'épouse d'Abū Zayd al-Hilālī. Dans son caractère essentiel il contient les éléments les plus significatifs de la Taġrība, la troisième partie de la geste hilalienne, où l'on décrit la grande migration qui conduisit les tribus des Banū Hilāl au Maghreb. Notre histoire paraît décidément schématique et pleine d'allusion. Elle sait susciter toutefois une participation immédiate de la part de l'auditoire, comme nous avons pu le constater. La sagacité des "ancêtres" hilaliens dans les moments difficiles

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[18] A la lettre "nuageuse", en faisant allusion à l'eau de pluie avec laquelle on avait rempli les outres.

[19] Ce sont les cheikhs des Banū Ḥudayǧa et des Banū Buḥayt qui nous ont raconté ces versions.

[20] La question de la paternité d'Abū Zayd al-Hilālī, qui ne voulait pas d'enfants de crainte de leur transmettre sa force (comportement bien étrange pour un chef bédouin!) a été traitée dans notre étude Remarques sur l'histoire de ʿAzīz ben Ḥāleh, où nous avons comparé les différentes versions de l'Arabie du Sud.

représente un motif de fierté et d'orgueil. Nombreux sont les éléments d'auto-identification pour les *qabā'il* du haut-plateau yéménite. La sécheresse et la disette sont une constante dans leur existence: les témoignages d'années entières passées sans pluie sont fréquents, ainsi que ceux de longs déplacements à la recherche de l'eau, ou de la faim rassasiée à l'aide d'une pierre serrée contre le ventre. Aujourd'hui, grâce à la rapidité des communications, à quelques puits artésiens, à une plus grande disponibilité économique faisant suite à l'émigration, la situation est certainement améliorée, mais l'angoisse du ravitaillement envahit encore les esprits et détermine les comportements.

D'ailleurs, c'est justement à cause d'une sécheresse longue de sept ans que les Hilaliens ont été obligés d'abandoner le Hayd al-Halāl. Le salut fut entrevu en deux lieux mythiques, dont on ne connaît pas l'emplacement réel: Barqa et Qabes. Les fruits qu'Abū Zayd al-Hilālī ramasse avec avidité deviennent le symbole de la fertilité de cette terre. La dimension temporelle assume des traits qui ne sont pas moins fabuleux que la dimension spatiale: la chamelle achève le parcours Yémen - Maghreb - Yémen en une nuit, et le lendemain elle broute paisiblement avec ses semblables au sein du troupeau. Mais ses excréments révèlent à l'attention de notre Abū Zayd yéménite que l'animal a trouvé des pâturages frais: leur couleur contraste ostensiblement avec la couleur habituelle, due à l'ingestion d'arbustes secs et épineux. Le conteur a recours à cette image efficace, tirée de son expérience d'éleveurpaysan.

Tunis "la Verte" devient ainsi quelque chose qu'il est possible d'atteindre facilement. Mais il faut agir avec *siyāsa,* prudence et ruse: les Banū Hilāl doivent se rendre compte qu'on ne peut conquérir le Maghreb par une action individuelle, quelque héroïque qu'elle soit. L'esprit de groupe, cette *'aṣabiyya* qui est encore bien vivante aujourd'hui dans les tribus yéménites du haut-plateau,[21] trouve son expression dans l'image du fagot, en même temps fragile et susceptible de résister à l'épée si on lie ensemble les roseaux qui le composent. Les Banū Hilāl doivent donc agir ensemble. Leur chef a davantage confiance en l'efficacité de la métaphore et de l'exemple qu'en l'action directe de son ordre explicite. La stratégie de l'avancement grâce au camouflage des combattants représente un modèle de ruse auquel la tribu doit se tenir pour arriver à un but autrement irréalisable. Il est intéressant de remarquer que ce motif du camouflage se retrouve aussi dans la geste de Zīr Sālim: la caravane qui conduit Ğalīla chez le roi Ḥassān al-Yamānī à

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[21] Cf. CANOVA, Testimonianze hilaliane, p.170.

Ḥumr al-Yaman est formée par des hommes armés cachés dans les sacs des chameaux.[22]

Dans les versions égyptiennes et maghrébines de la *Sīra* la divination par géomancie a lieu après un rêve de Saʿda, fille de Zanātī Ḥalīfa, ou bien du souverain lui-même.[23] Ici, les détails manquent; il reste uniquement l'écho de la grande renommée des magiciens maghrébins dans le monde arabe.

Dans le récit yéménite, la longue lutte pour la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord reste à l'arrière-plan et elle est évoquée seulement par l'image du sang des blessés qui arrive jusqu'au cou des chevaux. Aucune scène d'héroïsme, aucun duel. Le noyau de notre narration, autour duquel s'organise toute l'histoire, n'est point la victoire finale mais plutôt les épreuves de ruse de Ḥalīl ben Ḥāleh et la tromperie de la caravane. L'épilogue est presque inéluctable, sanctionné comme il l'est par l'intervention surnaturelle qui impose le partage du territoire et préfigure la nouvelle destinée de l'Afrique du Nord.

VI. Dans l'introduction nous avons fait allusion à la parabole du tapis en tant qu'élément significatif de la tradition nord-africaine; cette manière de procéder par énigmes verbales et visuelles est appelée "hilalienne" au Maghreb. Ǧāziya elle-même s'en sert pour confondre ses prétendants: il n'y a que l'hilalien Ḍiyāb b. Ǧānim qui puisse la comprendre.[24] On peut retrouver une attitude très proche dans la *Sīra* yéménite. Est-il possible de percevoir en tout cela une liaison, à l'intérieur de la tradition épique, entre le point de départ (le Yémen) et le point d'arrivée (le Maghreb) de cette "longue marche" hilalienne? Dans l'état actuel de la recherche il est impossible de répondre. Dans les deux cas, la tradition régionale n'a pas été étouffée par les modèles que les grands centres de la récitation professionnelle (Le Caire et Damas) ont diffusés.

La *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* yéménite n'est pas une suite d'actions mirobolantes, comme celle que chantent les *šuʿarā'* égyptiens, mais plutôt l'expression de valeurs, drames, expériences, aspirations particulières.[25] La geste hilalienne

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[22] Qiṣṣat al-Zīr Sālim Abū Laylā al-Muhalhil, éd. AL-ḤUṢŪṢĪ, Le Caire s.d., pp. 13 sqq. Pour ce qui concerne ce motif dans la geste hilalienne, cf. R.L. GRECH, Indexation de la geste des Banū Hilāl à partir de deux éditions parallèles, III, Alger 1989, p.388.

[23] Voir G. CANOVA, La funzione del sogno nella poesia epica hilaliana, dans "Quaderni di studi arabi", 2(1984), pp.116 sqq.

[24] Cf. J. ARNAUD, Les Benī Hilāl dans l'oeuvre de Kateb Yacine, dans Sīrat Banī Hilāl. Actes de la Ière Table ronde internationale (Hammamet 1980), Tunis 1989, p.26.

[25] Cf. les remarques de B. CONNELLY sur les versions iesiye (The Structure of Four Banī Hilāl Tales: Prolegomena to the Study of Sīra Literature, dans "Journal of Arabic Literature", 4, 1973, p.21).

devient ainsi l'histoire d'une peuplade ou plutôt, à proprement parler, c'est cette histoire qui devient geste.

On sealings and officials: Sumerian DUB and SANGA, c. 3,500 - 2,500 B.C.

Petr CHARVÁT

The current interest in sealing practices of the ancient Near East (for Mesopotamia, cf. most recently von WICKEDE 1990) results in a substantial increase of information on the socio-economic processes connected with the emergence of complex society and the state in this area of one of the world's most ancient civilisations. Study of the categories of objects and structures bearing the seal impressions (on this cf. CHARVÁT 1988) can supply actual and concrete informations on the economic activities involved while data culled from textual sources provide the general historical context whis is so often beyond the reach of the seal impressions, too tightly tied to their material carriers. The two source categories are thus mutually complementary and it is only by resorting to both of them that we may achieve a better vision and fuller understanding of what actually happened in antiquity. Incidentally, such studies may also shed light on the accessibility of various aspects of past reality for different scientific disciplines such as, in this case, for history and archeology.

In this study, I am addressing the problem of the manner in which sealing practices are reflected by the earliest Mesopotamian texts. While the outline of historical development of sealing practices is presented in the above cited works, I have chosen for analysis the four groups of texts available in standard publications (ATU, PI, UET II, WVDOG 40, WVDOG 43, WVDOG 45). Of course, my results are hardly anything beyond pilot studies which will have to be tested after the substantial corpora of hitherto unpublished texts become accessible (by way of examples of preliminary publications, cf. VAN DIJK 1962, GREEN 1982, ZATU).

According to A. DEIMEL (ŠL 9, pp.539-542, No.314), the sign KIŠIB, meaning "seal" in standard cuneiform, evolved by coalescence of several archaic signs. These may be subsumed under the values DUB/MES and also UM (LAK no.127, 606), undoubtedly related in their form to the KIŠIB sign (LAK 609), SANGA (LAK 711) and PISAN and the like (LAK 712-720). The PISAN signs are left out of consideration here as they are not present in sufficient quantities to warrant any more informative conclusions. I therefore concentrate on the DUB/MES and SANGA signs. More or less the same stand is taken by R. LABAT (1963, 143 sub. No.314), who adds a reference to the URUDU sign (ibid. 99 sub. No. 138). This latter point will be dwelt upon briefly here.

First, the SANGA sign. In authentic texts of Uruk IV date (ATU and VAN DIJK 1962) it occurs in 25 instances. In most of these cases, it associates with livestock (10x), mobile goods (2x) and rations (3x). Furthermore, it occurrs together with institutions of Uruk (EN, KISAL?, UNUG, 1x, 2x, 3x) as well as other ones (EŠ$_3$:KUR 1x, NUN 2x, IB 1x, ADAB 1x, EREŠ$_2$ 1x, a geographical (?) entity denoted by sign ATU 511 = ZATU 752 - all readings according to ZATU). In three texts, (ATU 78, 204, 524) the combination MES:SANGA, known from lexical lists (MSL XII p.10, ED Lu A list 11. 46-47), occurs but it is exceedingly dificult to identify its precise meaning. The association with DUB/MES in all cases makes the sense KIŠIB possible and the context is not clear enough to allow any safe conclusions. The general impression thus seems to be one of a minor economic functionary employed in the (re?-)distribution of mobile goods and occuring in two sub-ranks (GAL:SANGA and sanga-dub, as ZATU 444 reads). However, the semantic polyvalence observed above indicates that the semantic field of this sign in Uruk IV times might have actually included components connected with sealing practices.

The earliest form of the SANGA sign deserves special considerations. Unlike the later development phases of this grapheme, the Uruk IV version is distinctly conical, tapering towards one end which is provided by a diminutive "tail" (for a good drawing cf. LABAT 1963, 143, No.314 in left column). The original model of this sign could thus have been a conical basket made of wickerwork or some similar substance but the "tail" is real problem. It is too small to be interpreted as a carrying device (a pair of straps, for instance). The semantic field of the SANGA sign includes such seemingly disparate notions as, for instance, counting (ŠID) and sealing but also kneading (LAG = lāšu, ŠL 9, pp.539-542). In addition to this, let us realize that a majority of Ubaid-period sealings have marked mobile containers (VON WICKEDE 1990, esp. 143-217, 270-277). In view of the abovementioned facts, it may be asked whether the "tail" does not represent a strip of wickerwork attached to the basket and bearing a seal impression in a lump of clay sticking on it. It makes some sense to view the SANGA of Uruk IV times as an official who counted deliveries to his institution supplied in baskets bearing the seal impressions (an accountant, storekeeper or the like). The dating to the Ubaid period is important because the preceding Halaf-period sealings had a different form of a clay tag independently attached to the transported object (VON WICKEDE 1990, 94-99) while in the succeeding Uruk period, sealings accompanying mobile containers were no longer the most typical form, as the door sealings turned up for the first time (ibid. 275 and CHARVÁT 1988).

Texts of Jemdet Nasr date (ATU, PI) contain twenty four cases of occurrence of the SANGA sign. As against the preceding phase, it turns up frequently in connection with institutions, most notably with EŠ$_3$ (9x), less so with geographical names (2x). The official handled victuals (6x) but his association with livestock decreased visibly (4x). A new feature in represented by reference to personnel of the SANGA (2-3x) and by his recurrent association with the sign group NI+RU, attested

to for the first time here (ZATU p.265 apud. No.435). The contexts do not contradict the assumption that NI+RU denoted a group of people and it may be asked whether these were not the same as the "arua" personnel documented in later texts (GELB 1972). The SANGA:GAL rank has survived (3x), in the text PI 193 obviously equal in level to the EN or to local assemblies but the sanga-dub vanished. Nevertheless, this social ascent of the SANGA had its limits as the sign clearly denotes a component entity of the EN economy and turns up in association with the ŠAGAN, from which the official might have received victuals or supplied them to the ŠAGAN (or both). In sum, the Jemdet Nasr-period SANGA has demonstrably socially progressed as against his Uruk IV predecessors. He was associated with institutions rather than with geographical entities, had his own personnel and his subaltern variant (sanga-dub) disappeared. Nevertheless, he was still (at least economically) under the sway of the EN. There are no signs of his having been involved in sealing practices by this period of time.

In the period of the archaic Ur texts, that is, in the ED I-II times (UET II, GREEN 1982) I have found thirty four references to the SANGA. Eleven of these are represented by components of what appears to the personal names and in ten cases out of the eleven, the sign turns up in the combination AMAR:SANGA. Though the occurrence of this sign group in later Fara-period texts does not exclude the possibility that it denoted some official, the very basis of classification (AMAR = offspring, junior) shows that the SANGA dignity is now entering the world of kinship relations or, at any rate, of a social structure that was conceived in the forms of blood ties. The most frequent associations are now those with victuals (6x) and mobile goods (5x). Only three times does SANGA occur with $EŠ_3$ but in all these cases, he clearly presides over the distribution of mobile goods or victuals. His teritorial ties are now limited to the association with EDIN and EDIN:BAR. His personnel is mentioned, though only one or two times, and again reference is made to SANGA:GAL except SANGA. There are three important innovations. First and foremost, SANGA is mentioned with land (GÁNA). Second, the title SANGA:GAR, known from texts from Fara to Uruinimgina (in Ur it is associated with UDU) occurs here for the first time. Third, the association SANGA:AKA, documented in three cases, indicates that for the firs time, we have a demonstrable proof of a different reading and thus a different sememe for the SANGA sign. Here the rererence is most probably to "settling of accounts" (níg-šid$_x$____aka in later texts). In the ED I-II period, SANGA might thus have retained the elevated social position to which he had risen in Jemdet Nasr times and his competence sphere might have been extended to the world of kinship (or kinship-constructed) relations. His responsibilities now included transactions with land and the base for re-designing his integration into the existing social pattern, in terms of both the kinship ties and the SANGA:GAL - SANGA - SANGA:GAR sequence, replacing the Uruk IV SAN-

GA:GAL - SANGA - SANGA:MES/DUB one, emerged in this period of time. Again, no association with sealing practices is immediately apparent from the texts.

In the Fara texts of the incipient ED III period (WVDOG 40, 43, 45) there is a clear distinction between the economic and school documents. Fourteen economic texts use this term sixteen times but always in the form of SANGA:GAR, "Vorsteher der giš-kin-ti (Handwerker)" after DEIMEL (WVDOG 45, 7*). In accordance with this, he receives mobile goods (6x), including grain (2x), sheep, working hands and textiles (1x each), as well as unidentified substance (1x). However, he also receives land (2x) and plough donkeys (2x). He is twice associated with metalwork, possibly in his official capacity. Never does he associate with any geographical or institutional entities; this may indicate that the office was viewed as an internal activity of one well-defined centre. The sign also occurs twice as a component of personal names and in one instance, there is again a possibility of its being part of the níg-šid$_x$ clause (WVDOG 45, 61:II:8, just because it is associated with a geographical name). The ensuing image is thus one of a household official perhaps employed in the processing of mineral resources but receiving land, labour force and mobile goods from the common fund, perhaps as a part of his remuneration. No signs of any associations with sealing practices may be observed.

Thirty-seven school texts from Fara refer to SANGA's in 194 cases. If we discount the incomprehensible cases (57x) and references contained in the local copies of the ED Lu A list (42x), the most frequent association is with what appear to be kinship terms or possibly denominations for age groups (AMAR, AMAR+NÁM, SAG, UR+NÁM, UR:SAG, 17 cases in all). This is followed by occurence with terms denoting specialized professions (3 metallurgists, 3 PISAN signs or the like, connotating possibly some storage activity, 2 scribes, one cook (?) and one potter, 10 cases in all). In addition to this, the title is specified by reference to animate beings (SANGA+NITÁ, SANGA+ SANGA - twice) and to architectural or cultic entities (MEN, AZAG, GAL: AZAG, KISAL). Ten professional denominations (?) are obscure. Twenty eight cases include the junction of SANGA with geographical entities, including 16 cases with divine names, 7 with geographical names, 3 with "people" or "country" (UN, KALAM) as well as 2 incomprehensible items. A surprising fact is the occurence of SANGA together with two cases of what may be personal names of major Fara personages (Anzu-^{d}Sùd, WVDOG 45:39:XI:5, and Ur-^{d}Sag-è, ibid. 60:VIII:4; on Mr. Anzusud cf.CHARVÁT 1986). Moreover, there are two references to SANGA:GAR:GAL, denoting probably a different social level from that referred to in the economic texts. The character of the function of SANGA is indicated by the fact that the SANGA:GAL, mentioned ten times, associate either with land or with economic facilities (5x, in addition to 5 obscure items). On the other hand, the SANGA sign makes up even a component of divine names of the Fara period (4x). No association with sealing practices is discernible.

In the world of the Fara school texts, the SANGA thus appears as an official probably concerned with (re?-)distribution of mobile goods, less frequently dealing with land, and capable of writing down documents. His association with kinship or kinship -constructed (or possibly age-set?) groups is frequent but incomprehensible (did he, for instance, have some functional association with these population categories such as tax-collecting or overseeing?). It is remarkable that he is nowhere connected with the ABBA:URU, in whom the fully privileged "citizens" as family and household heads may be seen. Within the centre of the polity (?) which produced the Fara texts (on their findspots cf. now MARTIN 1988, esp. 86-99), SANGA is joined both by SANGA:GAR:GAL and SANGA:GAL, both economic functionaries; outside this centre, he is frequently tied to geographical entities. He may even have been associated with prominent personages of the day. The divine patronage of the SANGA function shows that its prestige must have been considerable and its position in the social structure recognized and acknowledged.

The upper echelons of the SANGA functionaries, the predominance of whom in Assyriological vision defined the current rendering of "temple-estate administrator" (WVDOG 45, 7*; COOPER 1983, 10, 33) are known even from their authentic inscriptions dating to this period of time. These indicate well their quest for high social status, especially in the case of dignitaries outside the centres who obviously tried to build up their own economic and political power bases (Kèš: FOXVOG 1980; Nippur: GOETZE 1970, 43, 45, 46; Kiš or Nippur?: LAMBERT 1979, 4).

Thus it may be concluded that in authentic documents, the earliest significance of the SANGA title (pre-Uruk IV?) seems to have been one of an official who kept track of deliveries of mobile goods to his institution, supplied in sealed containers. In Uruk IV times, he oversaw transactions with such mobile goods as livestock of rations, having been attached to a variety of institutions and geographical entities and turning up in at least two hierarchically subordinated ranks. His association with sealing appears as probable. In Jemdet Nasr times, he accomplished a major advance in terms of his social position. He came to associated with the $E\check{S}_3$ intitution, directing groups of his own personnel. The SANGA:GAL of those times ranked equal to local asemblies of a number of anthropogeographical entities. From now on, the office was divorced from sealing activities. His prestige may have increased further in ED I-II times when kinship-organized groups (or population age-sets?) came to be included in his competence sphere. Finally, by the incipient ED III period the SANGA title covered a wide range of officials concerned with movement of (mainly) mobile goods, reaching from private managers via subaltern clercs in central offices up to individuals charged with administration of whole sites or even regions some of whom might have risen to positions of district chiefs or even petty kinglets.

It is tempting to compare the above sketched image with data given by the most ancient list of human professions and occupations, the ED Lu A lexical list (MSL XII, pp.3-12). Most of its earliest copies date from Jemdet Nasr times but faithfully

reproduce the Uruk IV situation without respect to the changes clearly discernible from contemporary authentic documents (on the problems concerned cf. NISSEN 1974; id. 1985). In the incipient ED III times (possibly, however, as early as the ED I-II), this list underwent an extension and "modernisation" which probably begins either at line 61 or 66 of the canonical version (MSL XII p.4, on these textual operations cf. also GREEN 1984). This extension clearly indicates that for its compilers, the SANGA was still charged with overseeing movements of livestock and natural products (less so of land), having be viewed as a member of specialized personnel groups of large households. The writers of the list refused to take into consideration the marked rise in social status of the SANGA and insisted on interpreting this title as one of the lower-rank executive officials. It may be noted en passant that the last copies of this list probably date from Ur III times (GREEN 1984, 93) and the Old Babylonian lists, products of a milieu in which the importance of the SANGA office was unquestionable (cf. now ELLIS 1983, 506-507; ead. 1985, 115-120; ead. 1986, 764-768; ead. 1987, 236-237) are quite different.

Let us now review evidence of the DUB/MES sign. In Uruk IV texts, it occurs twenty three times. Out of this number, 19 instances turn up in contexts to which the traditional rendering "tablet" fits well. In two cases, it specifies the SANGA title (the remaining instance, referred to earlier, has been included in the 19 cases just mentioned) and in the last two cases it probably refers to an institution employing low-status personnel (ATU 155, associating DUB/MES with LAGAR = ZATU 323) and dealing in mobile goods (ATU 178, occurring together with what may be a geographical name). The latter interpretation is enhanced by the sign ZATU 166 = GÁ+ DUB, as the GÁ sign usually contains signs referring to various goods or institutions ($EŠ_3$, EN, KUR, $NISABA_2$, cf. ZATU 162-183). No association with sealing practices is apparent.

There are indications that the earliest form of the DUB/MES sign actually refers to the much sought-after predecessors of Uruk IV script on perishable matters. The obliquely crossing lines inside the rectangular frame of the earliest DUB/MES sign, not corresponding to any ruling observable on actual tablets, imply that this sign was modelled on a frame of some organic matter (probably wood), with a raised border, the interior, sunk part of which might have been coated with some soft substance (such as beeswax) into which the signs could have been incised (a mediaeval example of such a tablet is illustrated as Fig.1). This explanation would also account for the fact that most of genuine Uruk IV tablets contain only the most elementary informations and frequently in abbreviated forms. These may originally have served as labels or tags, accompanying containers with more specific texts written on perishable matters. In this vision, writing on clay would have prevailed only in the Jemdet Nasr period.

The ten cases in which the DUB/MES sign is attested to in the Jemdet Nasr texts include, first and foremost, association with mobile items such as livestock

(2x) and possibly service personnel ($GEME_2$ - 1x, ZATU 659 = ?, 1x) as well as victuals (2x, total of 6 instances). A case of what may be a personal name (PI 9) is likely to be assigned to the DUB/MES:GI livestock - and manpower qualifications (PI 40, 136, 139). One instance may refer to the "tablet of the ploughmen of the $EŠ_3$" (PI 102). An institution called É:DUB/MES, belonging to the $EŠ_3$ sphere (PI 189) and brewing beer (PI 78: DUG KAŠ É:DUB/MES) is mentioned twice.

The change in the sign form seems significant. From now on, the form of the handled frame is preserved but the ruling is no more by lines crossing obliquely within the frame but by parallel lines filling in the frame and perpendicular to the longer axis of the tablet. These parallel lines either depict the ruling in columns, usual in Jemdet Nasr-period texts (but in this case, the sign is depicted in the original vision while all the other signs are turned by the $90°$ angle) or, rather, they show a tablet with rollings of cylinder seals which tend to run parallel to one of the sides of the tablet (cf., for instance texts PI 73, 75, 113). From the Jemdet Nasr period onwards, the DUB/MES sign may thus include both the DUB and the KIŠIB sememes (sic ZATU 86). Such a proposal would not be contradicted by the É:DUB/MES institution in the case of which the association with the edubba of classical Sumerian springs to mind authomatically. The ancient precursor had obviously a more mundane, economic functions, though not excluding writing of texts, in those times chiefly concerned with economic affairs. The reading É:KIŠIB is in this case equally possible.

A somewhat surprising situation is represented by the ED I-II texts of archaic Ur and Uruk. In the Ur texts, the sign appears fifty-six times, but with one single exception, distinctly as a carrier of the sense MES = etlu, a full grown, adult male. The only exception is represented by the text 235+ 138, in two fragments, where the MES/DUB:$EŠ_3$ (138=235:III:1), included in a series of what appear to be institutions or departements within a single entity, could perhaps have something in common with the old É.DUB/KIŠIB. The switch from "tablet/seal impression" to "adult male" is totally incomprehensible today. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the hieroglyphic Egyptian sign for "retinue, entourage" (Kaplony's "Gefolge") also includes a component represented by the image of a cylinder seal (KAPLONY 1977, 62). Moreover, Assyrian dream books, albeit of a much later date, clearly associate the seal symbol with human procreative force as manifestation of divine protection of human life (CASSIN 1960, 746-747). In a metaphorical way, the seal and its activities may thus have been viewed as a symbolic expression of masculine qualities (in the manner of the Song of Songs of the Bible). In addition to this, some illumination may be gleaned from archaeological facts. The ED I-II period is the time of transition between sealing of mobile containers which prevailed earlier (cf. above, VON WICKEDE 1990, esp. 275-277, and CHARVÁT 1988) and sealing of apertures of storage spaces clearly dominant from incipient ED III (MARTIN 1988, esp. the appendix on Fara sealings and seals). Socially, the privilege to seal the

storeroom doors, equalling to a key position in the redistribution of the deposited goods, must have been vested in persons of the highest prestige grades, conceivably in household and family heads. The activity of sealing could thus have indeed been comprehended as an inseparable activity and distinguishing mark of adult males. Of course, all these suggestions are hardly more then hypotheses remaining to be tested by future research.

In the Fara economic texts, the DUB/MES sign occurs eight times with a clear sense of "tablet, written document", in addition to 68 instances of the MES sememe as a component of personal names. Twenty-one school tablets contain fifty references to this sign. Twenty-nine of these make up personal names and five compose divine names. With nine incomprehensible cases, this leaves seven instances where the sign associates with mobile goods (livestock, slave-girls, silver, MES, MES:GÁ) and where it may perhaps be interpreted as DUB or KIŠIB.

As to the URUDU sign which may also have come within the range of the "sealing" sememe (cf. above, LABAT 1963, 99 sub No.138), I can put forward no more than a suggestion. One of the early variants of the URUDU sign, ATU 636 and especially 637 (= ZATU 602, 603) shows an axis running through the body of the larger oblong (in ATU 637, this part of the sign is emphasized by being filled in with oblique lines while the rest is blank). This sign appears in four texts (ATU 125, 206, 511 and 566) in which it obviously stands for a geographical (?) entity both belonging to Uruk (ATU 125) and distinct from it (ATU 206). This shows that URUDU need not mean exclusively metal in Uruk IV texts and that we may ponder upon other segments of its semantic field. If this sign represents a section through a metal ingot or even through a cylinder seal (the axis of which having been made from some heterogenous material, as seen in preserved examples of early cylinder seals), it may also have denoted an institution of typical use of cylinder seals, for instance, one of the predecessors of the Jemdet Nasr-period É:DUB/KIŠIB. After extinction of the original institution, the sign could have merged with the group of the URUDU signs (were the early cylinder seals made, among others, of metal ?).

An overall conclusion may now be put forward. While no independent grapheme for sealing practices occurs in Mesopotamian texts datable c. 3500-2500 B.C., the notion has been present throughout this earlier period of time as a component of semantic fields of other lexemes. In Uruk IV times, it was probably referred to by the SANGA sign, denoting an official keeping track of deliveries supplied in sealed containers. Archaeologically speaking, the office must have emerged even earlier as the authomatic connection between sealings and mobile containers, necessary for understanding this sign, prevailed only during the Ubaid-culture period. While the social status of the SANGA rose visibly in the Jemdet Nasr period and the connection between him and sealing practices became less apparent, the "sealing" sememe was associated with the DUB/MES sign depicting from now on - as it seems - a tablet with cylinder-seal impressions. From this moment on, this association of

sealings with their most prestigious carriers became a dominant feature throughout the subsequent history of the junction of these notions in cuneiform writing. Ultimately, the DUB/KIŠIB/MES grapheme must have attracted also symbolic aspects of the connotated activities, as is shown by its ED I-II association with the sememe MES = adult male, which may be understood only with reference to social and symbolic values of sealing activities. The corporate semantic field of this single grapheme thus represents a piece of history of human achievement, reaching into the economic, spiritual and symbolical aspects of life in antiquity.
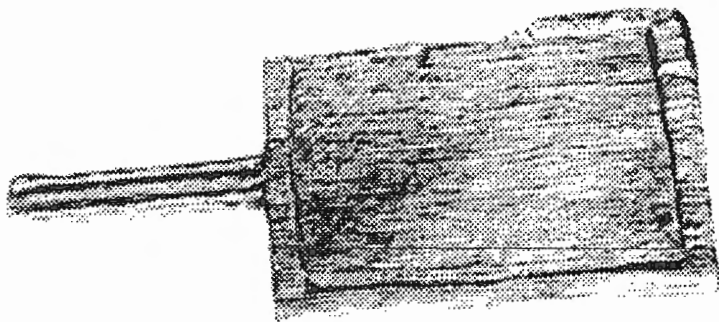
Fig. 1. A writing tablet of wood, originally covered with wax
(Cologne, Germany, 13th century A.D.)

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Appendix
The occurence of signs DUB/MES and SANGA in Sumerian texts,
c. 3500-2500 B.C.

Uruk IV period
SANGA: ATU 73, 76, 78, 86, 124, 130, 141, 150, 151, 167, 183, 204, 208, 222, 256, 266, 306, 349, 355, 459, 484, 492, 512, 524, and VAN DIJK 1962, 39 = W 19948, 1.
Total 25.
DUB/MES: 26, 49, 52, 65, 72, 78, 93, 98, 104, 125, 136, 140, 155, 167, 178, 204, 206, 208, 321, 343, 418, 518, 524.
Total 23 (all in the ATU).

Jemdet Nasr period
SANGA: ATU 583, 585, 605, 609, 622, 633, 646, 647, 650.
PI 11, 31, 33, 37, 45, 51, 54, 88, 103, 105, 108, 110, 165, 178, 193.
Total 24.
DUB/MES: PI 9, 27, 30, 40, 78, 102, 136, 139, 140, 189.
Total 10. -

ED I-II period

SANGA: UET II 29, 51, 59, 66, 70, 91, 93, 99, 100, 112, 114, 135bis, 139, 142, 147, 159, 162, 170, 174, 177, 183, 190, 194, 201, 205A, 212, 298, 299, 343, 349, 360, 363, 364, and GREEN 1982, 167 No. 16 from Uruk.
Total 34.

DUB/MES: UET II, personal name 253 (p.31), PN 428, 442, 443 (p.34), PN 524-536b (p.35), cf. also the UM-names, PN 708-715 on p.38.

Incipient ED III period

SANGA: Fara school texts: WVDOG 43: 1, 13, 18, 19, 20, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 47, 50, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 69, 70, 71, 73, 75, 78.
Total 37.
Economic texts: WVDOG 45: 18, 22, 25, 54, 61, 69, 71, 95, 102, 108, 117, 124, 136, 142.
Total 14.

DUB/MES: School texts: WVDOG 43: 1, 18, 19, 20, 27, 28, 29, 36, 40, 41, 42, 43, 49, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 69, 72, 77.
Total 21.
Economic texts: Personal names in WVDOG 45: 42*-43* (68 PN), and texts ibid. 21, 22, 25, 70, 71, 78, 87, 107.
Total 8.

Thèmes "assyriens" et thèmes "babyloniens" Ebla[1]

Giovanni CONTI

Dès les premières interprétations des textes de Ebla, on a observé que, pour les infinitifs des formes 0/2 et š/1, l'éblaïte présentait la vocalisation "assyrienne", contre le paléo-akkadien, qui attestait déjà la vocalisation "babylonienne".[2] Plus tard, on a remarqué que toutes deux coexistaient, au moins à l'intérieur de la liste lexicale bilingue.[3]

L'identification des quatre sources du VE éclaire le sens de cette double attestation. Elle permet en effet de reconnaître au moins deux différentes recensions de la liste lexicale bilingue d'Ebla[4]: celle qui est attestée par la source nommée D par Archi, et la recension attestée par les sources A, B, ainsi que, vraisemblablement, par C.[5]

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[1] Parmi les abréviations utilisées, soulignons: ARES: Archivi Reali di Ebla. Studi, Roma, 1988-: 1 (1988), A. ARCHI (éd.), Eblaite Personal Names and Semitic Name-Giving, Papers of a Symposium held in Rome (July 15-17, 1985), Roma, 1988; BaE: L. CAGNI (éd.), Il bilinguismo a Ebla. Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli, 19-22 aprile 1982), Napoli 1984; Ebla 1975-1985: L. CAGNI (éd.), Ebla 1975-1985. Dieci anni di studi linguistici e filologici, Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli, 9-11 ottobre 1985), Napoli 1987; KREBERNIK, PE: M. KREBERNIK, Die Personennamen der Ebla-Texte. Eine Zwischenbilanz, Berlin 1988 (=BBVO 7); LdE: L. CAGNI (éd.), La lingua di Ebla. Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli 21-23 aprile 1980), Napoli 1981; LESLAU, CDG: W. LESLAU, Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez, Wiesbaden 1987; MisEb: Miscellanea Eblaitica, Firenze 1988 - (= QuSem 15 ss.); MisEb 3: G. CONTI, Il sillabario della quarta fonte della lista lessicale bilingue eblaita, Firenze 1990 (= QuSem 17); SLE: P. FRONZAROLI (éd.), Studies on the Language of Ebla, Firenze 1984 (= QuSem 13); VE: MEE 4, synopsis; WGE: H. WAETZOLDT & H. HAUPTMANN (édd.), Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla, Akten der Internationalen Tagung Heidelberg 4.-7. November 1986, Heidelberg 1988 (= HSAO 2).

[2] V. déjà P. FRONZAROLI, Problemi di fonetica eblaita, I, SEb 1 (1979), p.83,et n.57; du même auteur Per una valutazione della morfologia eblaita, SEb 5 (1982), pp.115 et 120, n.5; I.J. GELB, Ebla and the Kish Civilisation, LdE, p.40; H.-P. MÜLLER, Neue Erwägungen zum Eblaitischen Verbalsystem, BaE, pp.199-201; K. HECKER, Doppelt t-erweiterte Formen oder: der Eblaitische Infinitiv, BaE, p.213-215.

[3] M. KREBERNIK, Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der lexikalischen Texte aus Ebla. Teil 2, ZA 73 (1983), p.41, n.146; K. HECKER, BaE, p.214; H.-P. MÜLLER, Eblaitische Konjugation in Personennamen und Kontexten, Ebla 1975-1985, p.121; du même auteur WGE, p.286.

[4] Cf. A. ARCHI, Archives of Ebla, CRRAI 30 (1986), p.83.

[5] Pour l'ensemble de la question on verra G. CONTI, Le fonti del vocabolario bilingue eblaita, MisEb 2, pp.45-78, et MisEb 3, pp.3-4 et passim.

La recension attestée par la source D non seulement glose un nombre de termes supérieur à l'autre, mais elle présente aussi de nombreuses variantes lexicales, et quelques variantes morphologiques. Parmi ces dernières on doit signaler précisément celles qui opposent *PaRRuS* et *šaPRuS* dans la source D à *PuRRuS* et *šuPRuS* dans les autres sources:

a) Attestations du thème *PaRRuS* dans D, contre *PuRRuS* dans les autres sources.

1) VE 170: KA.NI = *sa-ù-gú* (source D) / *su-ù-gúm* (sources B et C). Bien que l'étymologie ne soit pas tout à fait certaine, l'identification du thème /ša$^{\mathrm{x}}$ugu(m)/ contre /šu$^{\mathrm{x}}$ugum/ est assurée par les variantes. [6]

2) VE 801: AN.EN.EN = *na-*⌈u_9⌉*-lum*[7] (source D) /VE 1133 ù-EN = *nu-u_9-lu-um* (A_2; B). La source D atteste *PaRRuS* contre *PuRRuS* dans A_2 et B:[8] /naḫḫulu/nuḫḫulum/, "faire reposer", sém. *nhl.

b) Attestations de *šaPRuS* dans D, contre *šuPRuS* dans les autres sources.

1) VE 124: nì-èsir (LAK 173)-A/E-sá = *sa-b[ù]-tum* (source D) / *su-bù-tum* (source C, extrait a) / *ù-bù-tum* (extraits c et i). L'opposition entre la forme "assyrienne" (/ša$^{\mathrm{c}}$butum/) et la forme "babylonienne" (/šu$^{\mathrm{c}}$butum/) est évidente, (akk. *ebēṭu*, "lier autour (sandales)").[9] Pour ce terme les extraits c et i attestent la vocalisation "babylonienne" pour la forme 0/2, /ʾubbutum/.

L'utilisation des thèmes *PaRRuS* et *šaPRuS* de la part de la source D est confirmée par d'autres exemples; l'identification ne s'appuie pas sur des variantes dans les autres sources, mais elle est assurée par le sens, et par la comparaison avec l'akkadien:

c) Autres attestations de *šaPRuS* et *PaRRuS* dans D.

1) VE 55: nì-sag$_7$-sag$_7$ = *a-gú-šu* (source D; A et B omettent ce terme, ou le placent ailleurs; C en cassure). L'identificaton du thème comme infinitif 0/2,

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[6] Cf. MisEb 3, p.92.

[7] Pour la lecture de la glose, et l'étymologie, v. MisEb 3, pp.192-193.

[8] Les autres sources ont ici des variantes non significatives pour le sujet de cette étude: *du-uš-da-i-i-lu-um* (sources A et B); *du-[uš-da]-ʾà-[lum* ?*]* (source C); v. aussi *téš-da-i-lum*, glose de l'extrait f pour VE 1133.

[9] V.M. Civil, Studies on Early Dynastic Lexicography III, Or 56 (1987), p.237; la glose des extraits, et le fait que le thème *šaPRuS-t* est régulièrement attasté par toutes les sources (v. plus bas, § m) rendent cette restitution préférable à /ša$^{\mathrm{c}}$buttum/.

et la restitution /ʾakkuṭu(m)/, sont conseillées par l'akk. *ukkušu* "déplacer, é-loigner".[10]

2) VE 610: a-záḫ = a-bu_{16}-du (source D) / a-ba-tum (sources A et B). La source D atteste le thème 0/2 avec vocalisation assyrienne, /ʾabbutu(m)/, contre A et B, qui attestent le thème 0/1, /ʾabātu(m)/, "fuir", akk. *abātu*.[11]

3) VE 711: igi-du_8 = sa-lu-mu (source D; non glosé dans A et B; C en cassure). La restitution /šallumu(m)/ "livrer intégralement" est suggérée par l'akk. *šullumu*, et par le sens du sumérogramme dans les textes économiques éblaïtes.[12]

d) Autres attestations de *šaPRuS*.

Signalons une autre attestation de ce thème: elle ne se trouve pas dans la source D, mais dans un extrait (l'extrait h). Les extraits peuvent attester aussi la vocalisation "babylonienne", comme dans le cas de VE 124; différentes traditions jouent donc à leur intérieur, tout comme dans la liste lexicale bilingue:

1) VE 056: dim = sa-$ḫu$-sum (extrait h), /šaʾḫudum/.[13]

Par contre, les autres sources offrent plusieurs exemples des thèmes *PuRRuS* et *šuPRuS*:

e) Attestations de *PuRRuS* dans les autres sources.

1) VE 1234: ri-ri = nu-$bù$-ru_{12}-um (source A_2), /nuppurum/, cf. sém. **npr*, "sauter, fuir".[14]

2) VE 1340: ḫi-mu-DU = su-lu-wu-um (source A_2), /šurruwum/, "livrer, envoyer", hébr. **šry*, "laisser aller".[15]

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[10] Cf.K. HECKER, BaE, p.214, et G. CONTI, MisEb 3, p.68.

[11] Pour l'étymologie v. M. CIVIL, Bilingualism in Logographically Written Languages: Sumerian in Ebla, BaE, p.82, et G. CONTI, MisEb 3, p.168, avec bibliographie.

[12] Cf. P. FRONZAROLI, Il culto dei re defunti in ARET 3.178, MisEb 1, p.18 (avec bibliographie); pour le sumérogramme v. F. POMPONIO, Mešeq di Gen. 15,2 e un termine amministrativo di Ebla, BibOr 25 (1983), pp. 107-108. Voir aussi MisEb 3, p.183.

[13] P. FRONZAROLI, SEb 1 (1979), p.83; Eblaic Lexikon: Problems and Appraisal, SLE, p.149; v. aussi H.-P. MÜLLER, Ebla 1975-1985, p.121, et S. PARPOLA, Proto-Assyrian, WGE, p.296.

[14] Cf. K. HECKER, BaE, p.214; pour le sens originaire de la racine en sémitique (de l'ougaritique à l'éthiopien), v. W. LESLAU, CDG, p.389.

[15] V. ARET 4, p.301; P. FRONZAROLI, Le pronom déterminatif-relatif à Ebla, MARI 5 (1987), p.270; H.P. MÜLLER, Ebla 1975-1985, p. 121. Pour une autre possibilité (/šūruwum/, *šuPRuS*, akk. *warû*) v. J. KRECHER, BaE, p.166; K. HECKER, BaE, p.215; M. KREBERNIK, Verbalnomina mit prä- und infigiertem t in Ebla, SEb 7 (1984), p. 205 (déjà apud D.O. EDZARD, ARET 5,

f) Attestations de *šuPRuS* dans les autres sources.

1) VE 431: ^{giš}šubur = *su-mu-ḫu-lum/lu* (sources B/A et C; D n'atteste pas ce terme). La restitution /šumḫurum/,[16] comme dénomination d'un type de char dérive de l'akk. *maḫāru* ("tirer" référé à des chars).

D'autres cas sont encore possibles:

g) Cas possibles.

1) VE 986: al$_6$-gír-TAG = *gu-wu-šum* (source B) / *gu-šum* (sources A et C). Formellement il est possible (et correct pour la source) que la glose de la source B atteste un thème *PuRRuS* (tandis que les autres sources présenteraient une contraction de la diphtongue).[17] Toutefois cela ne peut pas être prouvé, *PuRS* étant lui aussi possible,[18] et la glose n'ayant aucune étymologie évidente (toutefois la graphie impose *q* initial).

Nous trouvons d'autres cas de graphies *Cu-Cu* dans la source D, et de graphies *Ca-Cu* dans les autres sources; l'analyse effectuée jusqu'à présent, en particulier les oppositions reportées aux § a) et b), suggère déjà, à elle seule, pour le premier cas, des restitutions différentes de *PuRRuS*, et pour le deuxième de *PaRRuS*. Toutefois cette hypothèse trouve aussi un appui dans des motivations internes: en particulier, il est prouvé par les variantes graphiques *Cu-Ca* dans les autres sources, que les formes *Cu-Cu* de la source D sont des graphies pour *PuRS*:

h) *Cu-Cu* dans la source D.

1) VE 729: igi-ár = *su$^!$(ZU)-bu$_{16}$-um* (source D) / *su-ba-um* (source B). Les graphies,[19] ainsi que le sens, suggèrent l'identification du thème comme *PuRS*: /šubḫum/, "louange", sém. (de l'hébr. à l'éth.) *šbḥ, "louer".[20]

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p.25); H.-P. MÜLLER, Eblaitische Konjugation in Kontexten und Personennamen, ARES 1, p.80.

[16] Suggérée par K. BUTZ, ArOr 53 (1985), p.67, n.15, et précisée sémantiquement par M. CIVIL, Or 56 (1987), p.239.

[17] Comme le proposent H.-P. MÜLLER, Zur Bildung der Verbalwurzeln im Eblaitischen, WGE, p.282 (v.aussi BaE, p.195 et Ebla 1975-1985, p.121), et K. HECKER, BaE, p.214.

[18] Selon l'opinion de P. FRONZAROLI, Disposizioni reali per Tiṭaw-Li'm, SEb (1984), p.19, et SLE, p.142, qui propose comme probable la comparaison avec un terme rare, *gūšum*, attesté dans des textes paléo-babyloniens élamites, en rapport à un sacrifice d'ovins. Cela est justifié par le sens "sacrifice" attribué au sumérogramme dans les textes non administratifs.

[19] De façon analogue à VE 270: *bù-gú-lu* (C) / *bù-ga-ru$_{12}$/-lu* (D/A, B), /bukru(m)/, "premier né"; VE 292: *du-lu-bù* (C) / *du-la-bù* (A), /dulbu(m)/, "platane orientale"; VE 712: *ḫu-mu-zu* 2-IGI (B) / *ḫu-ma-zu a-na-a*, /ḫumṣu ʿaynay(n)/.

[20] Pour l'étymologie de la glose et le sens du sumérogramme cf. MisEb 3, p.185, où, toutefois, on propose une différente restitution du thème (/šubūḫum/, variante de /šubāḫum/).

Diversement, pour des raisons d'étymologie:

2) VE 287: ^{ú}ŠIM.ŠIM-ga = *bù-lu-ḫu-um* (source D; extrait b); la restitution /buluḫḫum/ dérive de l'akk. *ba/uluḫḫu*, "une plante, et sa résine".[21]

3) VE 311: sa-gú = *ù-šu-lu-um*, à restituer /ˀuṯlum/, cf. akk. *ušultum*, "veine".[22]

i) *Ca-Cu* dans les autres sources.

1) VE 199: sum$_6$-dù = *ša-gu-* ⌈nu⌉-um (source A) / *ša-ga-núm* (source B et extraits c et i). Le sens "barbu", assuré par la variante de la source B, /daknum/ (akk. *zaknu*)[23] suggère pour la glose de la source A une restitution /daqūnum/, plutôt que comme infinitif 0/2.[24]

2) VE 228: KA-ru = *a-šu-bù* (source D); *ˀà-šu-bù-um* (source A); *a-šu-bù-um* (source B); *a-šu-bù* (source C); *da-šè-ba-tum* (extrait c). La vocalisation A-U est attestée par toutes les sources et par l'extrait, mais le sens rend plausible l'identification du thème comme /ḫaḏūpu(m)/, "un bâton de jet" (nom verbal: ar. *ḫaḏafa*, "jeter, lancer").[25]

3) VE 507: šu-gub = *wa-za-ù-um* (source D), *wa-za-um* (sources A et C) / PI-*zu-um* (source B). Pour les gloses des sources A, C et D la restitution /wasā-ˁum/, "poser", sém. *wḏˁ, "poser, deposer",[26] ne présente pas aucun problème. La variante de la source B ne permet pas une restitution univoque;[27] elle pourrait attester la même forme que les autres sources, avec une contraction de la diphtongue, ou avec une graphie plus cursive (ce que je pense). En tous cas la polyphonie de PI ne permet pas d'identifier avec certitude, ni

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[21] Cf. L. MILANO, ARET 9, glossaire, s.v. ú-šim; en outre MisEb 3, p.113.

[22] Cf. MisEb 3, p.117.

[23] Cf. B. KIENAST, Nomina mit T-Präfix und T-Infix in der Sprache von Ebla und ihre sumerischen Äquivalente, BaE, pp.250-251, qui nie l'existence d'un verbe, et propose /zaqanum/ et /zaqqunum/. De même M. KREBERNIK, SEb 7 (1984), p.200. Pour l'étymologie v. aussi K.HECKER, BaE, p.213, n.53.

[24] Comme le propose avec raison M. KREBERNIK, ZA 73 (1983), p.8, avec une étymologie différente, corrigée dans SEb 7, où toutefois l'identification des thèmes (/daqqunum/ contre /daqānum/ ou /daqanum/) est elle aussi différente. Pour une analyse comme *PaRRuS* v. aussi S. PARPOLA, WGE, p.296.

[25] Comme le propose P. FRONZAROLI, Tre scongiuri eblaiti (ARET 5, 1-3), VO 7 (1988), p.15; v.aussi G. CONTI, MisEb 3, p.102.

[26] Cf. P. FRONZAROLI, Materiali per il lessico eblaita, 1, SEb 7 (1984), p.186, et G.CONTI, MisEb 3, p.144 (avec discussion de la bibliographie précédente).

[27] Cf. M. KREBERNIK, ZA 73 (1983), p.18.

même seulement avec quelques probabilités, une forme *PaRRuS* dans la source B.

4) VE 646: ŠE+TIN-gal = *da-gú-ru$_{12}$-um/-lum* (sources A et B; D et C en cassure). L'interpretation formelle de la glose comme forme *PaRRuS* a été suggérée par Hecker,[28] mais elle n'a pas étymologie évidente.[29] Le sumérogramme toutefois déconseille d'interpréter cette glose comme infinitif; par conséquent, si nous avons affaire à un substantif, *PaRūS* aussi serait possible, et peut-être même préférable.

5) VE 704: igi-kisal = *na-ù-bu$_{16}$* (source D); *na-ù-bù-um* (source A); *na-ù-bu$_{16}$-um* (source B). La proposition de Hecker consistant à considérer ces gloses comme des attestations du thème *PaRRuS* ne repose pas sur une étymologie certaine;[30] si nous avons affaire à un substantif, *PaRūS* aussi serait possible, et peut-être même préférable.

6) VE 760: àga-bar = *ma-ḫu-zú* (source D); *ma-ḫu-zu-um* (source A); *ma-ba-ra-zu-um* (source B). Comme pour VE 228 l'identification du thème comme /maḫūsu(m)/, (nom déverbal, cf. akk. *maḫāsu*, sém. **mḫd*, "battre, diviser"), s'accorde mieux avec le sumérogramme, ainsi qu'avec la variante lexicale de la source B (/maprasum/, sém. **prs*, "fendre" [*nomen instrumenti*]), et exclut l'évidence d'un thème *PaRRuS* dans la source A.[31]

7) VE 1148: MU.MU = PI-*zu-bu$_{16}$* (source A$_2$). Même si l'étymologie (akk. *wasābu*, "ajouter"), est évidente, la polyphonie de PI ne permet pas de préciser[32] si la glose (vraisemblablement un infinitif 0/2) atteste une vocalisation *PuRRuS*, que nous attendrions (/wussubu(um)/), ou *PaRRuS*.[33]

8) VE 1214: Ú.SAL.KA = PI-*ru$_{12}$-šu* DAM (sources A$_2$ et B); PI-*ru$_{12}$-sum* 1-DAM (extrait c) / *wa-ra-sum* 1-DAM (extrait i). Le sumérogramme est évidemment à rapporter à ú-zuḫ(KA) = akk. *musukku, musukkatu*, "impur, impure (sexuellement)", dans son usage courant, référé à la femme (CAD M/2, 239-240); en particulier cf. SAL ú-zuḫ, que Proto Lu distingue de ú-zuḫ

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[28] K. HECKER, BaE, p.214 (qui ne propose pas d'étymologie).

[29] Cf. M. CIVIL, Or 56 (1987), p. 236. Pour une étymologie, liée, d'un point de vue sémantique, exclusivement à gal, v. K. BUTZ, Ebla 1975-1985, p.333 (ar. *ǧwr*, "extraordinaire").

[30] Cf. MisEb 3, p.183.

[31] Cf. MisEb 3, pp.186-187; d'un avis différente (*PaRRuS* ou *nomen instrumenti* avec assimilation de *m* radical à *ḫ*) M. KREBERNIK, ZA 73 (1983), p.29.

[32] Comme le note M. KREBERNIK, ZA 73 (1983), p.41.

[33] Comme le suggère K. HECKER, BaE, p.214; pour l'étymologie v. aussi F. POMPONIO - P. XELLA, Ricerche di lessico eblaita, I, AfO 31 (1984), pp.29-30.

(MSL 12, p. 60, 742b). Avec les gloses eblaïtes cf. alors l'akk. *wurrušum*, "très sale", mais dans ce cas aussi la polyphonie de PI ne permet pas l'identification du thème des sources A_2 et B, et de l'extrait c (mais /wurrutum/ est vraisemblable). L'extrait i atteste une variante lexicale, /wartum/, cf. akk. *waršum*, "sale".[34]

Soulignons que ce qui a été observé pour les sources A, B, C est confirmé par la source D:

9) VE 25: nì-àga = *ša-gú-um* (source D); le sens, "la chose mesurée; la mesure", (akk. *šaqālu*, "peser", sém. **tql*), rend préférable une restitution /taqulum/ (ou /taqūlum/), plutôt que l'identification d'un thème *PaRRuS* (de toute façon indiquée pour la source D).[35]

1) Exceptions.

Il faut signaler le cas de VE 1289: RU = *a-ḫu-sum*[36] (source A_2); la glose a été interprétée comme /ʾaḫḫudum/, (akk. *aḫāzu*, sém. **ʾḫd*, "saisir"), infinitif 0/2.[37] Les règles d'incompatibilité ne permettent pas beaucoup d'alternatives. La question, toutefois, est très complexe, et dépasse les limites de ce travail. En effet šub est largement attesté dans les textes économiques éblaïtes, en relation avec les techniques de travail des métaux (fréquemment dans la locution šub *si-in*); il a été interprété comme "fondre, fusion",[38] et c'est là (ou "lier")[39] le sens qui s'adapte réellement le mieux à une bonne partie (la plus explicite) des attestations. D'autre part en sumérien, relativement au travail des métaux, šub a le sens de "recouvrir de métal, laminer",[40] et c'est aussi, plus ou moins, le sens de l'akk. *uḫḫuzu* (auquel correspond, comme sumérogramme GAR.RA); l'hébreu aussi conserve pour cette racine le sens de "couvrir", (HAL, p.31), à coté du plus fréquent "saisir"; en geez le verbe à la forme 0/1 a le sens de "prendre", mais à la

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[34] Selon K. HECKER, BaE, p.214 les variantes attestent un cas d'opposition *PaRāS / PaRRuS*.

[35] Pour l'attestation, et l'étymologie qui tient compte des attestations du sumérogramme nì-á-gá-II/IV (VE 58-59, non glosé) dans les textes économiques, où il désigne une ration égale à la moitié (v. ARET 9, glossaire) v. MisEb 3, p.65 (avec bibliographie).

[36] Pour la lecture de la glose v. P. FRONZAROLI, SLE, p.135.

[37] Pour l'étymologie v. P. FRONZAROLI, SLE, p.135; H.-P. MÜLLER, Ebla 1975-1985, p.121.

[38] V. A. ARCHI, Notes on Eblaite Geography II, SEb 4 (1981), p.5; ARET 3, 1, 7, s. v.; ARET 8, p.9 (qui considère comme également indiquée la traduction "laminer").

[39] Déjà H. WAETZOLDT, Zur Terminologie der Metalle in den Texten aus Ebla, LdE, p.371.

[40] Cf. H. LIMET, Le travail du métal au pays de Sumer au temps de la IIIe dynastie d'Ur, Paris 1960, pp.150 et 152.

forme š/t, *'ašta'aḥaza* a aussi celui de "unir" (CDG, p.14). La question est com-
plexe, et les implications culturelles qui en dérivent nécessiteraient une réflexion
plus approfondie, et une documentation plus ample; toutefois, il est indéniable que
les motifs exposés ci-dessus, même s'ils ne coïncident jamais, semblent étroite-
ment liés. Pour cette raison, à cause du parallélisme avec l'akkadien, il est impos-
sible dans ce cas de nier avec décision la restitution /ʾaḥḫudum/. Quoit qu'il en soit
il s'agirait d'un cas unique, exceptionel, et, d'autre part, il nous reste aussi l'hypo-
thèse d'un nom déverbal, /ʾaḥūdum/, indiqué et pour la glose et pour les contextes.
On signalera aussi que cette exception (si c'en est une) se place d'un côté dans la
partie finale du VE, dont les motivations et les rapports avec la partie précédente,
dont elle répète un certain nombre de termes, sont tous à revoir, et de l'autre dans
une source, la A₂, dont la collocation (*post* A ou *post* C ?) ne peut pas être précisée
sans la publication de la photographie.

m) *šaPRuS-t*

Ce thème est attesté par toutes les sources, régulièrement, étant donné que,
différemment de *šaPRus*, c'est une variante, babylonienne aussi, de *šuPRus-t*.

1) VE 822: ma-ra-dag = *sa-zu-du-um* (source A); *sa-zu-tum* (source B); *sa-zu-
wa-tum* (source C), /šawṣuʾtum/, /šawṣuwatum/, "licenciement", sém. *wdʾ*,
"sortir".[41]

Il en dérive donc que *PaRRus/šaPRuS* et *PuRRuS/šuPRuS* ne sont pas des
allomorphes occasionnels et interchangeables; ils sont plutôt une preuve supplé-
mentaire de la différenciation des deux recensions connues de la liste lexicale
bilingue d'Ebla, qui attestent évidemment deux langues, ou deux niveaux lingui-
stiques, différentes: la recension attestée par la source D (qui documente la voca-
lisation "assyrienne"), et la recension attestée par les autres sources (qui documen-
tent la vocalisation "babylonienne").

A ce point il est bon d'observer que même dans les textes littéraires et de
chancellerie éblaïte on a identifié des exemples de thèmes à vocalisation "assy-
rienne"; ces cas sont les suivants:

TM.75.G.1444 XIII:12-13: *ù-na-ba-ga-ma na-bù-ù*, /ʾunabbaʾ-ka-ma nab-
buʾu(m)/ (*nbʾ*); [42]

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[41] V. M. KREBERNIK, ZA 73 (1983), p.19, n.65; H.-P. MÜLLER, Ebla 1975-1985, p.121, WGE,
p.282. La source D atteste une variante lexicale, *bar-gú-um*, /parkuyum/, "cessation (du
travail)", v. J. KRECHER, Sumerische und nichtsumerische Schicht in der Schriftkultur von Ebla,
BaE, p.156. V. G. CONTI, MisEb 3, p.197.

[42] Cf. D.O. EDZARD, SEb 4 (1981), p.53; pour l'interprétation v. M. KREBERNIK, ZA 73
(1983), p.28, n.90.

TM.75.G.2367 II:13,IV:2: *sá-ù-mu*.[43]

ARET 2.34 VII:5: *a-bù-ha-an*, /ʕabbuḫayn/, "des deux acolytes";[44]

ARET 2.34 VIII:11-IX:1: *ga-du-ru₁₂ u₉-ga-da-ra*, /qatturu(m) yuqattara(n)/;[45]

ARET 5.3 IV:6: *ʾa₅-bù-ḫu*, /ʕabbuḫū/;[46] V:2: *ʾa₅-bù-ḫa*, /ʕabbuḫā/;

ARET 5.3 IV:7: *da-nu-nu*, /dannunū/; V:3: *da-nu-na*, /dannunā/;

ARET 5.6 IX:2: *da-ḫu-ù*, /taḫḫᶜᶜū/;[47]

en outre TM.75.G.1430 r. III:1: *ba-ú¹-gú* /pawwug-u/[48] (mais, comme le remarque l'éditeur, la lecture n'est pas sûre,[49] et l'usage phonétique de *ú* est à vérifier).[50]

D'autre part c'est là la vocalisation que l'on attend à Ebla, soit pour l'époque soit pour le contexte linguistique de la région. En effet, des attestations de *PaRRuS* ont été identifiées dans l'akkadien de Mari des Šakkanakku;[51] un exemple de *šaPRuS* dans l'akkadien d'Ur III de Kish a été identifié par Gelb comme un reliquat "kishite".[52] Il s'agit donc, évidemment, d'un trait archaïque, conservé

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[43] G. PETTINATO, OA 19 (1980), p.238; pour l'interprétation de la forme comme un possible *PaRRus* v. D.O. EDZARD, SEb 4 (1981), p.90; H.-P. MÜLLER, BaE, p.199.

[44] Cf. P. FRONZAROLI, Il culto degli Angubbu a Ebla, MisEb 2, p.14.

[45] D.O. EDZARD, ARET 2, p.124; P. FRONZAROLI, SEb 1, (1979), p.83.

[46] Pour cette attestation et les suivantes dans ARET 5.3 v. D.O. EDZARD, ARET 5, p.22.

[47] Pour l'étymologie (akk. *taḫû*) v. W.G. LAMBERT, Notes on a Work of the Most Ancient Semitic Literature, JCS 41 (1989), p.20 qui identifie la forme, mais ne propose pas de restitutions); la troisième ʕ est suggérée par la graphie d'Ebla, (qui demande /ʕ/), et par les lois d'incompatibilité, qui déconseillent ʔ, v. J.H. GREENBERG, The Patterning of Root Morphemes in Semitic, Word 6 (1950), p.166, et 169 ss. La comparaison de l'akkadien avec l'hébreu *ṭḥy* (attesté dans le substantif "jet d'arc") et les racines liées (HAL, p.357) est vague d'un point de vue sémantique, et phonétiquement contredite par l'ar. *ṭḥw* "jeter".

[48] P. FRONZAROLI, Il verdetto par Aʾmur-Damu e sua madre , SEb 3 (1980), p.70; du même SLE, p.138. En outre H.-P. MÜLLER, BaE, p.199. Pour une lecture différente v. G. PETTINATO, MEE 3, pp.258-259.

[49] G. PETTINATO, MEE 3, p.258, lit. *ba-sa-gú*.

[50] Il n'est pas attesté par la liste lexicale d'Ebla; pour un exemple possible dans l'onomastique v. toutefois M. KREBERNIK, PE, p.27.

[51] V. H. LIMET, ARMT 19, p.164, n.4; A. WESTENHOLZ, BiOr 35 (1978), p.166. Sur le rapport Ebla-Mari-Assyrie v. I.J. GELB, Ebla 1975-1985, pp.66 et 69; H.-P. MÜLLER, WGE, p.286; S. PARPOLA, WGE, p.297.

[52] V. I.J. GELB, The Language of Ebla in the Light of the Sources from Ebla, Mari, and Babylonia, Ebla 1975-1985, p.68.

plus tard marginalement en assyrien, qui unit Kish, Mari prébabylonienne[53] et Ebla.

Les attestations de *PuRRuS* et *šuPRuS* (les thèmes sont déjà attestés en paléo-akkadien), limitées à une recension de la liste lexicale bilingue d'Ebla, sont au contraire un élément novateur et inattendu, certainement pas éblaïte, mais plutôt profondément mésopotamien, indice ultérieur de la confluence de différentes traditions, linguistiques aussi, dans l'élaboration de la liste lexicale bilingue d'Ebla.[54]

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[53] Sur les caracteristiques archaïques de la langue des Šakkanakku, coïncidant avec l'akkadien de Mari présargonique, v. D. CHARPIN, Tablettes présargoniques de Mari, MARI 5 (1987), pp. 89-90, et n.15.

[54] Cette différenciation est confirmée par le fait que d'autres caractéristiques morphologiques "assyriennes" se retrouvent à Ebla. En particulier, on remarquera dans les textes littéraires les formes du précatif à préfixe *la-* pour la première personne du singulier et *lu-* pour la troisième du singulier, v. P. FRONZAROLI, SEb 5 (1982), p.120, n.72. Ces caractéristiques ont été rassemblées par S. PARPOLA dans WGE, p.296; toutefois elles n'ont pas toutes le même poids. En effet pour des cas comme VE 602, VE 856 et VE 992, on ne peut plus parler de "ana-ptyptic vowels", mais plutôt de modalités scribales pour rendre C+V+C (/marqum/, v.MisEb 3, p.167; /buqlum/, v. M. KREBERNIK, ZA 73 (1983), p.33; v. P. FRONZAROLI, SLE, p.141; cf. ci-dessus n. 19). La graphie non assimilée (citée dans ce contexte aussi par Müller et Gelb) des verbes de troisième faible est certes un trait archaïque, mais pas seulement assyrien, puisqu'il se retrouve (comme le note Parpola lui-même) aussi en paléo-akkadien. En outre, la graphie *[am]-mi-ù* (citée par erreur d'impression comme *[am]-mi-ú*) est restaurée, et le contexte ne joue pas en faveur de l'identification d'un pronom (v. maintenant l'édition du texte dans A. ARCHI - M.G. BIGA - L. MILANO, Studies in Eblaite Prosopography, ARES 1, p.213.

Terminological Aspects of Modelling in Arabic.

Ladislav DROZDÍK

Apart from instances of true modelling as a programmatic and methodologically oriented procedure that has proved its usefulness in various domains of linguistic description, some manifestations of it may be observed in the Arabic linguistic terminology, as well. Some of these terminologically relevant aspects of modelling will shortly be discussed in the present paper.

1. More than a millenary tradition of the Arabic grammar is reflected in a vast conceptual and terminological system. Being centered on the synthetic categories of Classical Arabic, conceived as a static and invariable linguistic entity, this system is incapable of dealing with evolutional phenomena of Arabic, nor is it suitable to the treatment of languages other than Arabic. Whenewer this system is, for all that, applied to the description of phenomena directly unrelated to the traditional concepts of the Arab grammarians, it tends to deviate from the canonized model.

The present inquiry requires no specific limitations imposed on the choice of termini technici analyzed. Although the analysis is primarily based on post-classical and relatively modern texts (see SABBĀĠ: THORBECKE 1886; JIRJIS 1961), some of the examples quoted will simultaneously reflect the traditional terminology of the native grammar as used by the early grammarians. The latter category of terms, i.e. terms that display no significant deviation from the traditional usage, will be quoted without source indications.

2. In search for units exhibiting features that may partly or fully be attributed to what is currently understood by a model, a preliminary classification of the rather involved inventory of the grammatical termini technici may be of some help. By a 'model' a terminologically relevant model, used in the grammatical description, will be understood. The difference between a terminologically relevant model, as understood in the present paper, and one of the infinite number of models of grammatical description (cf. HOCKETT 1954) is a difference of levels. While the former type of models is derived from the metalinguistic level, the latter should be located at the linguistic level.

From this point of view, the inventory of terms may be subdivided into two main classes:

(1) terms referring to the denotatum (D) by a single act of lexical naming that may alternatively be presented as a procedure of denotation or denomination. Terms of this type will be marked by the symbol T in what follows:

$$\text{T} \xrightarrow{\text{lexical naming}} \text{D}$$

(denomination)
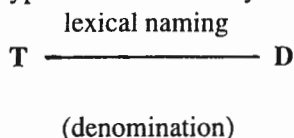
Denotata should be identified, throughout the present paper, with linguistic phenomena or classes of linguistic phenomena referred to in any member of the inventory in the domain analyzed. The relatively low degree of terminological codification in the cultural area under consideration tolerates, as members of this inventory, numerous units that exhibit various types of misleading polysemous and synonymous relationships sanctioned only by a vague grammatical tradition.

Some examples:

fiᶜl "verb; predicate of a verbal sentence";

fāᶜil "subject of a verbal sentence; nominative [*ḥālat al-fāᶜil* (JIRJIS 56; with reference to the Latin case system)];

mafᶜūl bihi "direct object; accusative" [*ḥālat al-mafᶜūl bihi, al-mafᶜūl bihi* (ibid.; with reference to Latin)]; etc.;

(2) terms that apart from fulfilling their denominative function make use of their formal pattern (P) as a terminologically relevant factor in consequence of which they operate as terminologically relevant models (M). Terms of this type will symbolically be presented as TP-terms:

lexical naming

$$\text{TP} \qquad\qquad \text{D} \quad \text{where: } \mathbf{T + P = M}$$
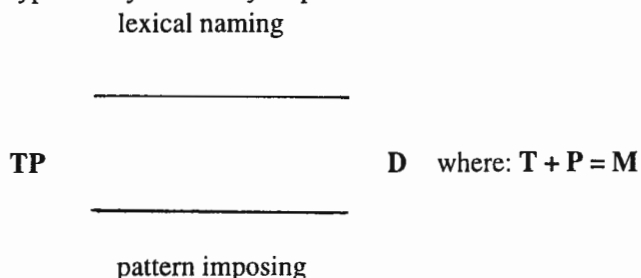
pattern imposing

The TP-terms may take part in the terminological modelling in at least two quite different ways:

(2.1.) as TP_1-units, by imposing a formal pattern to the material content of the denotatum through the representative member of the class of what is denoted, as in: *(ism al-) fāᶜil* "active participle", as e.g. *ᶜāmil, ᶜālim, qātil*, or indirectly,

by way of a derivative extension of this terminological value to the whole morphological class of active participles;

(2.2) as TP_2-units, by imposing a terminologically relevant formal pattern that specifies the basic terminological meaning of what is conveyed in lexical terms, with no direct hint to the fórm of what is denoted, e.g.: *ġā'ib* "third person of the masculine singular"; *ġā'ibūn* "third person of the masculine plural" (ṢABBĀĠ, 21), etc.

2.1. The difference between the TP_1- and TP_2- terms may perhaps better be expressed in distributional terms:

(1) the TP_1-units invariably display the twofold relationship of lexical naming a n d pattern imposing, as in: *(ism al-) fāʿil* "active participle", as e.g. *ʿālim*; *(ism al-) mafʿūl* "passive participle", as e.g. *maʿlūm*, etc., as against:

(2) the TP_2-units that alternatively operate as **either** TP- **or** T- terms, e.g.: T-featuring: *ġā'ib* "third person (of verbs and pronouns)", co-occuring with: TP-featuring: *ġā'ib* "third person of the masculine singular" (see above), etc.

2.2. When summarily classified from the point of view of a capability for modelling, the inventory of the Arabic termini technici used in the grammatical description may be subdivided into two main classes:

(1) univalent terms of both T- and TP- types, i.e. terms that cannot be converted from one type to another:

(1.1) T-terms that cannot be converted into TP-units, such as: *fiʿl* "verb"; ism "noun"; ḥarf "particle", etc., and:

(1.2) TP-terms that cannot be converted into T-units: they coincide with the whole class of TP_1-units, as illustrated in 2.1 (1) above; and:

(2) ambivalent terms, i.e. terms that may alternatively occur as either T- or TP-units; they are inclusive of the whole class of the TP_2 units, as shown in 2.1. (2) above.

3. The modelling action of the TP_1-terms may roughly be diagrammed as follows:

lexical naming

—————————— **D** (denotatum)

TP₁-terms

—————————— **C** (material content of D; i.e.
pattern imposing   linguistic matter of what is
                          denoted)
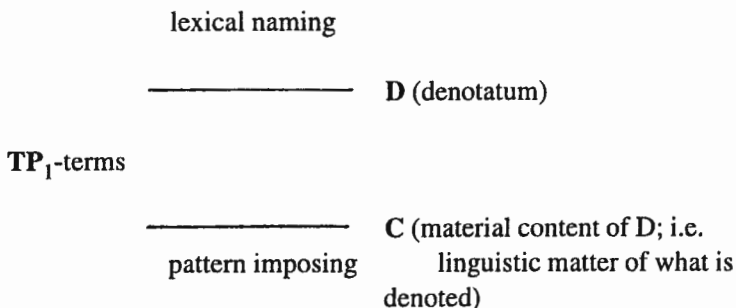
E.g.:   *(ism al-) fāᶜil:*
   lexical naming: "active participle";
   pattern imposing:
   - through a direct iconic impact: *fāᶜil (CāCiC)* = *ᶜāmil, ᶜālim, qātil, qāʾim,* etc.;
   - through a derivative, functionally motivated (viz. nomen agentis) extension of the latter to the whole class of what is lexically denoted, as well, e.g. *muᶜāmil, muᶜallim, muqātil, muqīm,* etc.

Similarly:
   (ism al-) mafᶜūl "passive participle", as e.g. *maᶜlūm, maqtūl; muᶜallam, muqām* etc.

As evident from this schematic presentation, the TP_1-terms transgress the metalinguistic level (TP_1— D interval) by their reference to C, while the TP_2-terms (see in what follows) do not.

4. The modelling action of the TP_2 terms, as just stated, never goes beyond the metalinguistic horizon. It is primarily concerned with terminological naming in contradistinction to that of the TP_1-terms that refers to the material content of what is denoted. While the TP_2-terms operate in the exclusive domain of naming, the TP_1-terms operate in the domain of naming and exemplifying. Despite their intuitive and undirected application that has never been sanctioned by any act of terminological codification, the TP_2-terms can frequently be met with in very various linguistic contexts.

The modelling action of the TP_2-terms may be illustrated on the following diagram:
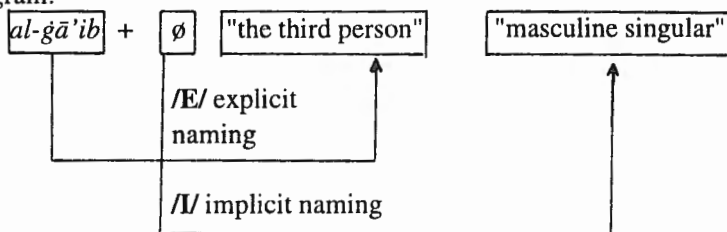
Where: **E + I = M**

In a similar way may be analyzed terms like:

   al-ġāʾib + *ūn*   "the third person of the masculine plural";
           + *a*   "the third person of the feminine singular";
           + *āt*   "the third person of the feminine plural"; etc.

The implicit signalling of grammatical categories may perhaps better be represented on a synthetic diagram:

$$\boxed{al\text{-}\dot{g}\bar{a}'ib} + \boxed{\Theta} \quad \boxed{\text{"the third person of the masc. singular"}}$$
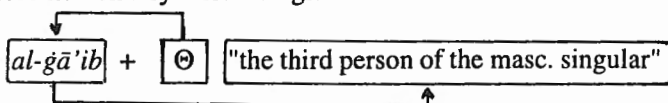
In view of an extremely high degree of arbitrariness associated with the TP$_2$-terms, their usage will be illustrated on a number of short linguistic contexts in which they occur.

E.g.:

(1) grammatical category of case (with reference to the case system of Latin): *al-fāʿil* "nominative singular" as against *al-fāʿilūn* "nominative plural" (the masculine gender value, implied by the gender-number -ϕ and -$\bar{u}n$ respectively, is here irrelevant since the Latin examples, as quoted below, display other gender values, too):

al-fāʿil: iudex, rex, pes, radix, miles, flos (JIRJIS, 56);

al-fāʿilūn: anni, radices, milites, iudices, reges, pedes (ibid.); etc.

(2) grammatical category of person (with reference to the analytic varieties of Arabic), e.g.: *al-ġā'ib wal-ġā'ibūn, al-ġā'iba wal-ġā'ibāt*, as in: *wa minhu asmā'u l-mawṣūlāti wa huwa lil-ġā'ibi wal-ġā'ibīna wa lā muṭannā minhu ʿinda l-ʿāmmati wa kadālika l-ġā'ibatu wal-ġā'ibātu wa lā muṭannā lahum ʿinda l-ʿāmmati* (ṢABBĀĠ, 21) "the relative pronouns also belong here and they occur in the form of the third person masculine of the singular and plural, and the common people do not use their dual forms. And the same applies to the third person feminine of the singular and plural that does not inflect for the dual in the speech of the common people";

al-muḥāṭabūn "the second person of the masculine plural", as in: *wa baʿdun idā kāna l-ḥiṭābu li-jamʿin yulḥiqūnahā ḍamīra l-muḥāṭabīna* (ṢABBĀĠ, 43) "and, some speakers, while referring to a plural, append to them (i.e. to the prohibitive particles: *ḥurūf al-nahy*) the pronominal suffix of the second person of the masculine plural"; etc.

4.1. In view of a frequent occurence of misleading multiple meaning relationships in the traditional Arabic terminology, a formally identical group of terms that refer to different denotata may, of course, belong to different T/TP classes and, within the TP-class, to different TP$_1$/TP$_2$ subclasses, as in:

T-term: *al-fāʿil* "subject of a verbal sentence", as against:

TP$_1$-term: *al-fāʿil* "active participle" (see §3 above);

TP$_2$-term: *al-fāʿil* "nominative" (masculine) singular" (for the latter interpretation see §4 above), possibly interpreted as a T-term: "nominative".

4.2. It is worthwhile noting that the TP$_2$-terms, referring to several grammatical categories, almost always co-occur with the T-terms of the same terminological value that make an exclusive use of lexical means, as in:

T-term: *jam^c al-mu'annat al-ġā'ib (al-muḫāṭab)* "the third (second) person of the feminine plural", as in: *fa-hāḏihi jamī^{c}u d-ḍamā'iri l-muttaṣilati wal-munfaṣilati ġayra anna ḍamīra jam^{c}i l-mu'annati l-ġā'ibi wal-muḫāṭabi fil-munfaṣili wal-muttaṣili qad taqaddama annahu rafa^{c}ūhu min kalāmihim wa-sta^{c}malū makānahumā ḍamīra l-jam^{c}i l-muḏakkari* (SABBĀĠ, 21) "these are all the pronouns, both suffixed and independent; nevertheless, as previously stated, the pronoun of the third and the second person of the feminine gender, both independent and suffixed, disappeared from their language (i.e., that of the common people) and they use instead of them the pronoun of the masculine plural".

TP$_2$term: *al-ġā'ibāt* "idem" (see §4 above); etc.

5. So far, the relation between the explicit (E) and implicit (I) constituents of TP$_2$-terms has been presented as that of a complementary distribution. In other words, an explicitly stated category cannot simultaneously be signalled implicitly with the same terminological unit, and vice versa. This presentation of facts, however, does not hold true of a relatively large number of TP$_2$-terms since the frequent co-occurence of T- and TP$_2$-terms within the same linguistic context may lead to misleading cases of interference between the E- and I-constituents of the same terminological unit. The most frequent consequence of this interference is a double (i.e., E- and I-) and mostly incorrect notation of some of the grammatical phenomena involved.

Some examples:

jam^c al-mutakallimīn "the first person of the masculine plural", as in: *ṯumma innahu lammā lam takun fī l-^{c}arabiyyati ^{c}alāmatun lil-fi^{c}li l-ḥādiri mina l-muḍāri^{c}i fa-sta^{c}malū ḥarfa l-bā'i wa adḫalūhā ^{c}alayhi qabla ḥarfi l-muḍāra-^{c}ati fī jamī^{c}i d-ḍamā'iri illā fī jam^{c}i l-mutakallimīna fa-innahum ja^{c}alū ^{c}iwaḍan ^{c}ani l-bā'i mīman* (SABBĀĠ, 29) "and since there is, in Arabic, no marker to signal the present tense of an imperfect verb, they (the common people: *al-^{c}āmmatu*) use the particle *b-* and they place it before the preformative of the imperfect in order to specify its present tense value, with all verbal forms (lit. 'suffixes') except that of the first person of the (masculine) plural where they use *m-* instead of *b-*";

jamᶜ al-muhātabīn "the second person of the (masculine) plural", as in: *wa sādisu d-damā'iri -tu li-jamᶜi l-muhātabīna* (ṢABBĀĠ, 20) "and the sixth suffix is -*tu*, for the second person of the (masculine) plural"; etc.

The misleading impact of the latter type of E/I interference may be diagrammed as follows:
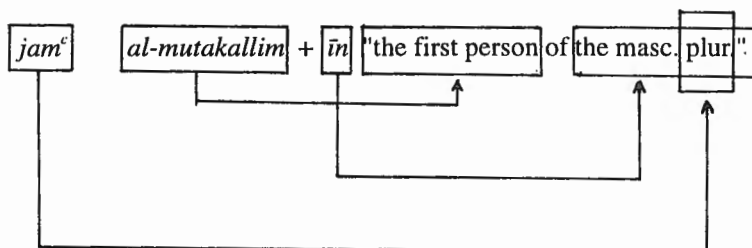
References:

HOCKETT, C.F., 1954: Two Models of Grammatical Description. Word 10,pp. 210-234.

JIRJIS, Ramsīs, *at-Tamyīm wat-tanwīn* (Mimation and Nunation). *Majallat Majmaᶜ al-luġa al-ᶜarabiyya*, 13, Cairo 1961, pp. 51-59.

ṢABBĀĠ, Mihā'īl ibn Niqūlā ibn Ibrāhīm: *ar-Risāla at-tāmma fī kalām al-ᶜāmma wal-manāhij fī ahwāl al-kalām ad-dārij* (1812). Edited by H. THORBECKE: Mihā'īl Ṣabbāġ's Grammatik der arabischen Umgangssprache in Syrien und Aegypten. Straßburg 1886.

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The Structure of the Migaama Verbal Stem[1]

Zygmunt FRAJZYNGIER and Wendy ROSS

Introduction

Chadic languages constitute the largest family within the Afroasiatic phylum, whose other families are Semitic, Cushitic, Omotic, Berber, and Egyptian. The Chadic branch is divided into three or four subgroups, West, Central, East, and Masa. Migaama is an East Chadic language spoken in the Republic of Chad.

It is one of the most common characteristics of all Semitic languages that their verbal stems consist of the consonantal skeleton, carrying the semantic information of the verb, and the vowels, carrying the grammatical information (cf. MCCARTHY 1981; 1986). In Arabic, the unmarked form of the verb with the vowels -a-a has a transitive or intransitive property. Changing a transitive verb into an intransitive verb requires changing the vowels, e.g.:

kataba   'he wrote'
kutiba   'it has been written'

In Hebrew, the vowel -*i* is the marker of intransitive verb, and the vowel -*a* is the marker of the transitive. If we can show that in Chadic vowels carried a different function from the consonants, and that the consonants of Proto-Chadic verbs indeed carried the semantic information, then it would be difficult to imagine that such division of functions between consonants and vowels in the verbal stem emerged independently in two branches of the same family. Hence, the state represented by Semitic could be postulated also for Proto-Afroasiatic.

State of the art with respect to the structure of the verbal stem in Chadic

There are three hypotheses regarding the structure of the verb in Chadic:(1) There is a hypothesis by JUNGRAITHMAYR (1989 and his earlier writings) that the Chadic verbal stem consists of the consonantal root carrying the semantic content and that the vowels contribute grammatical information. Jungraithmayr is not explicit with respect to exactly what kinds of grammatical and possibly semantic

information is carried by vowels. Nor is he very explicit as to which vowels carry what kind of information. (2) NEWMAN 1975 postulated that all vowels of the stem, explicitly including the final vowel, are inherent components of the verb as much as its consonants are. Hence there is no functional distinction between the roles of consonants and vowels. (3) FRAJZYNGIER 1982 postulated that the underlying form of the verb in Chadic languages consists of all the consonants and the first vowel, the last vowel being a grammatical morpheme and the penultimate vowel in trisyllabic verbs being an epenthetic vowel predicted by phonological rules. The purpose of the present paper is to show that in at least one Chadic language there is a functional distinction between the roles of consonants and vowels and moreover, to assign specific grammatical functions to various vowels.

Nature of data and evidence

Our data consisted of more than 1,241 verbs listed in SEMUR et al., 1983. It is the largest body of verbs in Migaama so far. And while the glosses for these verbs are quite detailed and exact, such data are not sufficient to allow completely accurate claims with respect to the syntactic properties with which our paper is concerned. Nevertheless, we feel confident enough that some claims about those properties are sufficiently supported by the data as they are.

State of the art with respect to the verbal stem in Migaama

Since the publication of the first information on Migaama in JUNGRAITH-MAYR 1974, the verbal system in this language attracted the attention of several linguists. In particular, JUNGRAITHMAYR's own work in 1975 and later works led him to state that Migaama represents an archaic state of Chadic verbal morphology. JUNGRAITHMAYR has claimed that there exists an apophony in Migaama whereby the vowel *a* in association with the last vowel of the verb constitutes one grammatical marker, while the vowel *i* in association with the last vowel of the verb constitutes another grammatical marker. These were, according to him, instances of apophony. NEWMAN 1975 and WOLFF 1977 have addressed various issues relating to the formation of the imperfective stem, and they challenged the existence of apophony in the Migaama verbal system. FRAJZYNGIER (1983 and Ms.) has shown that the final vowel of the Migaama verb stem is an aspectual marker; in particular, that final *e* marks the perfective and final *a* marks the imperfective. VOIGT 1989 has accepted JUNGRAITHMAYR's contention that Migaama is an archaic Chadic language, and on the basis of that has drawn far-reaching conclusions regarding the genetic relationships within the Afroasiatic phylum.

V1 versus the remaining vowels of the verb stem

The evidence that the last vowel of the verbal stem in Migaama is not part of the underlying form of the verb is provided in FRAJZYNGIER 1981; he claims it is rather an aspectual marker. Moreover, V2 in the imperfective stem is always inserted by rule, as stated in FRAJZYNGIER 1981. That leaves only one vowel in bisyllabic verbs and two or three vowels in polysyllabic verbs for which no specific function has been assigned.

With respect to V2 in trisyllabic verbs, we have discovered that it is fully predictable. The vowels are inserted to break disallowed cluster of three consonants or disallowed cluster of two consonants.

The epenthetic vowel, i.e. V2, is a copy of the preceding, first vowel of the verb stem if there is a cluster of two consonants following the epenthetic vowel:

dànáwwé	'se disputer entre rivales'[2]
hàmallé	'résister'
kàlámmé	'etre alléché par la viande'
màkádɗé	'se tenir coi'
tàmánné	'etre cupide'
nàráyyé	'quémander'
àtyáppé	'devenir léger'
bàráŋŋé	'souffrir'
rèlêllé	'fondre'
sònyónnyé	'désobeir en jouant la comedie'
òkódɗé	'faire l'égoiste'

The epenthetic vowel is *i*, with the variant *u* in phonologically determined environments if the epenthetic vowel is followed by only one consonant:

tyáŋgìyé	'guetter au loin'
zámkìyé	'travailler avec acharnement'
sáwsìyé	'remasser à deux mains légèrement'
kámbìré	'préparer bagages'
tyállìyé	'etre dit ouvertement'
sállìyé	'tomber [pluie] après avoir semer'
sássìbé	'retrousser'
táppìré	'ceindre les reins'
táttìpé	'achever'

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[2] We quote our data with their French glosses so as to avoid further distortion of the original meaning, inevitable when translation is required.

Choice of V1

Any of the five vowels of Migaama, *a, i, u, o,* or *e,* plus their long counter-parts, may serve as V1 in the Migaama verb. In this section we are going to show that the status of the vowels *a, i,* and *u* is different from that of *o* and *e.* With respect to the vowels *e* and *o,* we have observed the following: In bisyllabic verbs, the vowel *o* occurs mainly when it is part of the sequence *-oo-* or when it is follow-ed by a consonantal cluster (including geminates). We have discovered that only 4.1% (7/168) of bissylabic verbs with *o* contain an *o* that is neither long nor followed by a consonantal cluster. Below are such instances:

kòɓé	'faire rentrer le ventre'
kònyé	'vider une courge'
lògé	'féliciter'
lonyé	'déchirer la viande à belles dents'
ŋòsé	'se lasser'
òyé	'assaisonner'
tòté	'tasser botte de pail'

The same situation obtains for verbs with *e.* Out of 106 bisyllabic verbs with *e,* only the following 8 verbs, or 7.5%, contain a short *e* that is not followed by a consonantal cluster:

kéɗyé	'décrocher'
késé	'provoquer'
dyégé	'aller à petits pas'
légé	'transvaser'
ŋésé	'tirer'
pèsé	'faire des souhaits'
tyèré	'attaquer indirectement'
yèré	'écouter'

Because of the very restricted distribution that the vowels *e* and *o* display, we can conclude that they are historically derived from some other vowels, most pro-bably from *i* and *u,* respectively. We cannot, however, postulate a synchronic rule whereby *u* becomes *o* and *i* becomes *e,* since there are *ii* sequences and *uu* sequen-ces in our data. We suspect that there must have existed two rules: one of the form V[+high] --> [-high]/__ CC, and the other of the form V[high]-->[-high]/__V. However, we cannot postulate such synchronic rules, as there are high vowels occuring before consonantal clusters, and there are long high vowels. Interestingly enough, however, in word initial position, we find neither *ii* nor *uu* whereas there are many instances of *oo* and *ee* in word initial position, e.g.:

òoɗyé	'dormir'	èenyé	'éclairer [soleil]'
òolé	'refroidir'	èeré	'déchirer'

| òoré | 'quitter le soir' | èesé | 'toucher' |

From the analysis of the above data we conclude that /e/ and /o/ must have been phonologically conditioned variants of the other three vowels, and that vowels *u, a,* and *i* were most probably the only vowels of Proto-Migaama. In the following section we will try to find out whether there was a functional distinction between these vowels.

Verbs with V1 *u*

There are 91 verbs containing V1 *u*, which represent less than 7.3% (91/1241) of all verbs. In some of these verbs [u] is a phonetic variant of /i/, a product of the rule i --> u/___w, e.g.:

úwwé	'lancer'
lùwé	'semer'
dúwé	abandoner' cf. dáwé 'être abandonné'

There appear to be two common characteristics of the remaining verbs with /u/ that is not conditioned by phonological rules. The first characteristic is that all verbs having /u/ as the first vowel are transitive, a feature shared only by verbs having /i/ as the first vowel. While this is an important functional characteristic it is not distinctive enough to draw a functional distinction between verbs with first vowel /u/ and verbs with first vowel /i/. The second characteristic is much more tenuous. It appears that all verbs with initial /u/ may have exclusively human subjects. The following examples have been extracted from different tonal classes of verbs, e.g.:

túmé	'planter'
túsé	'être a plusieurs contre un'
úné	'remplir'
úsé	'concasser en grande quantité'
útyé	'attendre'
úlé	'verser dans un récipient'
únnyé	'déposer au-dessus'
gùtùmé	'prendre un gorgée'
sùpìré	'blanchir'
ɗyúgìlé	'regarder à travers un petit trou'
túkùmé	'poser le menton sur le genou'

We cannot postulate, however, that /u/ is a derivational device marking a human subject, because there are many verbs in Migaama that can have a human subject only and yet have a first vowel other than /u/. For the time being we have to leave the analysis of the /u/ verb at that, and, rather, we will concentrate now on verbs with initial /i/ and /a/.

Verbs with V1 *a*

We would like to propose that the vowel *a* appears to be the unmarked vowel of the verbal stem. In other words, the vowel *a* does not carry a grammatical function. The evidence for this hypothesis consists of the following observations:

- There are 446 verbs containing vowel *a,* or 27.8% of all the verbs in the data.

- Of these verbs, a great majority are intransitive. The transitive verbs in the next two lists have to be considered exceptions, as they represent only 9% (48/446) of the verbs with *a:*

dáŋgìlé	'couper un arbre à plusieurs'
dáŋkìdé	'couper les rejets d'une souche'
dàɓallé	'tromper'
kàráyyé	'mettre en garde'
làbáyyé	'bouder, faire la tete'
tàwallé	'se méfier'
ɗàmălmìlé	'enrouler'
ɗàwălwìlé	'rendre rond, circulaire'
ràzáyzìyé	'faciliter la digestion'
yàgággìɗé	'secouer avant d'enlever'
rápé	'massacrer'
sátyé	'amincir en taillant'
kànyé	'élargir un champ'
làlé	'bien écraser une pate'
bàawé	'enlever une fil'
gàaré	'montrer'
yàayé	'casser, briser'
àrɗé	'entourer, bander'
àwìyé	'arranger'
káaɗìyé	'enlacer'
káatyùwé	'entre-croiser'
káawìyé	'marquer au fer'
máaɗyìwé	'chipper'
páawìyé	'verser en étalant une pate'
sáadiyé	'vanner légèrement'
tyáanìwe	'chercher des arguments'
wáasìyé	'égaliser'
wáawìyé	'servir un malade'
záaɗìyé	'frapper latéralement'
ákìtyé	'réagir violemment'

ápìré	'choisir'
ásìnyé	'trier'
átyìpé	'(1) sculpter, (2) saisir à la volée'
ásìmé	'porter à la bouche quelque chose de farineux'
dápìnyé	'ranger par petits tas étalés'

A relatively large group, more than one-fourth, of transitive verbs with initial *a* have the C2 geminated. Recall that in the polyconsonantal verbs whenever the C3 was geminated the preceding vowel had to be *a*. Hence the vowel *a* in the verbs below may be phonologically conditioned variant of some other underlying vowel.

àbbé	'attraper, saisir'
àllé	'donner des rejets'
bàggé	'terrasser plusieurs fois'
ɗáɗɗìpé	'tremblotter'
kákkìɓé	'mettre en ordre'
kássiyé	'forcer un passage'
pánnìné	'assommer'
páttyiré	'bifurquer'
rággìmé	'rafistoler' '
ɗàttyé	'gifler plusieurs fois'
tyáɗɗé	'couper pls. fois'
táppìré	'ceindre les reins'
táttìpé	'achever'

Although most of the verbs in *a* are intransitives, we do not consider *a* to be an intransitivizing morpheme. The main reason for this is that one cannot conceive of a transitive counterpart for many of the intransitives with *a*; i.e., these intransitives cannot be rendered semantic transitives, and, most important, these intransitives cannot be derived from some transitive verbs. For instance:

àlmé	'aller vite en besogne'
bàrŋé	'soufrir longuement'
tyàrbé	'tousser après avoir avalé de travers'
bàzìré	'être hirsute'
ɗàkìlé	'être en érection'
ràmìnyé	'se déliter sous la pluie'
dáàpé	'courir torse bombé'
páppìgé	'faire des grands sauts'
sállìyé	'tomber [pluie] après avoir semer'
kárɓìlé	'avoir des tourments au ventre'
àrmé	'aller au grand matin'

Verbs with V1 *i*

Verbs having the vowel *i* (177 in our corpus) are overwhelmingly transitive. Only 7.9% of these verbs, listed below, appear to be exceptions:

ɗíré	'avoir la diarrhée'
gíddé	'saigner du nez'
píɗɗyé	'uriner, éjaculer'
písé	'cracher'
tínnné	'suer'
sìllé	'devenir nombreux'
mìiné	'se reveiller'
ɗìrnyé	'être en désaccord'
niiré	'grossir'
dyíɗìné	'rester sur le bout'
ribìlé	'se tourner'
sírdé	'se refermer'
tírdé	'se refermer de soi meme'
díibìyé	'se fourvoyer'

One third of these verbs describe bodily secretions, indicating a likely, un-related function of the vowel *i*.

The transitivizing function of *i*

We would like to propose that the vowel *i* has a transitivizing function. The evidence for our hypothesis consists of the fact that for a large number of verbs, changing the vowel *a* to *i* will render the verb transitive. Following is a large sample of such pairs (we include here verbs where *i* became *u* before *w*):

tyálé	'muer [serpent]'	tyílé	'perdre une dent [ou plusiers]
máré	'être abandonné'	míré	'abandonner'
dáwé	'être abandonné'	dúwé	'abandonner'
sàɗyé	's'infiltrer'	sùɗyé	'insérer entre deux choses'
táàré	's'allonger'	tiiré	'prendre du fond d'..'
bàtté	's'éteindre'	bìtté	'éteindre'
màaɗé	's'accroitre'	mìiɗé	'élever'
zàwwé	'être suspendu'	zìwwé	'suspendre'
nàŋgé	'se gater'	nìŋgé	'gater, abimer'
gággé	'être posé contre'	géggé	'poser contre'
ɗámmé	'se faufiler'	ɗìmmé	'casser pls. fois'
bàɗìsé	'sourdre'	bìɗìsé	'faire jaillir'
dàɓìré	'se reposer[animaux]	dìɓìré	'jeter à terre'
màsìlé	'être perdu'	mìsìlé	'perdre'

pàgìlé	'être renversé'	pìgìlé	'renverser'
ràɓìlé	'devenir trouble'	rìɓìlé	'rendre trouble'
ràzìlé	's'effondrer'	rìzìlé	'faire écrouler'
àmìnyé	'être poissé'	ìmìnyé	'se torcher la morve..'
tàɓìlé	'fondre, dissoudre'	tìɓìlé	'saler excessivement'
tàtìɗé	'être perdu définitivement'	tìtìɗé	'éliminer, perdre définitivement'
réèpé	'etre coupé'	riipé	'couper, rompre'
sóòpé	's'écarter'	séèpé	'étirer'

Conclusions

We will draw conclusions with regard to two issues: One is the role of vowels in the verbal system and the second concerns ergative characteristics postulated for Chadic languages.

We have found out that the medial vowels in polysyllabic verbs are predictable and therefore cannot be considered inherent vowel of the verb. We have also found out that the vowels *o* and *e* are most likely historically derived from some other vowels. We have also found out that verbs with V1 *a* are predominantly intransitive and, moreover, that the vowel *a* is not an intransitivizing device, as one cannot conceive of a transitive counterpart for many *a* verbs. We have also found out that most *i* verbs are transitive and that, moreover, *i* is a transitivizing device.

DIAKONOFF 1965 was the first to propose that Proto-Afroasiatic was a language with ergative characteristics. FRAJZYNGIER 1984a and b postulated that Proto-Chadic had some ergative characteristics such as the lack of a passive construction, an ergative system of number encoding, the presence of transitivizing devices, and a total lack of intransitivizing devices. Our present study of the structure of Migaama points to the following:

The unmarked form of the verb is a form that contains the vowel *a* and is overwhelmingly intransitive. Less than 10% of these verbs are transitive, and of those less than one-fourth are bisyllabic verbs. Moreover, the language contains a transitivizing device, namely a change from *a* to *i*. On the other hand, there are no similar intransitivizing devices. Migaama, therefore, does support the hypothesis that Chadic languages, and by extension Afroasiatic, had ergative characteristics.

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The circles of *Ḥalīl* and the structure of *Luzūmiyyāt* of *Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*

Dmitry FROLOV

Maʿarrī's masterpiece is interesting not only by its content, but also as a demonstration of all the possibilities of the poetical technique created by the classical Arabic poetry during more than five centuries of its previous development.

It is well known that rhyme plays a very important role in the composition of the diwan. Its title in the original form *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* ('The necessity of what is not necessary') refers directly to the rhyme as is mentioned by the author in the introduction which is incidentally a thorough and lengthy theoretical study of the rules of rhyme in the Arabic poetry.[1] In this introduction Maʿarrī specifies all the additional restrictions and requirements concerning rhyme, which he considers obligatory for himself though normally they are not necessary for the poet. They are, first, the use of all the sounds of the alphabet (*ḥurūf al-hiǧāʾ*) without exception in the rhyme as *ḥarf al-rāwī*; second, the use of each *ḥarf* with all possible variants of vocalisation (*ḍamma, fatḥa, kasra*) and *sukūn*; third, the use of only "deep" rhyme, based on the repetition of two and not only one final *ḥarf* at the end of the lines.[2] The poet also states that as a result *Luzūm* consists of 113 chapters, that is four chapters for each of 28 *ḥarfs* (3 *ḥarakāt* plus *sukūn*), to which is added one (the only possible) chapter for *alif*, that is considered to be the 29th *ḥarf*.[3] There are no restrictions on either length or number of the poems included in each chapter, but Maʿarrī notes that in a chapter there can be no more than one or two poems.

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[1] For all references and statistical data we used the edition: Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī. *Luzūm mā lā yalzam*. Vol. 1-2. Beirut 1961. Metrical identification of verses made by the author of the present article. For the explanation of the title of the diwan see *Luzūm* vol. 1, p. 6.

[2] See *Luzūm* vol. 1, p. 30. Thus Maʿarrī practically exhausted resources of rhyme within the system of monorhyme.

[3] See *Luzūm* vol 1, p. 39.

While dealing with the history of Arabic metrics and gathering data about the usage of *ʿarūḍ* meters by different poets the author of the present article found another dimension in the composition of *Luzūmiyyāt* - metrical, about which Maʿarrī himself did not say a word in his introduction or elsewhere. The poems in the collection are organized not only in the alphabetical order of rhymes, but also in the "alphabetical" order of meters.[4]

Before describing this quasialphabetical metrical order in the structure of *Luzūmiyyāt* we give a general view of metrical aspect of Maʿarrī's poetry. If we compare two major collections made by the poet himself, namely *Saqt al-zand* ('The Spark of the Fire-Stick'), that comprises his early verses, and *Luzūmiyyāt*, composed much later, we can see tendencies of evolution, though the size of the collections differs greatly (*Saqt* is made of 113 pieces and *Luzūmiyyāt* includes 1593 poems). As can be seen from Table 1,[5] Maʿarrī's metrics in both diwans has little in common with metrical eccentricity of the ʿAbbāsid poetry and looks deliberately "old fashioned". Metrical repertory of Maʿarrī is based on those meters, which were characteristic of old bedouin, preislamic and early Islamic poetry (*tawīl. basīt, wāfir, kāmil, sarīʿ, munsariḥ, ḥafīf, mutaqārib*), and the proportions are close to what we see in the diwans and antholgies of the ǧāhiliyya poetry: four main meters (*tawīl, basīt, wāfir, kāmil*) make 75,21% of the *Saqt* and 77,98% of *Luzūmiyyāt* and the share of all the abovementioned eight meters is in *Saqt* 99,11% (actually the collection comprises only one poem in another meter, namely *raǧaz*) and in *Luzūmiyyāt* it is 98,24%.[6] Though two diwans metrically are very much alike, Table 1 also shows some differencies between them. The metrical repertory of *Luzūmiyyāt* in comparison with that of *Saqt* is distinguished, first, by reduction of the share of *tawīl* and parallel sharp increase of the share of *basīt*, which surpasses *tawīl* and moves it form its traditional first place into the second; second, by dubling the share of *mutaqārib*; third, by including versed composed in rare meters, absent from *Saqt* (*madīd, hazaǧ, ramal, muǧtatt*), though the total share of these verses is very small - slightly over one per cent.

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[4] The conversation of the author with Prof. Anas B. KHALIDOV showed that this scholar also noted a kind of order in the sequence of meters in *Luzūmiyyāt*.

[5] The edition of *Saqt* used in the article: *Šarḥ al-tanwīrʿalā saqt al-zand*. Vol. 1-2. Cairo 1941; identification of meters is made in the edition.

[6] More detailed data about the usage of meters see in the author's book Classical Arabic verse. History and theory of *ʿarūḍ* (in print).

Table 1: Metrical repertory of *Saqt* and *Luzūmiyyāt*.

meter	*Saqt*	*Luzūmiyyāt*
tawīl	31,68%	3,23%
madīd	---	0,19%
basīt	11,50%	26,62%
wāfir	15,04%	13,56%
kāmil	16,81%	14,38%
hazağ	---	60,44%
rağaz	0,89%	0,25%
ramal	---	0,69%
sarīᶜ	9,74%	6,21%
munsarih	2,66%	2,95%
hafīf	7,96%	4,64%
muğtatt	---	0,19%
mutaqārib	3,54%	6,56%
Total:	**100,00%**	**100,00%**

Speaking of the role played by metrics in the composition of *Luzūmiyyāt*, we must remind the reader such well known, though mysterious part of the ᶜ*arūd* theory, named after its creator, as "the circles of Halīl". The successive order of the five circles as well as the succession of meters within each circle are fixed once and for ever and that means that the meters do not exist as a chaotic set within the frame of the theory, but make a linear sequence, if this expression can be used to the system of circles, where each meter has its own unchangeable position. The order of the sixteen ᶜ*arūd* meters is as follows (oblique stroke defines the border line between the circles): *tawīl - madīd - basīt / - wāfir - kāmil*

/ - ḥazağ - rağaz - ramal / - sarīᶜ - munsariḥ - ḥafīf - mudārīᶜ - muqtaḍab - muğtatt / mutaqārib - mutadārik. Maᶜarrī uses only thirteen of these meters, excluding from his poetical practice two meters (*mudārīᶜ* and *muqtaḍab*), which most theoreticians, beginning with al-Aḥfaš al-Awsaṭ (d. 830), rejected as artificial, fictitious, not used in real poetry, and also a meter, added by the same al-Aḥfaš to the fifteen, established by Ḥalīl, no less fictitious than the first two - *mutadārik*.

Table 2 shows that the verses within the chapter of each *harf* are arranged so that the chapter usually begins with the first meter of the first circle (*tawīl*) and ends with what is the only meter of the last, fifth circle according to Ḥalīl and Maᶜarrī, *mutadārik* excluded - *mutaqārib*. Between these two boundaries or extremes marking the "metrical range" verses make several "rounds" along the linear sequence of meters tied in a big circle. These "rounds" approximately coincide with the paragraphs of each chapter (based on the *harakāt* and *sukūn*), but occasionally include not one, but two or more paragraphs, and sometimes they even overlap the border line between paragraphs. In any "round" some meters can be left out, so that any "round" as well as any paragraph based on rhyme can be ultimately reduced to one verse only.[7]

Table 2. Metrical order in the composition of *Luzūmiyyāt*[8]

Hamza			18		
1-5	*ṭawīl*		19	*kāmil*	
6-10	*basīṭ*		20	*ḥafīf*	
11-13	*wāfir*				
14	*kāmil*				
16-15	*munsariḥ*		21-22	*ṭawīl*	/i/
16	*ḥafīf*		23	*wāfir*	
			24	*ḥafīf*	
17	*wāfir*	/a/			

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[7] The omission of "boundary marking" meters (*tawīl* and *mutaqārib*) in the extreme "rounds" of chapters results in that six chapters do not begin with *tawīl* (4 - with *basīṭ*, 2 - with *wāfir*) and eight chapters do not end with *mutaqārib* (4 - with *sarīᶜ*, 4 - with *munsariḥ*). The dubious endings of the chapters of *alif* and *fā'* will be discussed later.

[8] Figures designate verse numbers (numbering of verses made by the author of the article); horizontal line shows boundary between metrical "rounds"; symbols /u/, /a/, /i/, /o/ mark the beginning of paragraphs in the chapter; asterisk marks violations of the established sequence of meters.

25-26	*basīṭ*			160-161	*munsariḥ*	
27	*kāmil*			162-163	*ḫafīf*	
28-30	*sarīʿ*			164-167	*mutaqārib*	
/o/						
				168	*wāfir*	
Alif				169-170	*kāmil*	
31	*ṭawīl*			/o/		
32	*wāfir*			171-178	*sarīʿ*	
33	*hazağ*			179-181	*mutaqārib*	
34-35	*mutaqārib*					
36	*ṭawīl**			**Tā'**		
				182-187	*ṭawīl*	/u/
Bā'				188-190	*basīṭ*	
37-46	*ṭawīl*	/u/		191-194	*wāfir*	
47-54	*basīṭ*			195-196	*kāmil*	
55-65	*wāfir*			197	*sarīʿ*	
66-68	*kāmil*			198	*munsariḥ*	
69-72	*sarīʿ*			199-200	*mutaqārib*	
73-74	*munsariḥ*					
75	*ḫafīf*			201	*ṭawīl*	/a/
				202-204	*basīṭ*	
76-82	*ṭawīl*	/a/		205-206	*kāmil*	
83-98	*basīṭ*			207-208	*sarīʿ*	
99	*wāfir*			209-211	*mutaqārib*	
100-102	*kāmil*					
103	*sarīʿ*			212-216	*ṭawīl*	/i/
104-107	*ḫafīf*			217	*wāfir*	
108-109	*muğtatt*					
110-112	*mutaqārib*			218-219	*ṭawīl*	
				220-227	*basīṭ*	
113-128	*ṭawīl*	/i/		228-230	*wāfir*	
129-139	*basīṭ*			231	*kāmil*	
140	*madīd**			232	*munsariḥ*	
141-145	*wāfir*			233	*ḫafīf*	
146-156	*kāmil*			234	*ḫafīf*	/o/
157-159	*sarīʿ*			235-236	*mutaqārib*	

Ṭā'

237-239	*ṭawīl*	/u/
240	*basīṭ*	
241	*sarīʿ*	
242	*mutaqārib*	
243	*basīṭ*	/a/
244	*ṭawīl*	/i/
245-246	*wāfir*	
247-249	*kāmil*	
250	*munsariḥ*	
251-252	*mutaqārib*	

Ǧīm

253-256	*ṭawīl*	/u/
257-260	*basīṭ*	
261	*wāfir*	
262	*kāmil*	
263	*ṭawīl*	/a/
264-267	*basīṭ*	
268	*kāmil*	
269	*sarīʿ*	
270-272	*ṭawīl*	/i/
273-276	*basīṭ*	
277-278	*wāfir*	
279-282	*kāmil*	
283-285	*sarīʿ*	
286-287	*wāfir*	
288-290	*mutaqārib*	/o/

Ḥā'

291-295	*ṭawīl*	/u/
296-297	*basīṭ*	
298-299	*wāfir*	
300	*kāmil*	
301	*sarīʿ*	
302-304	*munsariḥ*	
305-307	*basīṭ*	/a/
308	*ḥafīf*	
309-310	*ṭawīl*	
311-312	*basīṭ*	
313	*wāfir*	
314-316	*mutaqārib*	
317	*kāmil*	
318	*munsariḥ*	
319	*mutaqārib*	

Hā'

320	*ṭawīl*	
		/o/
321-322	*munsariḥ*	
323-324	*ṭawīl*	/i/
325	*basīṭ*	
326	*wāfir*	/i/
327	*sarīʿ*	
328	*sarīʿ*	
		/o/

Dāl

329-344	*ṭawīl*	/i/
345-369	*basīṭ*	
370-376	*wāfir*	
377-384	*kāmil*	
385-387	*sarīʿ*	

388	*munsariḥ*		500-522	*basīṭ*	
389	*ḥafīf*		523-525	*wāfir*	
			526-558	*kāmil*	
390-392	*ṭawīl*	*ḏ*	559-561	*ḥafīf**	
393-401	*basīṭ*		562	*sarīᶜ*	
402-403	*wāfir*		563-564	*munsariḥ*	
404-405	*kāmil*		565	*mutaqārib*	
406	*sarīᶜ*				
407-408	*mutaqārib*		566-580	*ṭawīl*	/a/
			581-594	*basīṭ*	
409-419	*ṭawīl*	/i/	595-597	*wāfir*	
420-440	*basīṭ*		598-601	*kāmil*	
441-447	*wāfir*		602-603	*sarīᶜ*	
448-459	*kāmil*		604	*munsariḥ*	
			605-607	*ḥafīf*	
460	*ṭawīl*	/o/	608	*mutaqārib*	
461	*kāmil*				
462	*raǧaz*		609-626	*ṭawīl*	/i/
463	*sarīᶜ*		627-644	*basīṭ*	
464-466	*mutaqārib*		645-664	*wāfir*	
			665-694	*kāmil*	
Ḏāl			695-696	*sarīᶜ*	
467	*basīṭ*	/u/	697-701	*ḥafīf*	
468-470	*basīṭ*	/a/	702-703	*mutaqārib*	
471	*wāfir*				
472	*kāmil*		704	*basīṭ*	
473	*sarīᶜ*		/o/		
			705	*kāmil*	
474	*ṭawīl*	/u/	706-710	*ramal*	
475-476	*basīṭ*		711-712	*sarīᶜ*	
477	*wāfir*		713-722	*mutaqārib*	
478	*kāmil*				
479	*mutaqārib*	/o/	**Zāy**		
			723	*ṭawīl*	/u/
Rā'			724-725	*basīṭ*	
480-499	*ṭawīl*	/u/	726-728	*wāfir*	

729	*mutaqārib*	
730	*basīṭ*	*d*
731-732	*kāmil*	
733	*mutaqārib*	
734-735	*ṭawīl*	*V*
736	*basīṭ*	
737-738	*wāfir*	
739-743	*ḫafīf**	
744	*munsariḥ*	
745	*mutaqārib*	

Sīn

746-755	*ṭawīl*	/u/
756	*madīd*	
757-768	*basīṭ*	
769-771	*wāfir*	
772-775	*kāmil*	
776	*mutaqārib*	
777	*madīd*	/a/
778-780	*basīṭ*	
781	*wāfir*	
782-783	*kāmil*	
784	*ḫafīf*	
785-794	*ṭawīl*	/i/
795-802	*basīṭ*	
803-808	*wāfir*	
809-814	*kāmil*	
815-817	*sarīʿ*	
818-822	*ḫafīf*	
823	*raǧaz*	/o/
824	*munsariḥ*	

Šīn

825	*ṭawīl*	/u/
826-827	*wāfir*	
828	*basīṭ*	/a/
829	*ṭawīl*	/i/
830	*basīṭ*	
831-834	*wāfir*	
835	*kāmil*	
836	*sarīʿ*	
837	*munsariḥ*	
838	*ḫafīf*	
839	*kāmil*	/o/
840	*munsariḥ*	
841	*mutaqārib*	

Ṣād

842	*basīṭ*	/u/
843	*wāfir*	
844	*mutaqārib*	
845-846	*ṭawīl*	/a/
847-849	*ṭawīl*	/i/
850-851	*wāfir*	
852	*sarīʿ*	
853	*mutaqārib*	

Ḍād

854	*ṭawīl*	/u/
855-856	*basīṭ*	/i/
857	*kāmil*	
858	*basīṭ*	/i/
859-860	*wāfir*	

861	*ramal*	
862	*munsariḥ*	
863-864	*ḥafīf*	
865	*mutaqārib*	/o/

Ṭā'

866-867	*ṭawīl*	/u/
868	*basīṭ*	
869-873	*wāfir*	
874-875	*kāmil*	
876	*mutaqārib*	
877-879	*basīṭ*	/a/
880	*kāmil*	
881	*munsariḥ*	
882-884	*basīṭ*	/i/
885-886	*munsariḥ*	
887	*ḥafīf*	
888-889	*mutaqārib*	
890	*munsariḥ*	
	/o/	

Zā'

891	*basīṭ*	/u/
892	*mutaqārib*	
893	*kāmil*	/a/
894	*ḥafīf*	
895	*ṭawīl*	/i/
896	*wāfir*	
897	*kāmil*	
898	*munsariḥ*	/o/

ʿAyn

899-902	*ṭawīl*	/u/
903-912	*basīṭ*	
913-915	*wāfir*	
916	*ḥafīf*	
917-918	*ṭawīl*	/a/
919-922	*basīṭ*	
923	*wāfir*	
924	*kāmil*	
925	*sarīʿ*	
926-929	*ṭawīl*	/i/
930	*basīṭ*	
931-932	*wāfir*	
933-934	*kāmil*	
935	*sarīʿ*	
936	*ramal*	
937	*mutaqārib*	/o/

Ġayn

938	*ṭawīl*	/u/
939	*basīṭ*	/a/
940	*basīṭ*	/i/
941	*ramal*	/o/
942	*ḥafīf*	
943	*mutaqārib*	

Fā'

944-953	*basīṭ*	/u/
954-956	*wāfir*	
957-959	*kāmil*	
960	*sarīʿ*	
961	*munsariḥ*	

962	*ṭawīl*		1065-1066	*ṭawīl*	/i/
963-968	*wāfir*		1067	*basīṭ*	
969-970	*sarīᶜ*		1068-1069	*wāfir*	
971-972	*ḥafīf*		1070-1071	*kāmil*	
973-974	*mutaqārib*	/o/	1072-1074	*basīṭ*	/o/
975	*ḥafīf**		1075	*kāmil*	
Qāf			1076-1079	*ḥazağ*	
976-986	*ṭawīl*	/u/	1080-1081	*sarīᶜ*	
987-989	*basīṭ*		1082-1085	*mutaqārib*	
990	*wāfir*				
991-993	*kāmil*		**Lām**		
994-995	*sarīᶜ*		1086-1096	*ṭawīl*	/u/
996	*mutaqārib*		1097-1106	*basīṭ*	
			1107-1111	*wāfir*	
997-1004	*ṭawīl*	/a/	1112-1116	*kāmil*	
1005-1010	*basīṭ*		1117-1121	*sarīᶜ*	
1011-1012	*kāmil*		1122-1124	*ḥafīf*	
1013	*mutaqārib*		1125-1126	*mutaqārib*	
1014-1018	*ṭawīl*	/i/	1127-1128	*ṭawīl*	/a/
1019-1023	*basīṭ*		1129-1138	*basīṭ*	
1024-1025	*wāfir*		1139-1142	*wāfir*	
1026	*kāmil*		1143-1147	*kāmil*	
1027-1028	*mutaqārib*	/o/	1148-1149	*ḥazağ*	
			1150	*ramal*	
Kāf			1151-1152	*sarīᶜ*	
1029-1036	*ṭawīl*	/u/	1153-1155	*munsariḥ*	
1037-1040	*basīṭ*		1156-1157	*ḥafīf*	
1041-1042	*wāfir*		1158-1163	*mutaqārib*	
1043-1046	*kāmil*				
			1164-1183	*ṭawīl*	/i/
1047-1052	*ṭawīl*	/a/	1184-1197	*basīṭ*	
1053-1061	*basīṭ*		1198-1214	*wāfir*	
1062	*kāmil*		1215-1225	*kāmil*	
1063	*sarīᶜ*		1226	*ramal*	
1064	*mutaqārib*		1227	*sarīᶜ*	

1228-1230	_ḥafīf_	
1231-1235	_mutaqārib_	
1236	_basīṭ_	/o/
1237-1238	_kāmil_	
1239	_sarīʿ_	
1240	_munsariḥ_	
1241-1244	_ḥafīf_	
1245-1247	_mutaqārib_	

Mīm

1248-1267	_ṭawīl_	/u/
1268-1278	_basīṭ_	
1279-1282	_wāfir_	
1283-1295	_kāmil_	
1296	_munsariḥ_	
1297-1300	_mutaqārib_	
1301-1310	_ṭawīl_	/a/
1311-1319	_basīṭ_	
1320-1322	_wāfir_	
1323-1324	_kāmil_	
1325-1326	_sarīʿ_	
1327-1343	_ṭawīl_	/i/
1344-1368	_basīṭ_	
1369-1376	_wāfir_[9]	
1377-1380	_kāmil_	
1381	_raǧaz_	
1382-1384	_sarīʿ_	
1385-1388	_munsariḥ_	
1389-1391	_mutaqārib_	
1392-1394	_kāmil_	/o/
1395	_raǧaz_	
1396	_ramal_	

1397-1400	_sarīʿ_	
1401	_munsariḥ_	
1402-1404	_ḥafīf_	
1405-1407	_mutaqārib_	

Nūn

1408-1415	_ṭawīl_	/u/
1416-1422	_basīṭ_	
1423-1426	_wāfir_	
1427	_kāmil_	
1428	_sarīʿ_	
1429	_munsariḥ_	
1430-1431	_ḥafīf_	
1432-1434	_mutaqārib_	
1435-1439	_ṭawīl_	/a/
1440-1452	_basīṭ_	
1453-1455	_wāfir_	
1456-1457	_kāmil_	
1458-1460	_sarīʿ_	
1461	_munsariḥ_	
1462	_ḥafīf_	
1463-1479	_ṭawīl_	/i/
1480-1492	_basīṭ_	
1493-1498	_wāfir_	
1499-1500	_kāmil_	
1501-1505	_sarīʿ_	
1506-1508	_munsariḥ_	
1509-1512	_ḥafīf_	
1513	_mutaqārib_	
1514	_sarīʿ_ !![10]	
1515-1522	_sarīʿ_	
1523	_mutaqārib_	

Hā'

1524-1525	*ṭawīl*	/u/
1526-1527	*basīṭ*	
1528-1532	*wāfir*	
1533	*kāmil*	
1534	*munsariḥ*	
1535	*ḥafīf*	
1536-1537	*ṭawīl*	/a/
1538-1547		

The degree of order in the distribution of meters, shown in Table 2, is unparalleled in any other diwan and cold not be unintentional. Violations of this order within a "round", marked in the table by asterisks, are very rare, only six for the whole collection, comprising more than thousand and a half verses. They are:
- *basīṭ* and *wāfir* (No. 17 and 18) changed places;
- *ṭawīl* (No. 36), placed after *mutaqārib*, concludes the chapter on *alif*;
- *madīd* (No. 140) follows *basīṭ* and does not precede it;
- *ḥafīf* (No. 559-561) precedes *sarī* and *munsariḥ*;
- *ḥafīf* (No. 975), placed after *mutaqārib*, concludes the chapter of *fā'*.

We can see, that in two cases this violation is an isolated verse, that concludes the chapter, placed after *mutaqārib*, which functions as a typical end-marker. All other cases are rearrangement of meters in the middle of the "round". It is difficult to say, whether we deal with deliberate introduction of anomalies in the system, or compositional carelessness, or simple copyist's error. Whatever that may be all mentioned verses can be, as it seems, easily moved into the "right" place without any damage to the structure of the diwan.

Arab philologists considered rhyme and meter to be two basic features of the verse, defining poetry (*šiʿr*) as "metricized rhymed speech" (*kalām mayzun*

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[9] In the edition of *Luzūmīyāt* (Cairo, 1891-1895) after verse no. 1373 we find one more verse in the same meter, *wāfir*, that makes the total number of verses in the diwan 1593. This number we made the base for calculations.

[10] In some editions, including the one we used, this verse is vocalized as having rhyme "*nūn* with *fatḥa*". In others, such as Cairo 1924 in two volumes, it is vocalized as having rhyme "*nūn* with *sukūn*" and in the last case we do not see any irregularity.

muqaffa). Maᶜarrī who himself was an outstanding scholar of *ᶜarūd* made rhyme and meter two coordinates of poetical "cosmos", in which theory merges into reality, and in which system of circles as well as order of alphabet set not only its outer parameters, but also a principle of its organization or, using Arabic terms, not only its *hudūd*, but also its *'asl*. In this closed universe of versification under the outer frame of chapters-rhymes the "soul" of Maᶜarrī's poetry in *Luzūmiyyāt* goes round and round the circles of Halīl.

It seems, that Maᶜarrī deliberately tried to exhaust all open and hidden resources of the *ᶜarūd* verse, considering this resources - in conformity with general medieval frame of thought not endless but limited. Though he stated his purpose in plain words only in connection with rhyme, keeping silence about the metrical aspect, the twofold compositional plan of *Luzūmiyyāt* clearly was made to demonstrate though in a somewhat cryptic manner the goal as well as the success of Maᶜarrī's poetical endeavour. This goal can rationally explain the widening of metrical repertory of *Luzūmiyyāt* in comparison with *Saqt* by means of adding minimal quantities rare meters, not characteristic of Maᶜarrī's poetry in general. In this context the omission of some theoretical meters must be considered not as a neglect or lack of skill, but as a deliberate elimination of everything that is questionable. Probably the compositional needs also caused the sharp rise of the frequency of *mutaqārib*, which plays in *Luzūmiyyāt* very distinctive part of a structural boundary marker. But it is not clear, whether the reduction of the frequency of *tawīl* showed above is deliberate or accidental.[11]

Did this impressive construction have another goal apart from demonstrating an outstanding talent of versification which Maᶜarrī possessed? It seems, that this question must be answered affirmatively, or else it would have been difficult for the book to gain its world recognition. Maᶜarrī's introduction to the diwan throws light upon this problem. In this introduction the poet repeats with variations the idea, which must be very important for him. He rejects the concept of poetry as a kind of something "unsubstantial" (*bātil*), attributing this concept to Asmāᶜī (740-828),[12] who was one of the main figures in transmitting the old Arabic poetry. Maᶜarrī strives to make poetry "the word of truth" and thus to overcome conventional traditional boundaries set for the poetry from the times of

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[11] The explanation may lie in the fact, that Maᶜarrī, according to Dr. Maxim S. Kiktev, was alienating himself from the qasīda tradition, whose main meter was *tawīl*.

[12] See *Luzūm* vol. 1, p. 39.

the prophet,[13] rejecting this narrow understanding of poetry. As Maʿarrī himself said: "I rejected poetry as camel's baby rejects its placenta and as ostrich's young-ling rejects its shell".[14]

In order to turn poetry into "the word of truth" maximal strain of all its expressive powers is needed and for that purpose it is necessary to know the utmost limit of the resources of the poetical word in all its aspects, among them metrical. That seems to be the true goal of Maʿarrī's venture. Rejecting poetry in the old sense, establishing "non-poetry" from the point of view of content and function, Maʿarrī creates at the same time "super-poetry" in its formal aspect.[15]

Poetry, that was "the most truthful knowledge" for the Arabs of Ǧāhiliyya, in Muslim times as a potential rival for the Qurʾānic revelation was reduced to the level of "unsubstantial fiction". Starting from that point, poetry covered a long and controversial way of evolution and in the person of Maʿarrī fully realised its force and wished to become once more the carrier of existential truth. Maybe at this particular moment great Arabic poetry passed on the baton to the great Persian poetry. At least in the Arab world since then for many ṣūfī poets their poetry was "the word of truth", though the truth might not be exactly as it was seen by the blind sage from Maʿarra. Poetry accepted the challenge and at last became not a rival, but a companion of revelation.

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[13] See *Luzūm* vol 1, p. 5-6.

[14] See *Luzūm* vol. 1, p. 38.

[15] The problem of *Luzūmiyyāt* as having common plan and of poems in the diwan as a special form of "non-poetry", created by Maʿarrī on the base of neoplatonic conception of reason and thought, was formulated by Dr. M. Kiktev in his paper, delivered in 1982: "Towards understanding of *Luzūm*-form of phylosophical lyrics of Abū 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (973-1057)."

Arabic Studies in Prague: Tradition and the Present.

Eduard GOMBÁR

The interest in the Middle East in our country was connected, at first, with the intensified activity of travellers to Jerusalem and to Constantinopol at the end of the 15th and especially in the 16th centuries. In 1593 (resp. 1614), Václav BUDO-VEC z Budova, famous representative of Czech nobility in the struggle against the Habsburg dynasty, published a polemic work, called Antialkoran, with a translation of several parts of the Qur'ān based on older Latin translations. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the interest in Arabic at the Prague University was based on Biblical and Hebraic studies cultivated by the Jesuit Order. The deeper interest of the Czech scholars in Oriental cultures, proceeding already from scientific considerations, was initially directed to Indian philology as a part of Indo-European comparative linguistics. The new possibilities for the development of Oriental Studies among Czech scholars were created after 1882, when the Czech University was re-established in Prague besides the German University.[1]

Two scholars stood at the craddle of modern Arabic studies in our country: Jaromír Břetislav KOŠUT (1854-1880)[2] and Rudolf DVOŘÁK (1860-1920).[3] While Košut died as a young man, at the outset of his scholarly career, and therefore could not make an imprint on the future of Arabic studies, Dvořák was destined to become the founder of Czech Oriental studies including Arabic studies. Both men were students of Heinrich Fleischer, the famous Arabic scholar in Leipzig.

Jaromír KOŠUT began his scholarly career with an analysis of the well-known dispute between the grammatical schools of Baṣra and Kūfa: it is his only scientific treatise that was published. During his short life, he devoted himself mainly to Persian and to a Czech translation of *Ḥāfiẓ*. In addition, he published several short translations of Arabic poetry into Czech.

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[1] The basic bibliography of the Arabic Studies in Czechoslovakia could be found in Asian and African Studies in Czechoslovakia. Moscow, Nauka 1967, p. 142-145.

[2] More details about his activity cf. Ottův slovník naučný. XIV, 1899, p. 971.

[3] Cf. F. TAUER, Rudolf Dvořák, Zum hundertsten Geburtsjahr und vierzigsten Todesjahr. ArOr 26, 1960, p. 529-546.

Rudolf **DVOŘÁK's** interest in Oriental studies was broad. As regards Arabic studies, Dvořák focused his attention on two principal topics: Arabic poetry and geographical literature written in Arabic. He was especially interested in the work of the Syrian poet and knight, *Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī* (d. 968). Dvořák devoted him a monograph on his life in which he published and translated his poems under the title "Abu Firas, ein arabischer Held und Dichter" (Leiden 1895). Another of his favourite poets was the blind poet-philosopher *Abū 'l-ʿAlā' l-Maʿarrī* (d. 1057). Dvořák wrote about him several Czech studies. Dvořák also produced several remarkable articles on Arabic geographical literature, in which he analysed the works of *al-Ištarī, Ibn Haukal* and *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*. Dvořák made a valuable contribution by his articles to the Czech "Otto's Encyclopaedic Dictionary". These articles are characterized by their highly informative content and synthetic approach to the subject-matter.

Dvořák's successor in the field of Semitic studies at Charles University in Prague was Rudolf **RŮŽIČKA** (1878-1957).[4] Although his principal interest was comparative Semitic linguistics, many of his articles concerning the existence of *ġain* also dealt wiith Arabic etymology. The second sphere of Růžička's interest was Arabic literary history, in particular the history of ancient Arabic poetry. His most important contribution to this field is his three-volume work *Duraid ben aṣ-Simma. Obraz středního Hidžâzu na úsvitě islamu* (Duraid bin al-Ṣimma. A Picture of Central Ḥijāz at the Dawn of Islam. Prague 1925-1930). It offers a detailed analysis of the life and work of one of the principal leaders of the Bedouin opposition against Muḥammad and Islam. The book contains Czech translations of all the preserved poems written by Duraid bin al-Simma, and many translations of the verses of other pre-Islamic poets. Although Růžička's work equals in scope of approach and analysis the works of the German scholar Georg Jacob on the ancient Arab society, it is actually unknown outside Czechoslovakia because it was published only in Czech.

Another scholar specialising in Arabic studies, who won worldwide recognition, was Alois **MUSIL** (1868-1944).[5] His interests were broad. He was not so much concerned with linguistic studies as with acquainting himself with Arabia by

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[4] For more details K. PETRÁČEK, Prof. Dr. Rudolf Růžička, Zum 75 Geburtstag. ArOr 22, 1954, p. 23-28; K. PETRÁČEK, In memoriam Prof. Dr. R. Růžička. ArOr 26, 1957, p. 177-178.

[5] J. RYPKA, Alois Musil, June 30th, 1868 - June 30th, 1938. ArOr 10, 1938, p. 1-34; E. FEIGL, Musil von Arabien. Vorkämpfer der islamischer Welt. Wien 1985; K.J. BAUER, Alois Musil. Wahrheitssucher in der Wüste. Wien - Köln 1989.

his own experience. He undertook several long expeditions to Northern Arabia (between 1886 and 1915), where he conducted topographical observations, drew maps, studied ancient monuments (both pre-Islamic and Islamic), ethnography and folklore, and also observed the political changes taking place in the area in those years. He lived some time with the Rwala Bedouin tribe as their member under the name *Mūsā al-Rweilī*. From among Musil's works, note should be taken in particular of the four-volume *Arabia Petraea* (Vienna 1907-8), which contains a detailed description of Jordan, and the monumental two-volume *Quseir ʿAmra* (Vienna 1907), which deals with Musil's discovery of the Amra palace built by Caliph *Walīd* II. Musil published the results of his numerous journeys with the support of the American Geographical Society between 1926 and 1928 in six volumes, whose titles are self-explanatory: "The Northern Heǧaz, Arabia Deserta, The Middle Euphrates, Palmyrena, Northern Neǧd, The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins". Besides a detailed description of the explored areas, these books contain many passages on historical geography, history, the political situation, etc. Since Musil personally knew all the leading figures of inner Arabia, his works acquired the features of a historical source. Musil also published a series of books in Czech in which he paid particular attention to modern history.

Another scholar of Czech origin belongs to this generation: Alois R. NYKL (1885-1958).[6] His interests were very broad. In Czechoslovakia, he is well-known as the first scholar who undertook the scientific translation of Qur'ān to Czech. He was concerned with Arab poetry in the Muslim Spain. In this field he published "*Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours* (Baltimore 1946).

A leading expert on Islamic studies and the founder of research of Arab history at the Charles University was Prof. Felix TAUER (1883-1981).[7] He headed the Department of the Cultural and Political History of the Islamic World and Islamic Literatures. In the field of Arabic Studies, Prof. Tauer is famous for his excellent Czech translation of the "Arabian Nights" which is one of the most complete in European literature and which went already through three editions,

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[6] More details in K. PETRÁČEK, Za A.R. Nyklem (1885-1958). Nový Orient 14, 1959, No. 3, p. 60.

[7] R. VESELÝ, Prof. Dr. Felix Tauer zum 80. Lebensjubiläum. ArOr 41, 1973, p. 305-307; K. PETRÁČEK, Felix Tauer 1893-1981. ArOr 49, 1981, p. 378-379. The Turkological aspect of his studies is the topic of the article written by J. BEČKA, Felix Tauer: A Historian of the Near East and Central Asia. On the Nineteenth Anniversary of his Birth. ArOr 51, 1983, p. 255-267.

besides that several selections were published. The translation is accompanied by detailed notes and commentary which, in their total, for what may well be considered a small encyclopaedia of Islam. Prof. Tauer greatly contributed to the first Czech history of the world, published under the title "Dějiny lidstva" (A History of Mankind, 1936-41). In that voluminious work, Tauer was the author of two detailed chapters on the history of the Caliphate from Muhammad's time to the Mongol invasion. He is the author of a number of popular articles on Islamic history and especially architecture. His interest was also devoted to Persian and Turkish historiography. He edited *Nizāmuddīn Šāmī's* "Histoire des Conquêtes de Tamerlan intitulée Zafarnāma" (Vol. I, 1937, Vol. II, 1956) and "Histoire de la campagne de Sultan Suleyman Ier contre Belgrade en 1521" (1924). His completed study on Islamic history (VI.-XIX. centuries) was published under the title "Svět islámu" (The World of Islam, 1984).

Rudolf Růžička's successor at Charles University in Prague was Prof. Karel PETRÁČEK (1926-1987).[8] His scholarly interests were very broad. His principal area was comparative Semitic studies and Arabic linguistics. Mention should be primarily made of several of his morphological and structural studies, the most important being "Die innere Flexion in den semitischen Sprachen" (ArOr 1960-64). He published several textbooks of literary Arabic and of the Yemeni dialect. The results of his research in the grammatical structure of Arabic were published in his "Základy gramatického systému spisovné arabštiny" (Foundations of the Grammatical System of Literary Arabic, 1977). Besides the Semitic studies he also paid attention to the whole Hamito-Semitic group of languages and to African linguistics. He prepared "Úvod do hamitosemitské (afroasijské) jazykovědy" (Introduction to the Hamito-Semitic (Afro-Asiatic) Linguistics, Prague 1989). His comparative studies in the field of Hamito-Semitic languages resulted in the monograph "Altägyptisch, Hamitosemitisch und ihre Beziehungen zu einigen Sprachfamilien in Afrika und Asien" (1988). Prof. Petráček devoted much of his interest to Arab literature, especially to the classical and modern Arabic poetry. Originally he studied one of the representatives of the Umayyad poetry - *al-Ahwas*. He translated bot classical and modern poetry into Czech and analyzed the classical poetry in the social and historical context: "Básníci pouště" (The Poets of the Desert, 1977). He was interested in folk poetry and folk literature and translated the famous novel of *'Antar* into Czech. Prof. Petráček also studied Arabic manuscripts at Strahov Convent, National Library and at the Bratislava University

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[8] P. VAVROUŠEK & J. OLIVERIUS, In memoriam Karel Petráček (1926-1987). ArOr 56, 1988, p. 159-171; P. VAVROUŠEK & J. OLIVERIUS, Die Bibliographie von Karel Petráček 1948-1985 (Fortsetzung). ArOr 56, 1988, p. 257-266.

Library. Prof. Petráček was interested yet in another field - Arabic philosophy and classical and modern Islam. In this field, he wrote a study on the philosopher *Ibn Sīnā* and prepared a selection from his principal works in the book "Abú Alí Ibn Síná. Avicenna. Z díla." (*Abū ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā*'s Selected Works, 1954). In his studies of Islam, he published together with Ivan Hrbek a biography of "Muhammad" (1967), and then a book on modern Islamic thought in the Arab world, called "Islám a obraty času" (Islam and Turns of Time, 1969). Besides his Arabic and Islamic studies Prof. Petráček was an acknowledged specialist in African studies. Prof. Petráček headed for a time the Department of Asian and African Studies at Charles University in Prague. He had a number of disciples, who were specialized in several fields of Arabic studies.

Arabic and African studies at the Oriental Institute in Prague were for a long time represented by Ivan **HRBEK** (1923-1993).[9] Hrbek has focused his attention primarily on the past relations between the Arab and Slavonic countries. In 1953 he published a study on the Slavs in the Fatimid Empire, in which he demonstrated the Slav origin of *Jawhar*, the military leader and the founder of Cairo. Hrbek's other works analysed and interpreted the report of the 12th century traveller *Abū Hamīd al-Andalusī*, who visited Russia and Hungary, and dealt with the problem of three "Russian centres" raised by Arab geographers. Then he focused his interest on the field of Arab and African history and on translations of the most important historical sources to Czech. He is the author of the chapters on the Maghrib, Sudan and African countries in the two-volume book "Dějiny Afriky" (The History of Africa, 1966), of which he was the chief editor. He became a member of the International Scientific Committee of UNESCO for the General History of Africa and prepared a chapter "The Sources of African History since the 16th Century". He paid attention to the Palestinian Question in several contributions in publications of the Oriental Institute in Prague. In his translation of KAUF-MAN's "Maurové a Evropa" (The Moors and Europe, 1982) he wrote a broad appendix on the critical evaluation of the history of Muslim Spain. He also contributed to the Encyclopaedia of Islam. In the field of translation, Hrbek made an enormous contribution to Czech culture: he translated the philosophical work by *Ibn Ṭufayl "Hayy ibn Yaqẓān"* (1957), *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*'s "Travels" (1961), an excellent and modern translation of the *Qur'ān* (1972), *Ibn Ḥaldūn*'s *Muqaddima* (1976) and *Masʿūdī*'s *Murūǧ al-ḏahab* (1983). He has also many popular articles on

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[9] L. KROPÁČEK, Ivan Hrbek. 20.6.1923 - 20.3.1993. In: O. HULEC, M. MENDEL (eds.), Threefold Wisdom. Islam, the Arab World and Africa. Praha 1993, p. 13-16; O. HULEC, Ivan Hrbek - Bibliography. In: op.cit., p. 248-266.

different topics, for example on the Arab travellers in Central Europe (*Ibn Yaʿqūb, Abū Ḥamīd al-Gharnāṭī*), on Dante Alighieri and Islam.

Jarmila ŠTĚPKOVÁ (b. 1925) from the Náprstek Museum in Prague, is a foremost specialist in Arab and Islamic numismatics. She has published several articles describing the findings of Arab coins on the Czechoslovak territory and assessing the function and value of Arab coins and their fragments in Eastern and Central Europe as well as in the Arab world. She translated *Ibn Sīnā*'s Book of definitions into Czech (1955).

At present, Arabic studies in Prague are represented by several institutions. The most important are the Institute of Near Eastern and African Studies at the Philosophical Faculty, Charles University, and the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, then the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures, the Oriental Department in the School of Languages in Prague.

Institute of Near Eastern and African Studies:

Felix Tauer's successor at the Charles University is Rudolf VESELÝ (b. 1931), Professor of History and Culture of the Near East, who concentrated his interest on the medieval Islamic history and classical Arabic. Originally, he studied the *Anṣār* uprising in Medina in the 7th century. Later he turned his attention to the history of Egypt during the Mameluke and Ottoman periods. In this field he became an excellent expert. He published several articles analysing archive documents from Cairo, especially the charters of the *waqf* and its role in the economic and social history of the 16th century Egypt. He also contributed to the history of Arabic diplomatics and published a critical edition of Mameluke diplomatic manual (*Taṭqīf al-Taʿrīf bi-l-Muṣṭalaḥ aš-Šarīf*, Cairo 1987). Veselý published "Přehled politických a kulturních dějin islámských zemí" (A Survey of Political and Cultural History of the Islamic Countries, 1971), and "Úvod do studia dějin zemí Předního východu. Pomocné vědy historické" (Introduction to the Study of History of the Near East. Auxiliary Historical Disciplines, 1988). In the field of Arabic linguistics, he wrote together with Jaroslav Oliverius a most useful textbook of spoken Egyptian Arabic (1965, 6 editions). He translated an important source of the Crusades *Usāma ibn Munqiḏ*'s Autobiography.

The tradition of Prof. Petráček in the field of Arabic literature is represented by Jaroslav OLIVERIUS (b. 1933), Professor of Arabic literature, and by František ONDRÁŠ (b. 1964). Originally, Oliverius has been studying Arabic folk prose, in particular medieval popular novels like *Zīr Sālim* and others. Then he concentrated his scholarly interest on the field of modern Egyptian literature and literary criticism, where he won international recognition. He published a number of articles

in this field, mostly in Archív Orientální and in the Charles University publications. He translated the famous novel by *Nagīb Maḥfūẓ* "Scandal in Cairo" into Czech. Together with Veselý he published a textbook "Egyptská hovorová arabština" (Spoken Egyptian Arabic, 1965).

In the field of Islamic studies, Luboš **KROPÁČEK** (b. 1939) published "Moderní islám" (Modern Islam, 2 Vols., 1971-72) and a monograph "Duchovní cesty islámu" (Spiritual Ways of Islam, 1993). He also contributed to General History of Africa IV (Nubia from the Late 12th Century to the Funj conquest in Early 16th Century). He also specialized in the Arab and Swahili languages. He published a small-sized Czech-Arabic and Arabic-Czech Dictionary (1st ed. 1972).

Karel **KELLER** (b. 1944), by his concern in the culture of Muslim Spain, represents the tradition founded by A.R. NYKL. He is specialized in classical Arabic, and his interest is concentrated in lexicography.

Eduard **GOMBÁR** (b. 1952), Associated Professor in General History, continues in the tradition of the historical research of the Middle East and North Africa, founded by Prof. Tauer and developed by Prof. Veselý. His scholarly interest is concentrated on modern and contemporary Arab history. He published a monograph "Revolučně demokratické strany na Blízkém východě" (Revolutionary Democratic Parties in the Middle East, 1986) dealing with the post-war history of Syria, Iraq and Southern Yemen. He also paid attention to the development of Arab nationalism. At present, he concentrates on the modern and contemporary history of Egypt, economic history and modern Arab historiography. He published a monograph "Úvod do dějin islámských zemí" (Introduction into the History of Islamic countries, 1994).

Successor of Prof. Petráček in the field of Arabic and Semitic studies Petr **ZEMÁNEK** (b. 1961) represents the young generation of Czech Arabists and Semitists. He published in the field of Arabic and Semitic phonology and verbal system.

In the **Oriental Institute** in Prague, the Arabic studies are devoted to the research of traditional and modern Arab thought, of the contemporary history of the Middle East, and of the Arabic literature.

The field of modern literature of Maghreb is studied by Svetozár **PANTŮČEK** (b. 1931). He published several monographs on the history of literatures in North Africa: "La littérature algérienne moderne" (Prague 1969), "Tunesische Literaturgeschichte" (Wiesbaden 1974), "Literatury severní Afriky (The Literatures of the North Africa, 1978). Pantůček paid attention to the problems of the Arab folk literature, especially to *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* (Prague 1970). During his stage in the Münster University, he devoted his interest to the research of Arabization in Algeria. He translated into Czech several novels from the Arab literature.

Miloš **MENDEL** (b. 1952) devoted his scholarly interest to the problems of modern Islam. Together with Z. Müller he published two books, "Svět Arabů" (The World of the Arabs, 1989) and "Islám. Ideál a skutečnost" (Islam. The Ideal and Reality), monographs "Židé a Arabové" (The Jews and the Arabs, 19929, "Islámská výzva" (Challenge of Islam, 1994, and a number of articles.

Josef **MUZIKÁŘ** (b. 1932) is mainly concerned with the ideologies of pan-Arabism, pan-Islamism and Arab Nationalism. In this field, he published a number of articles and was the chief editor of several monographs. He paid attention to the contemporary problems of the Arab world, especially the Palestinian Question. Zdeněk **MÜLLER** (b. 1947) published a monograph "Palestinské hnutí odporu" (Palestinian Liberation Movement, 1980) and a number of articles on the problems of modern philosophical and religious thought in the Arab world.

The field of Arab economy is specialization of Jitka **PANTŮČKOVÁ** (b. 1949) and Jiří **WEIGL** (b. 1958). In the Institute of International Relations the problems of the contemporary Middle East were studied by František **VYCHODIL** (b. 1932), the author of monograph "Blízký Východ, války či mír" (The Middle East, Wars and Peace, 1978) and by Jaroslav **BUREŠ** (b. 1953). In the Náprstek Museum, the young generation of Czech Arabists is represented by Vlastimil **NOVÁK** (b. 1964), who is interested in the field of Arabic and Islamic numismatics.

The above mentioned specialists in the field of Arabic studies were connected with the institutions, in which scholarly research is pursued. In the post-war years, there were several generations of students graduated from Charles University in Prague. Most of them have been applying their knowledge at various governmental departments or in cultural institutions. Many students have continued their studies on Arabic language, literature and history, and they contribute to the broader popularization of Arabic studies in Czech Republic.

Notes on East Gurage

Robert HETZRON

0. Introduction.

East Gurage is the last blank spot on the map of Semitic languages. No grammatical description of this dialect-cluster is available. (A concise description of East Gurage is being now prepared by Dr. Ernst-August GUTT of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, for the forthcoming volume *The Semitic Languages*, ed. by Robert HETZRON). Vocabularies of Selti, Wolane, and Zway have been published by LESLAU (1979: 961-1031, 1121-1231), who also refers to these languages in various publications. HETZRON 1972 also contains such references. Relatively few papers have been devoted exclusively to East Gurage: first DREWES 1960, HETZRON 1968 and a reply to it by LESLAU 1970, then E.A. GUTT the scholar with the longest experience in the field, published a series of papers: 1983, 1985, 1986 and 1988 (of which only the 1985 one is available to me). The present notes will not truly fill the gap, but they offer some grammatical material hitherto unavailable. They come from my collection of data and texts during my stay in Ethiopia in 1965-66, which was mainly devoted to the study of other languages. Hence the dearth of material here.

The East Gurage dialects mentioned in the literature are Selti ([səlti], Selte), Wolane ([wäläne], Wolani), Ulbarag (Urbarag) and Zway (Laqi). I also came across the name Ennekor ([ənnäqor]), see below. For want of descriptions it is hard to make sense out of this listing. For the scattered data in LESLAU's publications, one may conclude that Zway is somewhat apart from the rest which, according to my brief experience and confirmed by Professor A.J. DREWES of Leyden, who did extensive fieldwork in the area, constitutes one dialect cluster. It seems that the possible divisions based on isoglosses do not even correspond to the labels "Selti", "Wolane", which are more tribal units than linguistic ones. In the following, I am using the letter "S" for data obtained from my Selti informant, Mr. Mähammad Abdallah, "W" for what Mr. Nägash Muzäyyän, a Wolane, gave me, and "E" for material provided by Mr. Shamil Bäyyan. Otherwise, no claim is made about dialectal division.

The last-mentioned variety of East Gurage deserves some comment. I found Mr. Shamil Bäyyan when I was looking for a speaker of Masqan, a Western Gurage language, in Addis Ababa. He was contacted by some other Gurage friends and presented himself as a Masqan. Yet after a few words of data, his language turned out to be of clearly East Gurage character. He was genuinely convinced that he spoke exactly the same language as all the Masqan. This was a

mistake, as I could ascertain when, during a visit to Buttajira, a town about 100 kms. south of Addis Ababa, I encountered a number of Masqans. Naturally, Shamil's people were as much entitled to use the term "Masqan" as those in Buttajira, but the latter seem to be the bulk of the Masqan tribe. They declared the data collected from Shamil to be Selti. Thus, I decided to follow the convention and retain the term "Masqan" for the tongue of Western Gurage type spoken in the surroundings of Buttajira, and to call the East Gurage dialect of Shamil "Enneqor" after the name of the country he said he was from. This is one more example of tribal boundaries which are not identical with linguistic boundaries.

The following is a summarized presentation of the data collected from the above-mentioned three informants. The data thus represent a limited corpus and the variants do not necessarily reflect the major dialectal division or the typical usage of the tribe whose label they carry. I also have some folkloric texts from the first two informants which I hope to publish elsewhere.

1. East Gurage.

In the following, Zway is not taken into consideration, not because I would exclude it from East Gurage, but because I have no data on it other than some scattered references. This will make Zway the last completely unknown Semitic language, as far as grammar is concerned.

The term "East Gurage" is misleading. South of Addis Ababa, there is enclave of speakers of Semitic languages traditionally called "Gurage" (with hard g in both cases, and the final e is pronounced, "Gurahghay" is a good guide for pronunciation). Some authors, when listing the Semitic languages, mention the "Gurage language" as one of the Ethiopian representatives of Semitic. This is far from the truth. Not only does the Gurage area contain several mutually unintelligible languages, but even these belong to two branches of South Ethiopic: Gunnän Gurage (see HETZRON 1977) that with the recently extinct Gafat constitutes Outer South Ethiopic, and East Gurage, a close relative of Harari, both of which belong to the Transversal South Ethiopic branch which also includes Amharic and Argobba. The most eloquent isogloss that unites the members of the latter group is the use of suffixes derived from the auxiliary hlw in forming the main form of the Nonpast.

This does not mean that there are no features that East Gurage shares with its neighbor, Gunnän-Gurage. These are developments that may safely be attributed to contact, such as the vocalization $ä$ in the Jussive prefix, the negative Habitual/Conditional b- and numerous vocabulary items.

The East Gurage dialect cluster fits into the general pattern of South Ethiopic quite well. It has retained two remarkably archaic features. It constitutes the only

living Semitic language to have maintained the original accusative in $*-a > -\ddot{a}$ (albeit for definite objects only). It is also the only living Ethiopian Semitic language to have gemination in the Pl.2c. past tense suffix, as reconstructed for Ge^{c}ez.

2. Phonology.

Here are the consonants:

Voiced:	b		d			$z\ \check{g}\ \check{z}\ g\ g^w$	
Voiceless:		f	t			$s\ \check{c}\ \check{s}\ k\ k^w$	
Glottalized:	p		$\dot{t}$			$\check{c}\ q(\mathrm{W}{\sim}?)q^w$ SE $?$	
Other:	$m,w,$ SE m^w n		$l,\ r$		$\tilde{n}$ v	h SW h^w	

In W [q] and [?] constitute two realizations of one phoneme. In intervocalic non-geminated position, it is [?], in final position there is free variation; in gemination, in a cluster (qC) and initially it is always q. In the data below, the actual pronunciation will be rendered.

In E, $?$ occupies a much more important position. Historically it represents the survival of $*?$ and $*^c$ in contact with the consonants $m,\ \tilde{n},\ l,\ r$, though it also occurs in a few words of Cushitic origin (HETZRON 1969: 78-81).

East Gurage has consonantal gemination, although less frequently than Amharic. In the verbal system, only a handful of B-type verbs (the verb-class originally characterized by gemination of the second radical, the Semitic D-form) have geminated second radicals. Most of them are ungeminated and the conjugational class is marked by means of palatality (see below). The reduction of the older gemination in the verbal system but not in nouns is a feature East Gurage shares with Harari, one of the isoglosses proving the closeness of genetic relationship. The survival of the gemination, in a completely unsystematic manner, in a few B-type verbs (see 3.2.3. below) may be due to dialect mixture: in the turmoils of the war in the 16th century, the original tribal structure broke down and afterwards the reorganization may have united groups of originally different tribal affiliation. Thus, an archaic, gemination-preserving dialect must have left its traces in the new variety of language (HETZRON 1972: 42-3).

The vowels are the usual stock: $u,\ o,\ a,\ \ddot{a},\ o,\ i$ and [ə] as a euphonic vowel to dissolve consonant cluster, with no phonemic value. In S, $ə$ is slightly palatall, easy to confuse with /i/. Underlying final $-\ddot{a}y$ may be realized as $-e$. In SE, the opposition between /a/ and /ä/ is neutralized in open final position, and the exponent is $-\ddot{a}$.

In the dialects investigated by me, vocalic length does not seem to be relevant, though it may be found elsewhere. LESLAU (1979: xxi) lists six long vowels (with *ä* and *a* having one single long counterpart *a:*) for Selti and Zway, but not Wolane. DREWES (1960), following older tradition, transcribes *ā* and *a* for LESLAU's and my *a* and *ä*, where the macron as a length mark may reflect phonetic reality, but phonemically more proof would be needed. The vowels *a* and *ä* sound different and this may be the relevant distinctive feature, not length (which I believe to be true already for Ge'ez). It is true that working with Selti, I did clearly hear vowel length, but found no minimal pairs to confirm their phonemic value. Length appeared to be conditioned. What made me suspicious was that the verb 'know' *čalä/šalä* has its *a* pronounced long, whereas in the Peripheral Western Gurage languages that do have vowel length, this verb has a short *a* while most verbs with weak mid radical have it long. Thus, the system developed there does not work here. More research is indicated.

Stress is conditioned by the syllabic structure: it falls on the last vowel of the word that is followed by a consonant. In other words, final closed syllables are stressed, and if the final syllable is open, the stress is penultimate. It seems, however, that sentence stress plays a more important role than word stress.

3. Morphology.
3.1. Nouns.

Gender is not marked in nouns. There is only natural gender, feminine for female, some animals and some other classes of nouns (including the diminutive). However, feminine nouns require a feminine article (see below).

The plural marker of nouns is *-ča*, S: *-čä* in final position and *-ča-y* with the article. Note S: *gäräğǧ* 'girl', pl. *gäräğǧäččä* with a connective vowel and gemination of the *č* after a geminate. The plural of nouns of the CVCV pattern is formed by repeating the last consonant after an *a*, further followed by the usual plural ending, namely S: $CVC_iaC_ičä$, e.g. *märe* 'friend', pl. *märarčä*; *čulo* 'boy', pl. *čulalčä*; *däbo* 'relative', pl. *däbabčä*; E *buṗa* 'egg', pl. *buṗaṗča*.

The referential definite article, in the limited sense of 'the above-mentioned' is a suffixed *-i/-y* after masculine and the plural, and *-te* after the feminine: SW: *miš-i* 'the man', *mašt-ate* 'the woman', *färäz-te* 'the horse', *zägädo-te* 'the jackal', *əfur-te* 'the rat'. Note W. *bučo* 'dog', *bučwe* 'the dog' (i.e. underlying **bučwä+i*). The article is affixed to the first element of the noun phrase: W: *add-ate barä* "one-the ox" for 'one of the oxen'. In cleft constructions, the verb has it as well: S: *y-ewädt-äñ-te zägädo näbärt* "that-she+told-me-the_{fem} jackal she+was" for 'it was the jackal that told me'. In E the definite article *-kä* is also found. This is doubtless the Sg.3m. possessive suffix used as an article, a calque on Amharic.

Definite objects may be further referred to by a resumptive pronoun in the verb: E *gar-ä-kä anžeh^w-iyäw* "house-Acc.-the I+saw-it" for 'I saw the house'.

Indefiniteness is marked, only when a new element is introduced into the discourse, by a preceding numeral 'one'. Elsewhere it is left unmarked.

I have one case of diminutive in W: *säb* 'man' and *säbiyyä* 'young man.

The possessive suffixes are the following:

Singular		Plural	
1c.	*-e*	1c. S: *-nä*, W: *-ññä*	
2m.	S: *a*,W: *-ah(ä)*,E: *-äh*	2c. S: *-am^w*,W: *-ahum*,E: *-a(h)m^w*	
2f.	*-aš*	3c. SE:*-nim^w*, W: *-nim*	
3m.	*-kä*		
3f.	*-šä*		

Case-marking: the nominative is unmarked. The locative may also be unmarked, as is the target of going with the verb *hedä* 'go'.

East Gurage is the only Semitic language to still have a survival of the old Semitic **accusative** *-*a*, in the shape of *-ä*. However, it is used according to the Ethiopian pattern, only after definite objects. It is remarkable that after personal pronouns and personal names (including personified animals in folktales), optionally also with qualifiers, the ending is *-nä*, with an *n* as in Amharic, e.g. W: *näwri-nä-y tiyanž* 'when he saw the tiger'. Note that *-nä* sometimes occurs with a qualifier when the noun phrase is in the dative, W: *lä-dulo-nä-y ənča'o* "to-lame-*nä*-the rooster" for 'to the lame rooster'. I have one case of S: *y-ihe-nä-ko* 'like me' ("of-I-*nä*-like").

If the noun in accusative also has a possessive ending, the *-ä-* is inserted between the noun and the possessive. In Sg.1c. *-e* becomes *-äyyä*, before a consonant the *-ä-* remains segmentally identifiable: Sg.2m. *-ä-kä*; before a vowel no change takes place.

Again in a typical Ethiopian manner, the accusative marker is put after the first element of the noun phrase, e.g. W: *miš* 'man' (nom.) - acc.: *miš-ä, yä-gädärä-y miš* "that-was+tall-the-man" for 'the man who was tall' - acc.: *yä-gädärä-na-y miš; əndəblule-na-y wən amäta-t* "round-Acc.-the stone she+brought" for 'she brought the round stone'. E affixes the accusative ending also after the indefinite article 'one': *hadd/hadd-ä säb* 'one man' (nom./acc.).

Other syntactic functions are marked by prefixes: *yä-* 'of', *lä-* 'to', *bä-* 'in, with (instr.), [sometimes] from', *tä-* 'from'; postpositions: *ğingo* 'until, as far as' (from the verb 'arrive'), *yallan* 'as much as' (originally a nonpast form of a defective verb 'amount to'); circumfixes (combinations of a prefix and a suffix):

yä-...-ko (E ..-*äkko*) 'like', *tä-..-et* 'to(ward)'; circumpositions (combinations of a prefix and a postposition): *tä-...gənä* 'with (comitative), *bä-...fanta* 'in place of, instead', *bä-...wəst* 'in(side)'; *bä-...rer* 'after'; *bä-...qädä* 'near, at'; *bä-* combined with a converb form of *ǧemmärä* is 'from ... on'. There is a vocative ending -*o*.

The independent pronouns behave like nouns. In SW, the final -*a* is realized as -*ä* if not followed by a suffix. The accusative suffix is -*nä*.

	Singular		Plural
1c.	SW: *ihe*, E: *ehe*	1c.	S: *iña*, EW: *əna*
2m.	SW: *atä*, E: *ata*	2c.	*atum*
2f.	SE: *aš*, W: *aši*	3c.	*uhun*
3m.	*uha*		
3f.	SE: *iša*, W: *əša*		

The demonstratives are:

	Masculine	Feminine	Plural
CLOSE:	*ənnä*	*ənnä/əte*	*ənnäččä*
DISTANT:	*annä*	*annəte*	*annäččä*

In W, I also recorded *yəlli/yalli* 'of this/that'.

3.2. Verbs
3.2.1. Tense forms.

There is a clear division between tensed (main, relative, quotative, causal) verb forms and tenseless subordinate ones. The main verb has a Past, a Nonpast (Present-Future), a Present Perfect, a Past Perfect, a Habitual Past (also a Conditional) and a Jussive. In subordination there is the tenseless Converb (see further below), and the two tense forms: the Past and the Nonpast. They represent tense-opposition only in the relative quotative and causal forms, where they have exactly the same shape as the main verbs. Elsewhere subordination-markers govern either one of the tenses, with no implication of time-reference. The Past has a single form everywhere, supplemented, if needed, with subordination markers. For what we can call the Nonpast, the basic shape only occurs with subordination-markers by which it is governed, so that the composite form does not express tense. The Tensed Nonpast consists of the Basic Nonpast followed by suffixes coming from an old auxiliary (suffix-conjugated **hlw* 'there is') and the Present Perfect is formed out of the Past tense forms followed by the same suffixes in SE and by an invariable -*an* in W. When the Tensed Nonpast or the Present Perfect are subordinate, the subordination markers is thus added to a longer form, already carrying an added suffix. The rest of the tense forms are compound also synchronically (see

details below). In the following Tables the most important conjugations are
illustrated by the root *sbr* 'break', a Type A verb (see below):

		PAST	PRESENT PERFECT	JUSSIVE
Sg.	1c.	*säbärku*	*säbärko*	*läsbär*
	2m.	*säbärkä*	*säbärka*	*səbär*
	2f.	*säbärš(e)*	*säbäršeš*	*səbäri*
	3m.	*säbärä*	*säbäran*	*yäsbär*
	3f.	*säbärt*	*säbärtat*	*täsbär*
Pl.	1c.	*säbärnä*	*säbäran*	*läsbärnä*
	2c.	*säbärkum(mo-)*	*säbärkummom*	*səbäru*
	3c.	*säbäru*	*säbärun*	*yäsbäru*

In the past, the parenthesized elements are added before a further suffix (cf. the
Present Perfect). Note the gemination of *m* in Pl.2c., cf. the traditional reading of
the corresponding Ge°ez Pl.2m. suffix *-kəmmu* (a gemination the existence of
which is unknown to many comparative Semitic linguists). The second persons in
the Jussive paradigm are the Imperative forms. Note that the prefix-vowels of the
jussive are uniformly *ä*. The only major difference between the three dialects
investigated by me is that the Present Perfect above is true of SE only, W has
säbärkʷan, etc., with an invariable *-an*. In the nonpast forms I found more diver-
sity, indicated below in an abbreviated format with the hyphen marking not a
morpheme boundary, but the beginning of the divergence:

	BASIC NONPAST	TENSED NONPAST	TENSED NEG.NONPAST
Sg.1.	*əsäbr*	*əsäbra-* SE:-*w*, W:-*hʷ*	S:*əläw-*,W:*əllə--säbr*
2m.	*təsäbr*	*təsäbra(h)*	*əttəsäbr*
2f.	*təsäbri*	*təsäbraš*	*əttəsäbri*
3m.	*yəsäbr*	*yəsäbran*	S:*əlä-*, W:*ələ--säbr*
3f.	*təsäbr*	*təsäbrat*	*əttəsäbr*
Pl.1.	*(y)əsäbrənä*	*yəsäbrən*-SE:-*an*,W:-*än*	S:*əläw-*,W:*əllə- -säbrənä*
2.	*təsäbru*	*təsäbr*-SE:-*om*,W:-*ähum*	*əttəsäbru*
3.	*yəsäbru*	*yəsäbr*-SE:*on*, W:-*wan*	S:*əlä-*,W:*ələ- -säbru*

In the Sg.2f. forms of the Jussive and the Nonpast, if the last consonant of the
root (not necessarily the last radical) is one of *d, t, ṭ, z, s*, they will be palatalized
respectively as *ǧ, č, č̣, ž, š* and word-final *-i* will no more be necessary. See further
below on palatalization.

Note that the Pl.1c. Nonpast have no more the prefix *n-*, but *yə-* (Jussive *lä-*) and a suffix *-nä*. This may be due to a Cushitic influence. As against general Semitic use of a prefix only: *nV-* (Amharic *ənnə-*), Gunnän Gurage (except Soddo) adopted, beside the prefix,a further suffix: *nə-..-nä*, like some of the prefix-verbs in Somali (e.g. *ni-maad-na* 'we come'). East Gurage went further. Here the suffix *-nä* is attached to the Sg.1c.: *yə-mäč-na* 'we come', quite like the Awngi prefix-verbs (e.g. *á-nt-né* 'we come') (and, coincidentally, the western modern Arabic dialects).

I have only three examples in W that show that after a prefix, the first person forms of the Subordinate Nonpast have an intrusive *-l-* as in *t-əl-säbər/t-əl-säbər-nä* 'when I/we break' and *ba-l-əläy* 'I wouldn't say' (Western Gurage has an intrusive *-n-* in the same position. This may be due to analogy with the Jussive.

I noted two impersonal forms in S: *säbäre* 'one broke' and *yəmäčen* 'one estimates', but have no more data on this.

The **compound** tenses are formed: Past Perfect: Past + invariable *narä* 'was'; Habitual/Conditional: Basic Nonpast + the invariable past tense copula *näbär*.

The **negative** forms are obtained as follows. Suffix conjugations: a prefix *al-* added to the Past and the Present Perfect. Prefix-conjugations: for the Tensed Negative Nonpast, see Table above; basicaly a prefix *əl-*, with assimilation of the *l* to *t*. Note the intrusive element *-w-* in the first persons in S. For the Negative Subordinate Nonpast, *al-* or *a* + gemination of the following consonant may be used. I have no complete data on the negative Jussive, but the negative Imperative is *attəsbär* 'don't break' for the masc., add *-i* for the fem. or *-u* for the pl. The negative form of the Habitual/Conditional (reported in W only), a feature in common with Gunnän-Gurage languages, is *ba-* + Basic Nonpast, e.g. *ba-ysäbrər* 'he wouldn't break', Sg.1c. *ba-l-əläy* 'I wouldn't say' with the intrusive prefix *-l-*.

The infinitive is formed out of the Jussive stem followed by *-ot*, e.g. *səbärot* 'to break', *čalot* 'to know'. I found no participles (Gunnän-Gurage has no productive participle formation either).

3.2.2. Subordination.

Subordinate clauses precede their subordinators. A most important multi-functional Ethiopian **subordinate** form is the **Converb** (also called "gerund"). In East Gurage, there are two paradigms under this label according to function. In an **adverbial** role expressing manner of action, the Converb is formed by the addition of an *-ä* to the Past tense. In the **connective** function, which corresponds to sentence-coordination in other languages, the suffix *-ane* (S only) *-ani* (all three, note *-u + a > -o, -i + a > -e*) is attached to the Past before a subordinating Past or Present Perfect, to the Basic Nonpast before a Nonpast and to a Jussive before a

Jussive. Before subordinate forms that express tense, the same tense form is used; before other subordinate forms (the "in order that" form was not checked), the Past + -*ani* occurs. Here is a contrastive example, S: adverbial *mugg bat-ä tətanž'* while she was looking stooping down', the posture while looking, vs. connective *mugg bäye-ne-inži* 'stoop down and look!", where there is succession. Cooccurence of the two S: *hullämnim^w aṭäbt-ane anqäft-ä əñət* "all+of+them she+washed-Converb_conn she+hugged-converb_adv she+slept", i.e. 'She washed all of them and fell asleep hugging [them]'. The shorter form is used for 'receive' in the following example, S: *lä-nəgus-i ewäd-ani šalləmat-ä-kä täqebäl-ä t-ihed* "to-king-the he+said-Converb_conn reward-Acc.-his he+received-Converb_adv when-he+goes" for '...he told the king and when having received his reward, he left...'. Here the interpretation is adverbial because the idea is not a succession of receiving the reward and then leaving (which is pragmatically true), but that he left in possession of his reward.

Here is a listing of the other types of subordination, all marked on the clause-final verb. This is, of course, an incomplete list, containing only those found in the texts of elicited. Many finesses may also exist that could not be revealed in a short inquiry.

A. With tense-opposition Past/Nonpast.

Relative: *yä-* before the Past (*yä-säbärä*) and the Present Perfect (*yä-säbäran*) and for the Nonpast, the Main Nonpast and the Relative one are homophonous (*yəsäbran*);

Quotative (the verb of a complement clause) the Relative Past or Nonpast further followed by S -*ku* after vowel, -*äku* after consonant; W -*ko*, E: -*äkko/-äk^w* (distribution unclear). Examples, S: *yä-säbärä-ku/yəsäbran-äku äšlaw*, E *yä-säbbär-äkko/yəsäbran-äk^w* "I know that he broke/breaks', W *yä-ʔätälä-ko/yə-ʔätlan-ko yəšlaw* 'I know that he killed/kills'. Causal: *səlä* + Past/Nonpast for 'because'.

B. With no formal opposition of tenses, the tense-interpretation depends on the subordinating verb.

t- + Basic Nonpast 'when, while';

b(ä)- + Past or Basic Nonpast + *gənä* for 'when' (is there some fine distinction?);

bä- + Past + *rer* 'after',

l- + Basic Nonpast 'in order that';

Protases (if-clauses): *bä-* + Past for Real Conditional (with the indicative in the Apodosis, the then-clause); *b-* + Basic Nonpast for Unreal Conditional, also for 'rather than doing' (Basic Nonpast + *näbbär* in the Apodosis), etc.

3.2.3. Derivation.

Four **base forms** must be posited. (i) Type A is the unmarked form. (ii) Type B was originally characterized by the gemination in the mid radical in all tenses. Ge'ez adopted a palatal vowel before the geminate consonant in the nonpast. In South-Ethiopic, the vowel before the geminate consonant became palatalized in all the forms: *ä > e, ə > i*. Then several languages lost the gemination, so that palatality became the only exponent of Type B (see HETZRON 1972: 25-6). The palatal vowel is *e* in the indicative and *i* for the jussive in the basic form. In East Gurage, curiously, a few verbs maintained gemination (see 1. above), but most of them lost them. (iii) Type C has a vowel *a* between the first two radicals in all tenses (but see exception below). (iv) Quadriradicals share features with Type B, but for practical reasons it is better to list them separately. There are quadriradicals simply containing four consonants, other, a very frequent type, are repetitive: the first two consonants are repeated and constitute the third and fourth radicals. Verbs with a labial vowel between the first two radicals systemically behave like quadriradicals where the second radical is a *w*, followed by reduction rules: *-wä- > -o-* and *-wə- > -u-*. Here are some examples of Sg.3m. forms of the Past/Tensed Non-past/Jussive for some verbs (S unless otherwise marked) in the four basic classes, with no further derivational prefix:

Type A: *räkäbä/yəräkban/yärkäb* 'find', *qäbätä/yəqäbtan/yäqbät* 'lack'

Type B: Geminating *ğemmärä/yəğemməran* (W pl. *yəğemrwan* with the gemination reduced as in modern North Ethiopic)/*yäğimmər* (but W *yäğimr*) 'begin', the normal pattern (also *feqqädä* 'allow', *neggädä* 'trade', but cf. *qettälä/yəqettəlan/yäqettəl* 'continue' with *e* also in the Jussive: *qennätä/yəqennətan/yäqint* 'despise'. In W, 'begin' also belongs here, with the same Past and Nonpast as above, but with Jussive *yäğimr*, Imperative masc. *ğimr*, etc.

Type C: I only have one verb of this type in my corpus with no further prefix. Note that it has a Type A Jussive: *rawwätä/yərawtan/yärwät* 'run'.

Quadriradicals: *kənäbälä/yəknäblan/yäknəbl* 'return (tr.), answer'; repetitive 1-2-1-2 root pattern *səbäsäbä/yəsbäsban/yäsbäsb* 'gather, assemble' (trans.), with second labial: *toqäsä/yətoqsan/yätuqs* 'ask'.

In my documents there is only two verbs derived through reduplication of the mid radical with an *a* inserted, see below. A survey of LESLAU's East Gurage material (LESLAU 1979) gives the impression that such a derivation is indeed rare, and is often used for a specialized meaning (not for necessarily multiple action as elsewhere), which suggests that this is not a productive formation. For example, for Wolane *näče* 'touch', the reduplicative *nəčače* means 'stir food'. It is worthwhile to compare with the passive-reduplicative of *säbärä* 'break': *täsbabärä*

glossed by LESLAU as 'be broken', in conformity with the general Ethiopian Semitic pattern, in Selti - but as a highly specialized 'sit coiled up' for Wolane.

The following **prefixes** may be combined with any of the basic forms above (as determined by the lexicon).

The passive is formed by means of a prefix *tä-/-t-* where the *t* does not seem to be subject to assimilation. As elsewhere, the passive form is not always a true passive. With Type C, the passive prefix forms a Reciprocal. It may even be a transitive verb carrying passive morphology, for some historical reasons. In Type B, the palatal vowel is *e* throughout for the non-geminating class. Yet, geminating Type B has indicative *e* and Jussive *i*. The labial quadriradical exhibits *o* in the indicative, and an *u* in the Jussive. Examples:

Type A: W *tähälä?ä/yətäl?an/yätälä?* 'be created' (not the elision of *h*)

Type B: Geminating *tädessätä/yətdessätan/yätdissät* 'be happy' (yet *qennätä-/yəqennətan/yäqint* 'despise' with no gemination in the Jussive), nongeminating *täqebälä/yətqebälan/yätqebäl* 'receive, accept'

Type C: *tärakäbä/yətrakäb/yätrakäb* 'to meet (each other)'

Quadriradical: *täknäbälä/yətknäbälan/yätknäbäl* 'return (intr.)', repetitive *täsbäsäbä/yətsəbäsäban/yätsəbäsäb* 'gather (intr.)', with labial *tägobälä/yətgobälan/yätgubäl* 'to sit'.

Here is a reduplicative passive: *täsbabärä/yəsbabäran/yäsäbabär* 'be broken' (see above).

There is causative in *a-* and a factitive (double causative) in *at-* along the same lines as other South Ethiopic languages. I have very few examples of these in sound verbs: a quadriradical of the second labial group: *agodälä /yagodlan/yagudl* 'diminish (tr.)' and a factitive reduplicative *atrəgagätä /yatrəgagčan/yatrigt* 'verify' (note the lack of reduplication in the jussive).

3.2.4. Root classes.

The above examples all contained triradical sound roots, i.e. no weak consonantal or vocalic radicals, but three clear consonants, only the last of which may be subject to palatalization in Sg.2f. prefix forms.

Let us now turn to the weak verbs, original tri- or quadriradicals where one or two of the original consonants had dropped (normally *?, *h, *ˁ, *ḥ, *x, which had turned the subsequent vowel *ä* to *a* leaving this change as a trace, and *w, *y having caused labialization and palatalization. In the following, only some samples of weak verbs will be given.

First weak radical. Note the additional intrusive *n* forming a cluster with the next consonant, when etymologically the first radical was *ḥ or *ˁ (see HETZRON 1969

with further data in LESLAU 1970). Type A: Basic *andärä/yandran/yindär* 'spend the night', factitive *atendärä/yatendran/yatindər* 'offer hospitality' (causative of the preceding 'make spend the night', not the *i* vowel in the Jussives); doubly weak (also the last radical is reduced) *anže ~anži/yanžan/yinž* 'see' (see below). Type B (*e-e-i* pattern): *ewädä/yewdan /yiwd* 'say', doubly weak (second radical also reduced), but *assäbä/yassäban/yassəb* 'think', and the doubly weak *enzä/yenzan/yinz* 'take'.

Second weak radical. Type A, Basic, Mid *a:* (a) *čalä/yəčlan/yäčal* 'know', individual cases with further assimilations *wabä/yoban/yäwab* 'give', *balä /yilan/yäbäl*, the verb for 'say' and the morphologically active element in compound verbs like *mugg balä* 'stoop down' *uff balä* 'blow', where the first member is an expressive element; (b) *saqä/yəsiqan/yäsaq* 'laugh' (the usual type, with -*i*- in the middle of the nonpast), but *talä/yətelan* (but pl. *yətilon*)/*yätal* 'throw, abandon'. Mid palatal: *četä/yəčetan/yäčit* 'be tired'; Mid labial: *täwärä/yətäwran/yätor* 'carry on shoulder'.

Last weak radical. the easiest way to recognize these is to see the past tense conjugation where the suffixes are always preceded by a vowel. Thus, *sorku* 'I fed' (from *sorä*) does not belong here, but S *bäläw*, W *bäläh^w* 'I ate' (from *bälä*) does. Final *ä* in the Past, (a) with -*ä* also in the Jussive: *bälä /yəbälan/yäblä* 'eat', (b) with no last radical in the Jussive: *käšä/yəkäšan /yäkš* 'look for'. This latter type probably comes from a verb with a final palatal, like the verbs ending in -*e*, but palatality is reduced here. Note E *säčä* (pl. *säkon*)/*yəsäčan* (pl. *yəsäkon*)/*yäsč* 'drink', with depalatalization in the plural as in several Gunnän-Gurage languages (HETZRON 1977: 49). Final -*a* in the Past: *gäfa/yəgäfan/yägfa* 'push' (see conjugation of *kadä* below). Final -*e* in the Past: *mäše/yəmäšan/yämš* 'be evening' (cf. *anže* above), *wänte/yəwäntan/yäwənt* 'shut'. Some types defy etymological explanation, e.g. *näčä*(pl. *näkon*)/*yənäkan/yänča* 'touch' where the Nonpast is not palatal, the other two are, and see the opposite in the conjugation of *mäta/yəmäčan/yämt* 'come' below.

Doubly weak verbs. For first and second weak, see 'take' above, and for first and third weak 'see', but under "First weak radical", and below for the Past conjugation of the latter. Two more extremely short verbs: S *añä/yañan /yañ* and W *aññe/yaññan/yañ̃* 'do', S *əñä/yiñan/yiŋ* 'sleep' (I have for Pl.3c. Basic Nonpast the depalatalized form *yinu*) and W *šeññe/yəšeññan /yäšiññ* 'accompany'.

Some sample conjugations in S:

	Past of "see" (last palatal, also weak first)	Main Nonpast of 'come' (last palatal, but -ä)	Main Nonpast of 'betray' (Mid *a*)
Sg.1c.	*anžiw*	*əmäčaw*	*əkidäw*
2m.	*anžih*	*təmačah*	*təkida(h)*
2f.	*anžiš*	*təmäčeš*	*təkiǧaš*
3m.	*anži*	*yəmäčan*	*yəkidan*
3f.	*anžit*	*təmäčat*	*təkidat*
Pl.1c.	*anžen*	*yəmäčnan*	*yəkidnan*
2c.	*anžim^w*	*təmätom*	*təkidom*
3c.	*anžu*	*yəmäton*	*yəkidon*

W has for the past Sg.1c. *anžeh^w*, Pl.1c. *anženä*, Pl.2c. *anžehum*.

Note the following features: weakening of the *-k-* element in the suffixes of the past. In the historically final palatal verbs the palatal element shows up in the nonpast, here *-č-*, except in Pl.2/3c. Yet, W levelled it off and has Pl.2/3 *təmäč-wahum/yəmäčwon*.

The present tense copula, suffixed to the predicate, is:

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
1c.	*-nku*	1c.	*-nnä*
2m.	*-nkä*	2c.	*-nkum*
2f.	*-nš*	3c.	S: *nim^w*, W: *-num*, E: *-nnəm^w*
3m.	*-n*		
3f.	*-nt*		

3.2.5. Complement suffixes.

The three sets of complement suffixes attached to the verb fulfill the same functions as everywhere else in South-Ethiopic, so that they will not be described here (see, for example, HETZRON 1972: 8 and passim, HETZRON 1977: 60sq). There are three sets of such suffixes: O, for the accusative and part of the dative, N (elsewhere L) for part of the dative and the benefactive and B for the locative, instrumental, detrimental. The O suffixes are attached to a verbal form ending in a consonant through the intermediary of an *-ä-*. The Sg.3f. of O is represented

below by an "idealized" form. After an original *-ä-* it merges with it into *-etä*, it
merges with final *-u* into S *otä*, W *-utä*.

	O	N	B
Sg.1.	*-ñ*	*-ñ*	*-biñ*
2m.	*-h*	*-nkä*	SW: *-bkä*, E: *-bih*
2f.	*-š*	*nš*	*-bš*
3m.	*-y*	*-nni*	*-bi*
3f.	SW: *-ytä*,E: *-et*	SE: *-nnet*, W: *-nitä*	SE: *-bet*, W: *-bitä*
Pl.1.	SW: *-nä*, E: *-n*	SE: *-nn*, W: *-nnä*	SW: *-bənä*, E: *-bən*
2.	S: *-m^w*, W: *-hum*, E: *-ähm* *-nkum*		W: *-bkum*, E: *-bəhm*
3.	S: *-ym^w* / WE: *-ym*	S: *-nnim*, W: *-nim*	SW: *-bim*, E: *-bəym*

3.3. Numerals.
Here is a list of the cardinal numbers:

1. SW: *add*, E: *hadd*	6. *səddəst*
2. S: *ošt*, W: *hoyt*, E: *hošt*	7. S: *sä'abt*, W: *sabt*, E: *sa'abt*
3. *šest*	8. SE *səmmut*, W: *səmmunt*
4. SW: *aratt*, E: *haratt*	9. S: *žittäñ*, WE: *zittäñ*
5. SW: *amməst*, E: *hamməst*	10. *assər*
20. SW: *kuyä*, E: *kuy'ä*	100. *bäqqəl* 1000: *ši*

Ordinal numbers are formed through the addition of a suffix *-läñña*, multi-
plicative ones by adding the postposition *gənä* 'time'.

4. Notes on syntax.
The general features of East Gurage syntax show little difference from the
typical South-Ethiopic pattern. It makes use of the connective element *-m* for
'[phrasal] and, even' or for marking a new topic. However, it has also preserved
an archaism, the suffix *-wä* for 'and' when two nouns are in close connection,
forming a "team": *lam-wä₁ barä-m₂* 'and₂ the cow and₁ the ox' (with *-m* as a
sentence-connector for new topic). The accusative ending and the article follow -
m: əša-m-nä 'and her', *-m-i* 'and the...' Cleft constructions are common, com-
posed of a pseudo-relative construction followed by an article, the cleft-comple-
ment (focus element) and a copula: *y-ewädt-äñ-te zägädo näbärt* "that-told-me-the
jackal was" for 'it was the jackal that told me'. In true relative constructions, the
verb is always followed by a dummy noun *gəz* 'thing': *bä-səlte bad tənäbrat gəz*

add wänčit näbärt 'There was a with who lived in Selti country' ("in-Selti country who-lives$_{Sg.3f.}$ thing one witch was$_{Sg3f.}$").

With definite objects and dative complements, the verb may be followed by a resumptive pronoun: *gar-ä-kä anžew-i* 'I saw his house' ("house-Acc.-his I+saw-it"); *lä-zägädo-te add-əm gəz t-a-yob-eta* 'without giving a thing to the jackal ("to-jackal-the one-even thing while-not-he+gives-her"). When an action is performed on a part of the body, this part will be in the accusative, and the verb will carry a resumptive pronoun referring to the person, not to the part of the body (KAPELIUK 1973): *dum-ä-šä səlät-et* 'she shaved her head' ("head-Acc.-her she+shaved-her").

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Omotic Etyma and Related Forms

Carleton T. HODGE

Until recently there was little reconstructed material in Omotic, but even the little there was, was significant (FLEMING 1974, 1976). For example, if one took the pronouns given by FLEMING (1976), one had the impression that they were closer to other Afroasiatic (AAs) ones than, say, to Indo-European (IE). (On such a comparison, see GREENBERG's reply to CAMPBELL, and his references [1989: 111-112]).

BENDER has greatly increased the Omotic material available to the comparativist (1987, 1988, cf. also 1990). His sets of data are keyed to his 532 item basic word list, and these numbers are prefixed by B below. There are over 100 sets, with nearly 100 reconstructed forms. This material has been compared by the present writer with data from other branches of Lislakh (LL, being AAs plus IE). The list below is a selection of items which appear to have known related forms in a significant number of other branches.

This comparison is made within the framework of the consonant ablaut hypothesis (HODGE 1988a). This holds that the phylum-wide trifold pattern, described by RÖSSLER as characteristic of Egyptian and Semitic (1971), involves the addition of a morpheme *H* (pharyngealization). A second pattern adds a nasal *N*. Some of the phonemes involved and examples of historical reflexes are:

Proto	p b	t d	k g	l	'	h
Plus *H*	bH	dH	gH	lH	'H	hH
Historical	bh,ph,b'	dh,th,d'	gh,kh,k'	r	ḥ	ᶜ
Plus *N*	Nb	Nd	Ng	Nl		
Historical	m(b),m(p)	n(d),n(t)	n(g),n(k)	n		

For the stops the *H* series is non-contrastive as to voice, and so generally for *N*. E.g., ****gH* yields Ar. *q*, phonetically [q] or [G], Iraqi [g], Egyptian ['].

If one takes the first reconstructed base discussed below, ****b-d*, one may have the following possible combinations:

		b + H	N + b	N+ H
	1.**b-d	4.**bH-d	7.**Nb-d	10.**NbH-d
d+H	2.**b-dH	5.**bH-dH	8.**Nb-dH	11.**b-NdH
N + d	3.**b-Nd	6.**bH-Nd	9.**Nb-Nd	12.**NbH-NdH

Historical forms would include:

1. b-d	4. b'-d	7. m-d	10. mb'-d
2. b-d'	5. b'-d'	8. m-d'	11. b-nd'
3. b-n	6. b'-n	9. m-n	12. mb'-nd'

The extent to which these possibilities actually occur may be judged by the examples given below. A few bases occur in most combinations.

If extant forms in two branches have reflexes from the same one of the above twelve forms, for example, if both have *b-b*, they are said to correspond directly. If each of the two (or more) extant forms are from different proto-forms in this set, e.g., if one has *b-d*, the other *b'-d,* the forms (not the languages) are said to correspond diagonally.

It should be noted that consonant ablaut 1) greatly simplifies the proto-phonemic system and 2) enables us to assemble under one base forms which might otherwise be considered separate roots.

The following presentation uses BENDER's material as the starting point. His forms are then identified as to base and, where appropriate, the consonant ablaut of the base. Selected cognate forms from other LL languages follow, cited, with some graphic alternations, as they are found in the sources. This results in some apparent inconsistences, such as the various sibilant reconstructions. We have presented them without final resolution rather than leave them out altogether. Where proto-affixes, other than *H* and *N*, are identifiable, these are reconstructed in parentheses, e.g., **('H-)Nb-d*, historical *ḥ-m-d*. The order of citations of the branch forms is: Egyptian, Semitic, Berber, Chadic, Omotic (if forms other than BENDER's are given), Cushitic, Indo-European. There is no implication in this order as to subdivisions of the phylum. LL bases and other forms reconstructed by

the writer are preceded by **, a convention adopted for this series of articles. The LL bases here used have been reconstructed on the basis of the information available on the various branches. For a general discussion of the approach see HODGE 1989.

1. B2 **bend* 'ashes' (88:145), ***b-Nd* from base ***b-d* 'to burn'. Some of BENDER's forms reflect ***b-d*, such as Ari *bidin*. ***b-d*: Eg. *w-b-d* 'to burn' (Fa 59), ***(w-)b-d*. Ch. cf. **bətu* 'ashes' (N 77:22): Masa *buduu*. Cu. **bAdAn-* 'ashes' (D 241), SC **bud-* 'dust' (Eh 87:60). **b-dH*: Ch. WCh **b[u]wta* 'ashes' (St 87:149); Ha *rubud'ii* 'hot, fine, ash' (Ab 731), ***(lH-)b-dH*, Sok *habd'iì* 'ashes' (Ab 358), ***(h-)b-dH*. ***b-Nd*: Eg. Co. (B) *bini* 'crucible' (Vy 83:28). ***bH-d*: Ch. **b'ədə* 'ashes' (I-S 27). IE Gk. *spodos* 'ashes, dust' (no clear etymology, FRISK 1970), ***(s-)bH-d*. Here ***bH* is called for as ***b* would become IE **w*. ***sbH-* becomes *sp-*. ***bH-Nd*: Ch. **b'-n* 'hot' (J-S 144). ***Nb-d*: Sem. **h̬-m-d* G. *hamad* 'ashes, dust' (Les 87:231, q.v.), ***('H-)Nb-d*, Ar. *rima:dun* 'ashes', ***(lH-)Nb-d*. ***Nb-Nd*: Eg. *m-n-t* 'smelting fire', *m-n-w* 'burning coals' (Wb 2.68,69). Sem. Ar. *mi:na:* 'glaze' (W-C 936). Ch. Bura Margi *mbəna* 'to burn' (J-S 57).

2. B6 **kap* 'bird' (88:145), b 529a **kEp* 'wing' (88:146), base ***k-p* 'hand', then 'wing, bird'/'seize', etc. (HODGE 1989). ***k-p*: Sem. **kapp-* 'cupped hand' (Fr 2:84); Heb. *'ākap* 'to compel' (BDB 38), ***('-)k-p*. Akk. *naka:pu* 'to push' (SODEN 72:718), ***(Nl-)k-p*. Ber. Tou. *ekf* 'to give' (Fo 2.752), ***('-)k-p*. Ch. **k-p-* 'hoof' (N-M 236). IE **kap* 'seize' (W 27, P 527). Note Hitt. *kappuwāi-* 'to count' (Fd 1952:99) and Skt. *kapatī* 'two handsful'. ***k-bH*: Eg. *k-f* 'to take away' (Fa 285, Wb 5:119), *k-f-ᶜ* 'to seize' (Fa 285, Wb 5:121, written with D49 FIST), ***k-bH(-hH)*. Ch. **kwəb'ə* 'side' (I-S 31). ***k-Nb*: The Hittite use of *kapp-* in the sense of 'to count' makes it likely that Eg. *k-m* 'to total up' (Fa 286, Wb 5:128) belongs here. Sem. Akk. *kamu:* 'to seize' (CAD 8:128). Ber. **k-m-h* 'to gather, collect' (Pr 1:112), ***(-h)?* Ch. Ha. *kaamàà* 'to seize'. Cu. EC **kimbir* 'a small bird' (Sa 79:62), ***k-Nb(-lH)*. IE **dekm-* 'ten' (P 191), **(δ-)k-Nb*. ***gH-p*: Sem. Heb. *qōp* 'ape' (BDB 880). Ch. Ha *k'afàà* 'foot', cf. **k'wəpə* 'hoof' (I-S 25, see also St 87:221). ***gH-bH*: Eg. *q-f-n* 'to gather' (SETHE 6:194), ***gH-bH(-Nl)*. ***gH-Nb*: Eg. *q-m-3* 'to throw' (Fa 278, Wb 5.33), ***gH-Nb(-l)*. Sem. Heb. *quṃṣ* 'fist' (BDB 888), ***gH-Nb(-sH)*. ***Ng-p*: Sem. **kanap* 'wing' (Fr 2.87), G *kənf* 'wing, fin, branch of tree, border (of garment)' (Les 87.287). Ch. Sayanci *ŋgap* 'to catch'. Cu. **kanf-* 'wing' (Eh 87.88). The *k-n-p* forms are here taken to be from ***(k-)Ng-p*. An alternative is to consider *-n-* an infix (so HURWITZ 1966:97). The reduplicative prefix seems more in accord with LL morphology. Compare the somewhat similar form ***(δ-)Nd-b* posited below under ***d-b*. **Ng-Nb*: Eg. *w-n-*

m-y 'right hand' (Fa 62, Wb 1.322), **(w-)Ng-Nb(-y)*. IE **nem-* 'to assign, take' (W 44, P 763).

The range of meanings for G. *kənf* suggests that either the base or one of the lines of semantic development meant something like 'appendage, that which sticks out from the main body' (cf. ***d-b* 'marginal' below). The connection of *k-n-p* and *k-p* is complicated by the alternation of *-nC-* and *-CC-* so frequent in Semitic. It seems likely that this is not just a simple assimilation but reflects a very early alternation of *-NC-* and *-C_1C_1-*. These were different forms to begin with - the addition of *N* or the addition of *C*, but the semantic distinction became blurred. With the sameness of meaning arose the alternation which led to the historic pattern of *n* assimilation.

3. B6 'bird'. The Aroid forms, *apti, afti, ibti, ifti* (87.33), *apti, ibto* (88.145), are from a different base, ***p-t* 'to go off, fly'. ***p-t*: Eg. *p-t-p-t* 'to tread' (Fa 96). Ch. **p-t* 'to go out' (J-S 119), Ha. *fitaa*. IE **pet-* 'to rush, fly' (W 50, P 826), Skt. *pat-* 'to fly', SCr. *ptica* 'bird' (see VASMER 1955:458). ***bH-t*: Eg. *f-t-f-t* 'to leap' (Fa 99, Wb 1.581).

4. B7 NO **sac'* 'to bite' (88.146, 87.33), ***(s-)dH-w*, base ***t-w* 'to eat'. ***t-[w]*: Eg. *t* 'bread' (Fa 292, Wb 5.209). Sem. **twiy-* 'to eat' (Fr 7.17). Ber. **w-t-h* 'to eat' (Pr 3.110), ***(w-)t(-h), *t-š* 'to eat' (Ren 32.434), ***t(-s)*. Ch. **t-w-y* 'to eat' (J-S 92, cf. N 77.25). Om SO **its* 'to eat' (Fl 74.88), ***t(-s)*. Cu. **'It-/*tA[']-* 'to eat' (D 53, 136, 243). IE **tā-* in OChSl *těsto* 'dough' (P 1053), probably **sət-* in Lat. *satur* 'full (of food)' (cf. **sā-* W 55).

5. B10 Nao/Dime **k'us* 'bone' (p.c.), ***gH-s*, base **k-s* 'bone'. BENDER gives *mek'ets* for most Aroid forms (p.c.), ***(Nb-)gH-sH*. ***k-s*: IE **kost-* 'bone' (W 32, P 616), ***k-s(-t)*; HODGE 1986: 156. ***gH-s*: Eg. *q-s* Co. *kas* 'bone' (Fa 281, Wb 5.68), *b-q-s-w* 'spine' (Fa 85, Wb 1.480), ***(b-)gH-s(-w)*. Sem. Probably **q-s-t* 'bow', as in G. *qast* 'bow, shepherd's crook, knotty club, rod, stick' (Les 87.447). LESLAU takes this to be connected with Ar. *qawisa* 'to be bent' (W-C 796). If so, this may be a secondary development. The semantic spread of G. *qast* supports a connection with ***k-s*. Note that Eg. *q-s* is written with T19 BONE HARPOON POINT and also means 'harpoon' (GARDINER 1957:514). See the IE forms below. Ber. **ē-γasah* 'bone' (Pr 2.72), ***gH-s(-h)*. Ch. **k'-s_3* 'bone' (J-S 49). Om **k'us* 'bone' (Fl 74.87). Cu. **qAc̣[c]-* 'bone' (D 266, 298); cf. **mik^w'-* 'bone' (Eh 87.104). IE **ghaiso-* 'spear' (W 20, P 410), ***gH-s(-y)*, with metathesis, **ghasto-* 'rod' (W 21, P 412), ***gH-s(-t)*, probably Gk. *iskhíon* 'hip-joint', ***(s-)gH-s(-Nl)*.

6. B11 **t'am* 'breast' (88.145). The Gimira form *t'yam* gives what we feel is an earlier form (cf. BENDER's earlier reconstruction **t'iam*, 87.33). We take this from ***δH-l(-Nb)*, with *l* going to *y* (HODGE 1988b). In order to account for both

stops (*d*) and spirants (*z, s*) in the extant forms, we set up the base as **δ-*l* 'to flow'. The variations of stop and spirant found within branches indicates that there was very early differentiation, **δ, **d, **z and probably (IE) **s occuring already in the historic period.

**δ-*1*: Eg. *ḥ-z-3* 'milk' (Fa 177, Wb 3.160), *ḥ-z-3-t* 'cow' (Fa 177, Wb 3.162), **('H-)δ-l. Sem. Akk. *dalu:* 'to draw water' (CAD 3.56); note *d* where one would expect *z*. IE *del- 'to drip' (W 11, P 196), *(s)tel- 'to let flow' (P 1018), with assimilation of *d* to *s*-. *dā- 'to flow' (P 175), where **dyV > dVV. *ad(u) 'watercourse' (P 4), **(')δ-l, with *l* > *y* > ∅. **δ-lH: Sem. *-drir- 'to flow freely' (Fr 3.23). Ch. Ha. *madaraa* 'fresh milk', **(Nb-)δ-lH, *zùraarà* 'to trickle' (N-N 82, 141). IE *ser- 'to flow' (W 58, P 909). *adro- 'watercourse', given as variant of *ad(u)- (P4). *(s)ter- (in words for unclean liquid) (P 1031), **(s-)δ-lH. *sre-t- 'to swirl, spout' (W 58, P 1001), with **sdr- > sr-. **δH-l: Eg. *w-ğ-ḥ* 'to wean' (Fa 76, Wb 1.409), **(w-)δH-l(-'H); note spelling *w-3-ğ-ḥ* in FAULKNER, possibly reflecting an earlier **w-ğ-3-ḥ. Sem. *-mṣiy-/*-mṣuṣ- 'to suck' (Fr 7.13), **(Nb-)δH-l/(-C). Ug. *ṭ-l* 'dew' (Ai 120). This assumes an interchange of emphatics in Semitic; see also the Berber below. We need to list these and wait for further clarification. Ber. Tam. *d:d* 'to suckle', *z:y* 'to milk' (ABDEL-MASSIH 1968:188, 189). Ch. *wed'i 'breast' (N 77.23; J-S 53), **(w-)δH-l. IE *dhēlā- 'breast' (FRISK 1960.1.671), *dhei- 'suck(le)' (W 13, P241), with *l* to *y*. **δH-lH: Sem. *dirꜤ(at)- 'breast' (Fr 2.76), **δH-lH(-hH). Ch.Ha. *d'arsàà* 'dripped, poured out' (Ab 196). IE *dhreu- 'to flow' (W 15, P 274), **δH-lH(-w). *ūdhr/n- 'udder' (*euedh- W 18, cf. P 347), **('-)δH-lH/Nl. **δH-Nl: IE *dhen- 'to flow' (P 249). **Nδ-l: IE *nei-d- 'to flow' (P 761), **Nδ-l(-d), *l* > *y*. *s-nā- 'to flow' (W 62, P 971), **(s-)Nδ-l, *l* > *y, nyV* > nVV.

7. B13 *ts'ukum (88.145), *ts'ugum* (87.33) 'claw'. The *ts' points to a dental plus *H*. Chadic has *d-k 'arrow' (J-S 30), which seems a likely cognate. EHRET has R *dok'- 'to shape to a point' (80.347). The -*g*- is associated with -*n*- in several of BENDER's groups (88.145), and -*ng*- can go back to *N* plus *k* or *g*. We take the *g* to be secondary and posit -*k* on the basis of the Chadic. Akk. *zaqa:tu* 'to sting', *ziqut* 'a sting, barb, point' (CAD 21.56, 132) supports δ as the first consonant. Our base is therefore **δ-*k* 'having a sharp point'. IE *dek-, a root which is the basis of Swed. *tagg* 'prickle', MHG *zacke* 'nail', ModGer. *Zacken* 'point' (W 11, P 191). Cf. also *dek- 'to tear apart' (P 191). **δ-Ng: IE *denk- 'to bite' (W 11, P 201), which POKORNY suggests connecting with *dek-. **Nd-k: IE The -*k*- forms of Slavic usually taken from *nogh- more likely reflect **k: SCr. *nokat*, Pol. *paz-nokieć* '(finger)nail'. Skt. *nakhá*, with *kh* instead of *gh*, is of some support here. Cu. SC *ⁿteekw- 'incisor tooth' (Eh 80.187), which seems to fit phonologically, is

better connected with **ϑ-*k*, the base of Sem. *-*nϑuk*- 'to bite' (Fr 7.19). **Nd-gH:* IE *nogh- 'nail, claw' (W 45, P 780).

8. B14 'cloud', 58 'night', 433 'dark': **t'um* (p.c., forms 88.149), **dH-Nb, base **t-b 'dark, cloud'. It could be taken from *d-b 'to burn; black, dark' (**d-Nb in Cu *dAmAn- 'cloud', D 51), but Ometo *tuuna* (88.149) supports *t-*. **t-Nb: Eg. *t-m-t-m* (used of the eyes of a sick ox) (Wb 5.309), connected by ČERNÝ with Co. *htomtm* 'to become darkened' (1976: 301), **(*'H-*)*t-Nb(C-C)*. VYCICHL gives Ar. *ha:tim* 'crow' and *hutma* 'black' as possibly related (83.316, a good suggestion). Cu. *tAm- 'dark' (D 53). IE **tem(ə)*- 'dark' (W 69, P 1063). **Nd-bH: IE *nebh*- 'cloud' and **Nd-NbH- IE *nembh- 'cloud' (W 44, P 315).

9. B16a *wa 'to come' (88.146), base ***w.* **10.** B16b -*y*- (88.149, 155), base ***y.* **w: Eg. *'-w* 'to come' (Fa 11, Wb 1.44); cf. Co *taouo* 'send' (Vy 83.223). Sem. Ar. *'awa:* 'to betake oneself' (W-C 36). Ch. *w-t 'to come' (J-S 74). Cu. **waa'*- 'to rise, go out' (Eh 87.133). IE *au- 'off, away' (W 4, P 72) is probably from **b-w 'foot, place'.

**y: Eg. *'-'* or *'-y* 'to come' (Fa 10, Wb 1.37), Co. *ei* 'to come' (Vy 83.59). Ber. *hayaw 'come' (Pr 1.96), Tou *eyo* 'come!'. Ch. *ya 'come!' (N 77.24), *y-s 'come' (J-S 74). Om. NO *y-/yi* 'come' (Fl 74.88). Cu. **jA['']*- 'to come' (D 184) *yaaᶜ- 'to run away' (Eh 87.137), ***y(-hH)*. IE *ei- 'to go' (W 16, P 293).

These appear to be different bases, despite Ber. *hayaw (see discussion, Vy 83.59). They may be related to deictic ***y/i* and ***w/u*, but the semantic developments may result in different directions being indicated by reflexes of the same base. For example, -*oo* indicates 'hither' in Hausa, but thitherness in Hindi *'un* 'that' (as opposed to *'in* 'this'). Ch. *y-s may be either **y plus ***-s)* or **s with prefix ***(y-)*.

11. B18 **hayk'* 'to die' (87.33), ***(h-)l-gH*, with *l* to *y*, base **l-k 'to cease, perish, die'. **l-k: Sem. Ar. *halaka* 'to perish'(W-C 1031). **l-gH: Eg. *3-q* 'to perish' (Fa 6, Wb 1.21), *h-3-q* 'to plunder' (Fa 163, Wb 3.32), **(*'H-*)*l-gH*. Sem. Akk. *xala:qu* 'to perish' (CAD 6.36; given as possible WSem. loan, but this leaves the *q* unexplained). **lH-k: IE Hitt. *hark*- 'to perish' (TISCHLER 1983: 173), **(*'H-*)*-lH-k.* **lH-gH: Possibly *r-q-b* 'to rot' (BDB 955). **Nl-k: Eg. *h-n-č-'* 'to kill' (Wb 3.122), **(*'H-*)*Nl-k(-')*. IE *nek- 'death' (W 44, P 762), Hitt. *hinganant* 'death' (TISCHLER 1983: 251), **(*'H-*)*Nl-k(-)*. **Nl-gH: Eg. *h-n-q* (of the destruction of enemies) (Wb 3.117). Ar. *halaka* was earlier connected with *h-l-k 'to go, walk' (e.g., BDB 229), though this has been abandoned by some (e.g., LASOR, who gives only items meaning 'go, walk' under *h-l-k, 1990: 200). An argument may still be made in favor of the connection, but it involves a somewhat complex set of semantic derivations, such as *l-k 'to be angle-shaped' > 1)arm >strike with

the hand />take 2) leg > walk, go 3) go off at an angle > avoid > stop, cease > die. In such a scheme our base **l-k* 'perish' belongs to the last development.

12. B19 *kan* 'dog' (88.145), *k-Nl.* base *k-l* referring to a variety of four-footed animals. Add: B 232 *kur* 'ass' (88.152), **k-lH*, and B 237 *dangar* 'elephant' (88.152), **(δ-)Ng-lH.* *k-l*: Eg. *k-3* 'bull' (Fa 283, Wb 5.94), Co. O *ko* 'bull' (Vy 83.71). Sem. *kalb-* 'dog' (Fr 6.69), **k-l(-b)*. Ch. *k-l* 'cow' (J-S 79), *b-k-l/*k-l-b* 'buffalo' (J-S 55, also *b-l-k), **(b-)-k-l/**k-l-(-b)*. Om. SO *ukl* 'donkey' (Fl 74.91). **k-l* with palatalization, probably **kul*: Eg. *č-3* 'young (of birds, animals)' (Fa 302, Wb 5.339). Sem. Cf. *gurw-* 'cub, puppy' (Fr 5.44). Cu. *tak^w l-* 'wild dog' (Eh 87.98), **(t-)kul.* IE *kul-* (used for the young of animals), Gk. *skulaks* 'puppy' (BUCK 1949: 179, *koli-* P 612, 550). **k-lH*: Ch. *kər-* 'dog' (N 77.25, q.v.), *k-r* 'sheep' (J-S 225). Cu. *kAr-* 'dog' (D 206), SC *kari/*k^w ari* 'dog' (Eh 80.330). IE Cf. Lat. *cervus* 'deer' Sard. *kerbu* 'deer', attributed to *ker-* 'horn' (W 29, P 574). **k-Nl*: Eg. *k-n-m-t* (an animal) (Wb 5.132), **k-Nl(Nb).* Ch. *k-n* 'dog' (J-S 86). Om. NO *kan-* 'dog' (Fl 74.88). IE *kwon-* 'dog' (W 34, P 632), *kuNl*; Lat. *canis.* **gHulH*: Cu. *dA(q)q^w ar/*dAnq-^w Ar* 'donkey' (D 275), Agaw *dəγ^w ar-/*dəq^w ar-* 'donkey' (Eh 87.96), **(δ-)gH-ulH/**(δ-)NgHulH.*

13. B23 No *m-* 'to eat' (88.146), **Nb-*, base **b-C* 'mouth, opening'. All of BENDER's forms have *m*, so it is a question whether *m-* goes back to **p-C* or **b-C.* Both of these are reconstructable as 'mouth, opening (for **p-C* see HODGE 1987b: 99). It is probable that they, like other voiceless/voiced pairs, are related, but this relationship has not been clarified. We have chosen to relate *m-* to the **b-C* forms. (The nature of *-C* is not yet determined). **b-C*: Ber. *bihik* 'to put in mouth' (Pr 2.125), **b-(h-k) (?).* Ch. *ba* 'mouth' (N 77.29, *b-* J-S 187). Cu. SC *ba-* 'to say, tell' (Eh 80.133). IE *bu* 'lip, kiss' P 103); cf. *wē-* 'to blow' (W 73, *aw[ē]-* P 81). The latter has the usual IE *w* for **b.* The existence of both **p-C and **b-C* may account for such differences as SCr. *piti* but Lat. *bibere* 'to drink', but they do not explain Skt. *pibati.* **Nb-C*: Ber. *ēmihiw* 'to put in mouth' (Pr 2.126), **Nb-(h-w) (?).* Ch. *'-m* 'to eat' (J-S 92); *'-* may be prothetic. *may* 'mouth' (ROSSING 1978#48b) Cu. *-ahm-* 'to eat' (Eh 87. 125), **('H-)Nb-C.* IE *men-* 'to project', Eng. 'mouth' (W 41, P 726, 732), **Nb-C(-Nl).*

14. B24 *b'ul* 'egg' (87.33, cf. 88.149), **bH-l*, base **b-l.* The latter is probably **(b-)l* from **b-C* 'foot, place' plus **l-C* 'opening, eye, see' (17 below). The semantic sequence is place of seeing > eye >eye-shaped > egg, with the latter developing into bird > wing > feather and egg-white > white > bright. Examples could be given illustrating this entire range, but we restrict ourselves here to 'egg' and 'white' and shall use simply **b-l* as a secondary development

phase of the bases involved. Note LESLAU's derivation of 'egg' from 'white' as opposed to ROSENTHAL's 'white' from 'egg' (Les 87.116). Some of the examples have the by now familiar *l* to *y* change, and this will not henceforth be specially mentioned. ***b-l*: Sem. **b-y-ḍ* 'egg' (LASOR 1990: 205, cf. Les 87 116, STEINER 1977: 30), ***b-l(-dH?)*. Ch. WCh Bole *wolu* 'egg' (Kr 81.1.85). IE ***w-l* in Latv. *ola* 'egg, round pebble' (BUCK 1949: 256). *ōwyo-* 'egg' (W 4 sub **awi-* 'bird'), Cz. *vejce* 'egg'. ***Nb-l*: Ber. **m-l-l* 'to be white' (Ren 32.387). Ch. **ᵐb-* 'egg' (J-S 94), e.g., Buli *mbil* 'egg' (Kr 81.1.198).

15. B31a **tok* 'foot' (88.147, includes 38a 'head'), base ***t-k* 'to advance towards, approach'. This was primarily by foot but also developed into advancing the hand 'to touch, press,' etc.). ***t-k*: Eg. *t-k-n* 'to be near, to approach, to attack' (Fa 302, Wb 5.333), *t-k-n-w* 'neighbors' (Fa 302), ***t-k(-Nl), t-k-r* 'opponent' (Fa 302, Wb 5.335), ***t-k(-lH), t-k-k* 'to attack' (Fa 302, Wb 5.336). One suspects that *t-'-t-'* 'to trample on (foes)' (Fa 294, Wb 5.244) is a defective writing of a *t-k* form. Ch.WCh. **tààku* 'to step on' (Sc 77. 165). Cu. **tak-* 'flat of hand' (D 262). IE **tek-* 'to stretch out the hand, reach, touch' (P 1057). ***t-gH*: Cu. *tak'-* 'to press' (Eh 87.27). IE **steigh-* 'to stride, step' (W 65, P 1017), ***(s-)t-gH. **dH-NgH*: IE **dhengh-* 'to reach' (P 250).

16. B44b/467 **gub'* 'knee, kneel' (88.147), ***g-bH*, base ***g-b* 'to bend', probably the same base as for 'hand, arm, side' (e.g., Eg. *g-b-3* 'arm' [Fa 288, Wb 5.163]). ***g-b*: Eg. *g-b* 'to bow' (late, Wb 5.162), *n-g-b* 'to turn aside' (Fa 141, Wb 2.349), ***(Nl-)g-b*. Sem. **g-b-b* G. *gabbaba* 'to be bent' (Les 87.177). Ch. **gwəbə* 'knee', Ha. *gwiiwàà* (I-S 66.16, 18), ***gub*. Om. Mao *gubbi*, Kefa *gubra* (B 88.147), ***gub(-lH)*. IE **gēu-* 'to bend' (W 20, P 393). ***g-bH*: Ch. Ha. *gab'àà* 'joint, limb' (N-N 39). ***g-Nb:* Ber. Cf. Tou. *əɣum* 'palm frond for weaving baskets' (Fo 1.444), which fits 'to bend'. Ch. **g-m* 'thigh' (J-S 265). Om. Gimira *gummet* (?), Dizoid *gumtu* 'knee' (B 88.147), ***g-Nb(-t)*. Cu. Beja *gumba* 'knee' (Eh 87.24), Or. *gombisa* 'to turn upside down' (GRAGG 1982: 179), ***g-Nb(-s)*. ***g-NbH* Om. **gumb'* 'to kneel' (Fl 74.89), Ometo *gum'at* (B 88.147). One would expect *-mb'-* from ***-NbH-*. BENDER's **gub'* and FLEMING's **gumb'-* are different reconstructions using much the same attested forms. Consonant ablaut takes care of such differences by positing more variants in the proto-language. IE cf. Skt.*gumphati* 'to tie' (***gH-NbH*?). ***gH-b*: IE Bulg. *sgəvam* 'bend' with *g* from ***gH*, as ***sg-* would become *sk-*. ***gH-bH*: IE pSl. **gyb-*, Ru. *sgibatj* 'to bend' (VASMER 1953.1.267).

EHRET's reconstruction for 'knee' is **gʷilb-/*gulb-*, with ***l* reflected in Agaw, EC and SC. We take Beja *gumba* to be from ***g-b*, the others from ***g-l(-b)*, with appropriate ablauts. Chadi **gʷ-r-m* 'knee' (J-S 155) is from ***gulH(-Nb)*. (See the collection of Cushitic and Omotic forms in DOLGOPOLSKY 1973: 75).

17. B45 *ar* 'to know' (88.147), **lH-C, base **l-C 'opening, eye, see'. **l-C: Eg. *'-3-t* 'eye' (Vy 83.66), *s-3-'* 'to be wise' (Fa 208, *s-3-3* Wb 4.16), ***(s-)l-C*. Sem.Bib. Aram. *'alū* 'see!' ((BDB 1080). Ch. **'-l* 'to see' (J-S 219). Om. Mao *aL* 'to know' (B 88.147). Cu. **'il-* 'eye' Eh 87.78), SC **'iley-* 'to know' (Eh 80.292). IE cf. Lat. *ālea* 'die (n.)', from the 'eye' in the die? **lH-C: Eg. *'-r-t* 'eye' (Fa 25, Wb 1.106) appears to belong here, but the Coptic forms suggest the Egyptian was ***'-3-C-r-t*, stressed ***'˘3C´r˘t*, yielding Co. *eier- (yér-)* before nouns, *eiaat-(yá't-)* before pronouns, where *3* has become *y*, *-rV-* has remained *-r-* and *-rC-* has become *'C*. The *-r- (**lH)* is a reduplication of the *-l-*. Sem. **r-'-y* 'to see' (Les 87.798, 455). Ch. Although **il-* is reconstructed, many forms have *r*, e.g. Dwot *'ir* 'eye' (Kr 81.1.222; cf. *yelìy* 'to see', 226; see other language listings). Cu. **'ar-* 'to know, see' (Eh 87.87). IE **reH₁i-C-* 'to think, reckon' (BOMHARD 1989: 74, connected by him with AAs **rə'y-* 'to see', etc.). **wer-* 'to perceive' (W 77, P 1164f), ***(b-)-lH-C*. **Nl-C: Eg. *n-w* 'to see' (Fa 127, Wb 2.218). Sem. Ar. *nawa:* 'to intend, have in mind' (W-C 1013), G. *na-* 'behold!' (Les 87.380). Ber. Tou. *essen* 'to know' (Fo 4.1837), ***(s-)Nl-C*. Ch. **na* 'to see' (N 77.31), with ***(s-)* Ha. *sanìì* 'to know' (N-N 106). IE **n-y in Skt. *nī-* 'to lead', *netra-* 'guide, eye' (BUCK 1949: 225). Many other forms could be given, including those with the prefix *m- (**Nb-)*, such as Eg. *m-3-3* 'to see (Fa 100, Wb 2.7).

18. B55 *sum* 'name' (88.149, 155), **s-Nb (*s₁* in FABER 1984: 205), base **s-b 'to communicate, to perceive'. **s-b: Eg. *s-b-3* 'to teach' (Fa 219, Wb 4.83), Co. *sbō* 'teaching' (Vy 83.183), ***s-b(-l)*, *s-b-h* 'to cry out' (Fa 220, Wb 4.90), ***s-b(-'H)*. Sem. **s-b-ḥ* 'to praise' (Les 87.801, 483). **s-Nb: Eg. *s-m-'* 'to report' (Fa 227, Wb 4.127), *s-m-t* 'to hear' (Fa 229, Wb 4.144), LEg. *s-m-w* 'reputation' (ČERNÝ 1976: 152). Sem. **šim-* 'name' (Fr 4.16; see also Les 87.504, 802). Ber. Tou *isəm* 'name' (Pr 2.58); see VYCICHL's discussion showing that the Berber forms are not borrowed from Arabic (83.307 and n5). Ch. **s₃-m* 'to hear, ear' (J-S 133, 90), Kofyar *sum* 'name' (Eh 87.106). IE cf. Hitt. *laman* 'name' (GÜTERBOCK-HOFFNER 1980. 3.31). Probably to be related are words for 'to hear', such as Sem. **s-m-ᶜ* (Les 87. 501), ***s-Nb(-hH)*; Aram. *s-m-'* Pa. (DALMAN 1922.364), ***sH-Nb(-')*.

19. B59 **sint'* 'nose' (88.147). The earlier reconstruction was **si(n)t'* (87.34). Some forms have *-n-*, some not; some have glottalization, some not. Related forms are: Eg. *s-n* 'to smell' (Fa 230, Wb 4.153), from 'nose' according to VYCICHL (83.191). Ch. **sunə* 'to smell' (N 77.31). Cu. **isŋʷ-* 'nose' (Eh 87.112), EC **san-* 'nose' (Sa 79.5, 24). IE **sen-* in Hitt. *sanezzi-* 'sweet-smelling' (Fd 52.181). ***sent-* in Lat. *sentīre* 'to perceive by the senses' (no etymology, E-M 614).

There is also Ch. *-t-n 'nose' (J-S 195). If this is related to the above forms, a proto-form such as **ϑ-d would be called for, with the meaning 'to perceive by the senses'. We may then add: Ar. ϑadina 'to smell bad' (HAVA 1915.67). Ch. *s-d(-w) 'to see' (J-S 220) and *s'-n 'to hear' (J-S 133), **ϑH-Nd.

20. B 57/61 *bVr 'new'/'other' (88.147), **b-lH, base **b-l, probably 'to select, choose'. Among BENDER's forms note Ometo bile (**b-l), mEl (**Nb-l), Gimira du-mar-s (**[ϑ-]Nb-lH[-s]). **b-l: Ch. *b-l 'new' (J-S 193). IE *wel- 'to wish' (W 75, P 1137) = 'to express a choice'. Note that Lat. vel 'or', which is taken to be from *wel-, shows a more basic meaning, i.e., 'turning to another' = 'or'. **b-lH: Eg. Co. S brre, B beri 'new' (Vy 83.30). Sem. *b-r-r 'to separate, set apart, select' (Les 87.772). Ber. Tou. ebres 'to sort' (Fo 1.100), **b-lH(-s). We may reasonably include IE *werə- 'to find' (W 77, P 1160), i.e., 'to come upon something other'. **Nb-l: Eg. m-3-w-y 'to be new' (Fa 103, Wb 2.25, Vy 83.30), **Nb-l(-w-y). **Nb-lH: Ch. *ᵐb-r(-w) 'new' (J-S 193). The further possibility may be mentioned that forms indicating 'thither', such as LEg b-nr-w /b-l/, Co. bol 'outside' (Vy 83.27) are related.

21. B 68a **gV- 'say' (p.c., cf. 88.149), base **g-b 'to call out'. **g-b: Eg. s-g-b 'to cry out' (Wb 4.321), **(s-)g-b. Sem. Ar. lajabun 'noise, tumult' (W-C 858), **(l-)g-b. Ch. *g-b 'to teach, show' (J-S 262, 227), Ha. gayàà 'to say'; cf. *w-g 'to call out' (J-S 59). IE *gou- 'to call' (P 403), Ru. góvor 'speech' (VASMER 1953.1.282 q.v.); *gēi 'to sing' (W 18, P 355), **gbV--; *gwet- 'to speak' (W 25, P 480). **g-bH: Eg. g-f-n 'to rebuff' (Fa 289, g-n-f Wb 5.174). IE **g-bh in Eng. gab. **g-Nb: Eg. g-m-w 'mourning' (Fa 289). Sem. *r-g-m 'to speak, say', Akk. raga:mu 'to shout' (Les 87.465), **(lH-)g-Nb. Ch. Ha. rìgimàà 'uproar' (N-N 100), **(lH-)g-Nb, d'igìmii (noise of festal occasion) (Ab 212), **(δH-)g-Nb. *g-m-s₂ 'to laugh' (J-S 159 q.v.), **g-Nb(-s). **gH-b: Eg. n-q-b 'to suffer' (groan?) (late, Wb 2.344). Ch. **k'-(w) 'to call' (J-S 59). IE *gheu(ə)- 'to call' (W 23, P 415), *wegwh- 'to speak solemnly' (W 74, P 348), **(w-?)gH-b. **gH-bH: Eg. q-f-3-t 'fame' (Fa 278, Wb 5.31), **gH-bH(-l). **gH-Nb: Eg. n-q-m 'to suffer' (groan?) (Fa 141, Wb 2.344), **(Nl-)gH-Nb, q-m-3 'to mourn' (Fa 278, Wb 5.37), **gH-Nb(-l). **Ng-b: IE **lengw- in Lat. lingua, Rum. limbă 'tongue', **(l-)-Ng-b. The -mb- of Rumanian reflects a very early loss of -g-, before **b became *w: **-ngb- > **-nb- > -mb-. *dnghū 'tongue' (W 15, P 223), Lat. dingua (E-M 360) is from **(δ-)NgH-b.

22. B 70a *zar 'seed' (88.147), **δ-lH, base **δ-l 'to throw, scatter'. As 'seed' it may develop to 'offspring', etc. 'Throw-er' may be 'arm'. **δ-l: Eg. z-3 'son' (Fa 207, Wb 3.408). Ch. WCh. *zá 'to put down' (Sc 77.160). *zal 'boy' (ROSSING 1978 #86). IE *sē- 'to sow' (W 56, P 889), **δyV-. **δ-lH: Sem. *δ-r-r, *δ-r-δ-r 'to scatter' (Les 87.775, 645); Ar. δurriyyatun 'offspring' (W-C 308).

*δ-r-' 'to sow' (Les 87.775, 642). *-δraᶜ- 'to sow' (Fr 6.24), **δ-lH(-hH). *b-δ-r 'seed' (Les 87.771, 118), **(b-)δ-lH. Ch. *b-d-r/*b-z-r 'seed' (J-S 221). IE *wesr- 'spring' (W 78, P 1174), **(w-?)δ-r (the prefix could also be **b-). **δH-l: Cu EC *d'al- 'to beget, give birth' (Sa 79.21, 30). **Nδ-lH: Ch. *w-ⁿd-r 'seed' (J-S 221). The Chadic w- supports w- for IE above. The meaning 'arm is found in Sem. *δirāᶜ 'forearm' (Les 87.775), **δ-lH(-hH).

23. B78 'star', B80 'sun' (88.150, no reconstruction). The forms Ometo *bers*, Gimira *obar* and Mao *balge* argue for a base *b-l*. This has been reconstructed with the meanings 'to burn, to shine' et sim., e.g. AAs *b-l* 'to be hot, burn' (St 87.156). *b-l:* Eg. *s-b-3* 'star' (Fa 219, Wb 4.82). Ch. WCh. *b[H]l* 'to burn' (St 87.156), Angas *bel.* Cu. *bAll-* 'day' (D 194), Or. *balali'a* 'to flicker' (GRAGG 1982: 34, also 'to fly'). IE *swel-* 'to shine, burn' (W 68, P 1045; cf. **b-l*, HODGE 1986: 150). *b-lH:* LEg. *b-r-b-r* 'to cook' (Wb 1.466). Sem. Ug. *b-'-r* III 'to burn' (FENSHAM 1980: 45), **b-lH(-')* with metathesis. Ch. Kera *gibìrwí*, f. *bərwá* 'white' (EBERT 78.43), **(g-)b-lH(-w).* Cu. EC *bar* 'dawn, morning' (Sa 82.34). IE *wer-* 'to burn' (W 77, P 1166). (Assignment of derivatives to **b-l* 'to burn' is complicated by the fact that **w-l* 'to burn' is also attested by extant forms.)

Forms with the suffix **-k* may be separately mentioned. **b-l(-k):* IE *wlek- 'to light, shine' (P 1178). **b-l-(-gH):* Eg. *b-3-q* 'to be bright' (Fa 78, Wb 1.424). Cu. Or. *balaqisa* 'flash (of lightning)' (GRAGG 1982: 34), **b-l(-gh)(-s).* **b-lH(-gH):* *b-r-q* 'to flash, lighten' (Les 87.772, 106). Cu. *bark'-* 'to flash' (Eh 87.14).

**bH-l:* Ch. Cf. *b[H]l* above. IE *bhel-* 'to shine, flash' (W 6, P 118). **bH-lH:* 'bright' (W 7, P 1369. **Nb-l:* Ch. *mbəl* 'bright' (I-S 17), *ᵐb-l-d* 'morning' (J-S 181), **Nb-l(-dH).* Cu. *mbAll-* 'day' (D 194), EC *maalim* 'day' (He 78.68). IE *mel-* in Ru. *molnija* 'lightning' and related forms. The *-d-* of OPr. *mealde* 'lightning' is a suffix and need not be reconstructed where it does not occur (cf. BUCK 1949: 57). *smel-* 'to burn slowly' (P 969). **Nb-lH:* Eg. Co. *amre* 'baker' (Vy 83.11). Sem. G. *'amir* 'sun, day, time' (Les 87.26 q.v.). Ber. Tou. *ĕmmar* 'heat, sun, fire' (Fo 3.1223). Cu. *'AmAr-* 'morning' (D 132). IE *mer-* 'to flicker' (W 42, P 733), *āmer-* 'day' (W 2, P 35). *Nb-Nl:* Ch. NB *DZ-m-n* 'morning' (Sk 77.31, also *DZ-m-l*), **(δ-)-Nb-Nl.*

24. B 89 *mints* 'tree' (88.148), with some forms not having *-n-*; **Nb-NdH*, probable base **b-d* 'plant'. **b-d:* Eg. *b-d-t* 'emmer' (Fa 86, Wb 1.486). *b-dH:* Eg. *b-ǧ-3* 'masthead' (Fa 86, Wb 1.488). IE *widhu-* 'tree' (W 78, P 1177). WHATMOUGH gives the Gaulish gloss *bidubium* 'pruning-hook', which he connects with *uid-* (1970: 551). **Nb-dH:* Cu. *mA(t[t])-* 'tree' (D 250). **Nb-Nd:* Eg. *m-n-w* 'trees' (Fa 108, Wb 2.71). Chadic has *b-t* 'tree' (J-S 275), and most of the above forms could be derived from **b-t* as well.

25. B90 'two' (88.150), with no reconstruction given. The forms include *nam'a, lam'a, dombe* and *nombe*. The base for the last two is **d-b 'marginal, at the (two) sides'. Ideas about this base expressed previously are here revised in some particulars, expanded in others (see HODGE 1983: 39-41, 1987a: 17). The first two forms go back to a base *l-b. **d-b 'marginal' has a number of semantic developments, resulting in meanings such as 'bank (of river)', 'side', 'back', 'hand' - all of which can be associated with 'two', as well as 'skin', which is certainly marginal. **d-b: Eg. '-*d-b* 'river-bank' (Fa 35, Wb 1.153), *d-b* 'horn' (Fa 311, Wb 5.434), *d-b-n* 'to go around, encircle' (Fa 371, Wb 5.437), ***d-b(-Nl), s-d-b* 'fringe (of cloth)' (Fa 257, Wb 4.368). Sem. *d-b-l 'to unite' (exx. Les 87.120), ***d-b(-l)*. Probably Ug. *d-b* 'ocean' (Ai 73), since Eg. '-*d-b* can be used of the shores of the cosmic ocean. **dabir-* 'back' (Fr 4.29, Les 87.121). Ch. *d-b 'hand' (J-S 129), *d-b 'back' (J-S 32), Ha. *dawà* 'the bush' (N-N 26), i.e., the margin of man dominated territory. Cu. EC **dab-* 'back, tail' (Sa 79.15, 16), SC *daba 'hand' (Eh 80.162), **dAbb-* 'skin' (D 227). IE **dwo-* 'two' (W 15, P 228). (See also the forms in DOLGOPOLSKY 1983: 127). **d-bH: Ch. Mafa Mada **dəb'a* 'back' (ROSSING 1978: #37). **d-Nb: Eg. *d-m-'* 'town' (Fa 313, Wb 5.455) = 'bordered', *d-m-'* 'to reach, touch' (Fa 313, Wb 5.453), *d-m-3* 'wing' (Fa 312, Wb 5.452), *d-m-3* 'to bind together' (Fa 312, Wb 5.451). Ch. *d-m 'tail' (J-S 260, considered a loan). Cu. **danb-* 'hindquarters' (Eh 87.17), **dAm[b]-* 'back' (D 50). IE **dumb-* 'tail' (P 227), **dem-* 'house' (W 11, P 198) as 'bordered'.. **dH-b: Ch. Ha. *d'aurèè* 'to tie up' (N-N 31). Cu. Sam **d'abar* 'backbone' (He 78.57), ***dH-b(-lH)*, EC **d'abn-* 'side' (Sa 82.60), ***dH-b(-Nl)*. **Nd-b: Eg. *z-n-b* 'to overstep (boundary)', *z-n-b-t* 'rampart, wall' (Fa 231, Wb 3.458). Sem. **δanab-* 'tail' (Fr 2.79, Les 87.640). All from **(δ-)Nd-b* 'pertaining to the margin'. **Nd-Nb: Eg. '-*n-m* 'skin' (Fa 23, Wb 1.96).   ·

26. B93 *nun 'we' (88.148); cf. *Fleming* SO *wət (1976: 315). The base is *w, and the *n-* is a deictic, as demonstrated by the present writer (HODGE 1987b). The *w* may be represented by *u*, by vowel rounding or by vowel length (-*CwV*-becoming -*CVV*), or it may be lost. Compare: Eg. '-*n-w-n* 'we' (second hieroglyphic spelling in GARDINER 1957: 53). Sem. Heb. (pausal) '*anū* (**'*ə-nw-u*). Ber. *hānaγ* (Pr 1.173). Cu. *'*inn-* (Eh 87.109), Sam *'*inno* ((He 78.92). IE **we-* (W 73, P 1114). (For *n see LIEBERMAN 1986).

27. B 118 *gEl 'to enter' (88.148), base *g-l 'to go in'. **g-l: Eg. *g-3*, Co. *kʸōou* 'to launch (a boat)' (Wb 5.149, Vy 83.349); cf. *g-3-w-t* 'tribute' (Fa 288) = 'that which is entered' (?). Cu. **gAl(l)-* 'to go in' (D 61), EC *gal 'to enter' (Sa 79.17, He 78.60). The meaning 'to leave' is found with a Semitic root **g-l-w/y* (see Les 87.192) which is worth mentioning despite the polarity of semantics. **g-lH: Eg. *g-r-t* (sp. *g-r-y-t*) 'hole(?) of ear' (Wb 5.181). Ch. *g-r 'to come' (J-S 74),

*g-r 'hole' (J-S 139). Cu. cf. *gAr(r)- 'insides' (D 205). If the last is related, this would involve a great many other forms. **gH-lH: Eg. q-r-' 'to draw near' (Fa 280, Wb 5.59), q-r-r-t 'cave, hole' (Fa 281, Wb 5.62).

28. B212 *mats' 'bee' (88.148), **Nb-l(-dH), base **b-l 'bee'. Some of BEN-DER's forms have b-, others m-, reflecting **b- and **Nb- respectively. The base **b-l 'to flow' may be connected, but the forms below are restricted to 'bee, honey, fly'. **b-l Eg. b-3-'-t 'bee, honey' (Fa 79, Wb 1.434), Co. ebiō /'ebyó:/, **b-l(-')(-t). The usual reading is b-'-t; for b-3-'-t see HODGE 1987b. The l[lʸ] is reflected by the -i- /y/ of Coptic. Sem. *nūb-(at-) 'bee' (Fr 5.84), **(Nl-)b-l. **δ-b in Ar. δuba:b 'fly' (see Les 87.640) is probably from **(δ-)b-l. Ber. Izn. izebb 'horsefly' (Ren 321), **(δ-)b-l. Ch. *b-l 'honey' (J-S 141), *d-b 'fly' (J-S 111), **(δ-)b-l. Cu. SC *d'a-aba- 'honeycomb' (Eh 80.188). **b-lH: Sem. Heb. dəbō-rāh 'bee' (BDB 184), **(δ-)b-lH. **bH-l: IE *bhei- 'bee' (W 6, P 116). **bH-lH: IE **bhre- in Skt. bhramara- 'bee', **bH-lH(-Nb-lH). **Nb-l. Ch. *ami 'honey, bee' (N 77.28), *d-m 'honey, bee' (J-S 141), **(δ-)Nb-l. Cu. *malab- 'honey' (Eh 87.101), **Nb-l(-b), SC *na'aam- 'honeycomb' (Eh 80.185), **(Nl-)Nb-l, ER *yam 'honey' (Eh 80.337), **(y-)Nb-l, *taname 'kind of bee' (Eh 80. 225) **(t-Nl-)Nb-l. IE *melit- 'honey' (W 41, P 723), **Nb-l(-t), *medhu- 'honey' (W 39, P 707), **Nb-l(-dH-C). **Nb-Nl: Ch. *m-n 'honey' (J-S 141).

29. B 265 *b'A 'no' (88.152), **bH-C, base **b-C (negative). There is also **b-l (negative). Whether **b-C is reduced from **b-l is not yet clear. **b-C: LEg. b-w (negative) (Wb 1.453). Ber. *h-b-h 'not to have' (Pr 3.186), **(h-)b-C(-h), Tou aba (Fo 1.13), bobo (emphatic) 'no!' (Fo 1.17). Ch. *bə(j) 'not' (I-S 66.15, 18), Ha. baà 'there is not (N-N 8). Cu. *ba- 'to not have' (Eh 87.14). IE *eu- 'lacking, empty' ((W 18, P 345). **bH-C: Ch. Pero b'e/b'a 'not' (FRAJZYN-GIER 1985: 78). IE *bhe 'without' (P 112). **Nb-C: Eg. '-m (negative imperative) (Fa 100, Wb 1.76), with prothetic '-, LEg. m-b-w (non-imperative negative) (DAVIS 1973: 194-5). Sem. Ar. ma: (negative) (W-C 888). Ber. *ma: 'not' (Pr 1.247, note modal meaning reported for one dialect). Cu. EC *ma(') (negative particle) (Sa 79.52). IE *mē '(that) not, lest' (P 703). Some examples of **b-l: Sem. b-l 'not' (Ai 63.49, Les 83.27). Ber. Tou. wala 'there isn't' (Pr 1.245). **b-lH: Ber. Tou. ebrer 'to be worth nothing' (Fo 1.46). **Nb-l: Eg. Co. F mpel (negative imperative) (TILL 1961: 52; taken to be from m-'-r Vy 83.118). Sem. cf. G. 'ənbala 'without' (Les 87.27 q.v.). Cu. Or. malee 'without' (GRAGG 1982: 275). **Nb-lH: Eg. Co. mpōr (negative imperative) (Vy 83.118). **Nb-Nl: LEg. m-n 'there isn't', Co. mmon 'not' (Vy 83.112), Co PA(S) mn- (negative impera-tive) (Vy 83.113).

30. B455 *is 'he' (88.146), base **s. This reconstruction does not cover all of the forms involved. Ometo iy- and Janjero niyi go back to the base **y. Both

**s annd **y occur widely in the phylum as the bases of deictics, personal pro-
nouns and formatives (e.g., causatives). For -y as third person pronoun in North-
west Semitic see DAHOOD (1966: 10-11, 1970: 375-76). For -y- as causative see
SPEISER (1936) for Semitic and SZEMERÉNYI (1970: 254-59) for Indo-European.
Some s pronominals are: Eg. s 'she' (Fa 205, Wb 4.1). Sem. *ś-w 'he', *ś-y 'she'
(LASOR 1990: 197). Ber. *əs (3rd person) (Pr 1.164). Ch. *sV 'his' (Kr 74.74). Cu.
Beni Amir Beja -s (3rd person possessive) (HUDSON 1976: 130 n17). IE *so- 'this,
that' (W 72, P 978).

A few general remarks may be added:

1. In a number of cases it has been necessary to go to the data themselves in
order to assess the reconstruction. This is true of reconstructions throughout the
phylum. Consonant ablaut is the main factor involved in the re-assessments.

2. There are a number of unresolved problems, such as: a) the existence of
base pairs, semantically similar but differing as to voice (e.g., **k-p 'palm [of
hand]', **k-b 'sole [of foot]') or some other feature (e.g., **b-l 'burn', **w-l
'burn'). b) the possibility of bases having the same consonants but different
semantics having a common origin. c) the inherent ambiguity of the H and N
combinations with stops. All of these need further investigation.

3. Consonant ablaut enables us to trace to a common origin, and in a reason-
able manner, forms which have usually been taken to be different roots.

4. The large proportion of IE cognates, often with comparable ablaut forms,
shows that this family should be included in the phylum.

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Text and Interpretation

Luděk HŘEBÍČEK

Orientalistics, a set of philologically defined branches, was relatively rarely applied for the purpose to obtain theoretical decisions in linguistics. The exceptions of this rule are not great in number; we can mention, for example, the role of the Sanskrit studies in the development of the historical and comparative approach to languages, or GREENBERG's typological indices. The investigation of the American languages became a stimulus in the formulation of methodological principles of descriptivism. However, for the other great and famous linguistic conceptions (structuralism of the Prague school, Ferdinand de SAUSSURE, Noam CHOMSKY) the European languages regularly became the source of inspiration and the field of verification of theoretical concepts. In general linguistics, the facts from the so-called exotic languages were usually taken into account as exceptions, sometimes amusing cases which, however, also irritated the serious theoretical investigators.

Prof. Dr. Karel PETRÁČEK, a Semitist highly respected not only by Semitists, but also by other students and colleagues of different branches of Orientalistics in Prague always made known his idea that Orientalistics cannot serve only as a source of linguistic curiosities and exceptions. Everybody who had the pleasure to discuss his problems with K. Petráček remains grateful to him for obtaining very useful methodological orientation.

The present paper is an attempt to bring general formulations of the arguments concerning the assertion that the structure of texts is not complete when a text is understood as an isolated system deprived of is communication relationships. The presented ideas were verified on a set of Turkish texts.

A great part of linguistic works is based on the modelling image which can be characterized in the following way: There is given a list of lexical units, each being linked with its grammatical and semantic features, and a set of grammatical rules indicating, in which way one can obtain word-forms from lexical units and how to arrange the word-forms into correct sentences. The list of lexical units and the set of grammatical rules are taken as reflexions of the items or structures which a speaker/hearer bears in his head.

This brick- or lego-model of languages is sustained by the respectful development of the computer linguistics. Thus the speaker becomes a parallel of a computer supplied with a special language program; such a computer is able to produce correct sentences of a language. This idea is, however, not fully adequate, as

the computer always operates in the system of 'computer -programmer', and the latter constituent is too complex and vaguely limited. Consequently, the analogy does not seem to be able to go very far in explanation of the language structure.

Historical and comparative linguistics is based upon the same lego-model of the language. Lexical and grammatical forms are firmly bound to their meanings and can hardly explain the following facts: Let us suppose we have at hand a set of grammars and vocabularies of a certain language; each of them originated in the interval of at least one century from some other grammar or vocabulary. The differences between the individual descriptions of linguistic items cannot be explicated in the frame of the mentioned model. In other words, this model cannot be supposed to be a dynamic structure. The attempts at formulations of rules or laws of sound changes, regardless of their great historical importance for the progress of linguistic thinking, remain without explanative power with respect to changes in languages, or their power is not too great.

Different linguistic branches describe the forms of languages from the smallest units up to the sentence. The higher units and linguistic levels were not theoretically captured; their stylistic description, though very useful and often very attractive, has not theoretical character.

Linguistics of this type was mostly developed with the conscious or unconscious purpose of teaching languages. The paedagogical goals of presenting instructions for creating correct sentences in foreign languages as well as in the literary style of the mother language still motivates and in the future will further motivate linguists to use this modelling image of languages. The purpose to lower the noise in the channel during communication in natural languages results in codification of correct and literary forms of languages. This kind of rules is connected with some aesthetic ideas having the intention to supply the results of linguistic activities (writing and speaking) with the ability to become cultural items.

It would be senseless to criticize these ways of linguistics as its tasks are highly rational and useful. However, the brick-model of languages seems to be not very much productive in the construction of theories and this is the only one reason of our rebukes against this model. The problem of a linguistic theory was several times discussed by G. ALTMANN (cf., e.g., G. ALTMANN & M.H SCHWIBBE, 1989:1-4).

According to our opinion substantial change appeared in the development of linguistics in 1960s, when text linguistics was established, cf. R. HARWEG (1974:88). The effort to understand text as a coherent unit includes as one of its main points new interpretation of the sentence, this time not from its inner structure, but from the aspect of the whole text; cf. works by P. SGALL and his school,

e.g. P. SGALL (1973), P. SGALL - J. PANEVOVÁ (1976), or the works by FR. DANEŠ (1985), B. PALEK (1988), etc. Cf. also the pioneer work by B. PALEK (1968). It was really a great break in the history of linguistics.

However, also in text linguistics, units and rules are sought in order to create 'correct texts' with their help. The terminological analogy on the text level indicates that the idea of correctness is not too much explicative.

In his work *The Reference Structure of Texts*, B. PALEK (1988:266) expresses the following pessimistic opinion: 'The principles of text take part on the choice, relation and modification of the maximal denotation phrases in a way. The degree of relevance of these principles can be estimated with difficulties, as the text itself is a very complex and structurally non-lucid form (...), and therefore the global interception of their manifestations, proceedings of their applications, their mutual relations, etc., are practically out of the mental capacity of human beings. Therefore one can expect that these principles will be implemented only in the form of hypotheses. They will be possibly verified through some experiments only with the help of computers.'

Czechoslovak linguists exerted a great activity on this field, to the above quoted works at least the following ones should be added: E. HAJIČOVÁ (1975), K. HAUSENBLAS (1977), Z. HLAVSA (1975; 1982), J. HOFFMANOVÁ (1984) and many others. Our understanding of the structural relations on the text level was substantially influenced by the work of M.A.K. HALLIDAY & R. HASAN (1976). In order to eliminate the influence of some ideas based on the brick-model, we tried to apply the modelling image of communication; for details cf. L. HŘEBÍČEK (1986).

In our attempt, communication processes containing a text became object of certain simplification. It is, however, evident that our treatment of communication is compatible with mathematical theory of information.

Each act of communication can be understood as a dichotomous process, in which a system undergo a change or changes of its distinctive states as a consequence of an internal or external *stimulus*. If a communication act in a natural language is supposed, its participant called *productor/recipient* is a constituent of the system supposed. This idea was expressed by G. ALTMANN (1988:8-9) in the following pregnant way: 'Der Sprecher/Hörer ist also ein Subsystem der Sprache, genauso, wie die Leber ein Subsystem des Organismus ist.' Consequently, text itself cannot become an object of analysis, it needs a special sort of seizure which can be called *interpretation*. Each text must be supposed as an interpreted text.

One and the same text may induce different interpretations by different recipients. The interpretation by a certain recipient may change in time. There is no need to presume some identical interpretation of a text by its producer and its

recipient. Naturally, the concept of desinterpretation is always bound to certain interpretation.

Each participant on a communication process is equipped with communication *memory*. This is a hypothetical semantic structure causing some intervals of delay in communication processes. The limits of the interval are *stimulation* and the *response* of the system to this stimulation. The response is a change of the system's distinctive states. Thus the mechanism causing delay in communications called memory serves to a later stimulation. For this purpose semantic elements inserted into memory in some preceding communications are used. Memory is able to change the character of stimuli during the delay.

Hence it follows that the states of memories must be considered elements of the set of recipients' distinctive states, regardless of the fact that memory represents for us a black box observable only through the communication responses.

Thus the communication level represents a basis for a treatment of text in the same sense as text serves as a new aspect of the treatment of sentences.

Memory is the instrument for interpretation of texts with the help of its structures. These structures were formed and arranged in the preceding communications and they are constructed on a biological basis. Each recipient is active in relation to the text received by him, he inserts into its structure his/her interpretation. An analogical activity is proper to the productor of text; the choice of linguistic elements and their arrangement is influenced by productors' interpretation. This activity to a certain degree resembles the way in which some items are set up from a kit or a lego. However, the difference consists in freedom for interpretation of individual elements. Already in the 1960 the idea of *vagueness* was coined by Japanologist J.N. NEUSTUPNÝ; the respective works are quoted in J.V. NEUSTUPNÝ (1978). In short it can be said that the units of languages are vague in the sense that they are interpretable.

Each linguistic element belongs to a linguistic level and functions as a constituent of a linguistic construct belonging to the next higher level. For example, a morpheme or a syllable are constructs, the constituents of which are phonemes. P. MENZERATH (1928; 1954) formulated the following hypothesis: '...the more sounds in a syllable the smaller its relative length', or 'the more syllables in a word the shorter (relatively) it is.'

A more general formulation belong to Gabriel ALTMANN: 'The longer a language construct the shorter its components (constituents).' Cf. G. ALTMANN (1980:1). This author put this assertion into the mathematical form. He started with the equation:

$$y' = by \, 1/x \qquad\qquad\qquad (1)$$

where y = length of constituent,

           x = length of construct,

           b = coefficient.

Its solution is as follows:

$$ln \, y = b \, ln \, x + c$$

and

$$y = Ax^b \qquad\qquad\qquad (2)$$

with . $A = e^c$.

The equation (1) corresponds to the above assertion: the increase of the length of a constituent is directly proportional to its length and indirectly proportional to the length of the construct. The formulation (2) was called MENZERATH's law; we propose to call it MENZERATH - ALTMANN's law. This law is fulfilled when $b < 0$.

This law was already applied by different authors to different levels of many languages, cf. the literature quoted in G. ALTMANN & M.H. SCHWIBBE (1989). Therefore we can take it as a verified principle.

We decided to use this law in seeking of a supra-sentence level of texts. Let us describe in short our approach:

Vehicle aggregation was called such a set of sentences of a given text, in which a certain lexical unit occurs. An arbitrary text can be decomposed into these non-disjunctive sets, their number being v, which is the number of lexical units occuring in the same text. The question can be solved, whether vehicle aggregation represents a language construct with sentences as its constituents in the sense of MENZERATH - ALTMANN's law.

A corpus of Turkish texts was used for the purpose to verify this hypothesis. It was put together in a random way. Two of its texts are poems by the Old-Ottoman mystic poet Yunus Emre (13th - 14th century). The result of the analysis of its aggregations in one of these poems is presented in **Table 1**.

The comparison of the observed values of y and calculated y_c indicates that the two rows of values are in concordance. This is proved by the WILCOXON's test with criterion $T = 7 > 2 = T_{0.05}(7)$. The values of coefficients $A = 3.697$ and $b = 0.04268$. Consequently, a positive value of b was obtained, as it is also evident from Table 1, where the values of y and y_c increase with increasing x. This is in contradiction to MENZERATH - ALTMANN's law.

As far as the other texts of the corpus are concerned, the expected results were obtained, i.e., each value of b was negative. Regardless of the prevalence of the negative coefficients, such results are unsatisfactory. The exceptional text was

conspicious for the word combination *düştü gönül* "heart fall" which as a refrain (in fact: a *redīf*) occurs at the end of each distich. Its metaphorical meaning changes from verse to verse where it occurs. Thus we were put to the idea to interpret each occurence of each lexical unit of all texts of our corpus. Instead of the list of v lexical units we obtained a list of v_i interpreted units for each text analyzed. For each occurence of each word-form it was stated whether it is identical or not with some of all other occurences of word forms of the same text.

Sign aggregation was called a set of sentences, in which units having the same interpretation occur.

Sign aggregations were analyzed in this way in all the texts of our corpus. For the same poem by Yunus Emre the values presented in **Table 2** were obtained. Regardless the fluctuations proper to the observed y, the tendency to their decrease with the increasing x is observable. This is confirmed by the negative value of $b = - 0.04298$ and by the results of the WILCOXON's test of the concordance of y and $y_c : T = 13 > 2 = T_{0.05}$ (7). Similar results were obtained from all texts of our corpus. The details are explained in L. HŘEBÍČEK (1992).

From this it follows that interpretations must be considered to be one of the basic and inseparable components of language structures. It is senseless to suppose a text without some interpretation. The concept of vagueness coined by J.V. NEUSTUPNÝ can be ascribed to all linguistic levels.

On all levels of different languages negative coefficients b are very close to zero. This coefficient can be taken as an expression of stability of the subsystem considered. Interpretation represents an implement for balancing fluctuations around a point of equilibrium described by b.

It is evident that this point of equilibrium cannot be supposed on the sets obtained by abstraction, as are lexical units and grammatical rules, both abstracted from word-forms. These abstractions can serve as elements of a brick-box for language constructions only in a limited and approximative way. The subsystem productor/receiver appears to be an inherent part of the language system thanks to the ability to produce interpretations of texts.

Table 1: Vehicle aggregations in a poem by Yunus Emre.

x	g	w	$y = w/xg$	$y_c = Ax^b$
1	114	409	3.59	3.70
2	21	154	3.66	3.81
3	4	46	3.83	3.88
4	2	31	3.88	3.92
5	2	47	4.70	3.96
15	1	60	4.00	4.15
17	1	68	4.00	4.17
Σ	145	815	---	---

g = the number of aggregations having x sentences,

w = the sum of words in aggregations having x sentences,

y = the mean sentence length in aggregations having x sentences.

The text is taken from: A. GOLPINARLI (ed.) Yunus Emre, Risâlat al-Nushiyya ve Dîvân, Garan, Istanbul 1965, p. 81 (Poem LXXXI).

Table 2: Sign aggregations in a poem by Yunus Emre:

x	g	w	$y = w/xg$	$y_c = Ax^b$
1	111	395	3.56	3.73
2	25	165	3.30	3.62
3	3	38	4.22	3.56
4	1	20	4.00	3.51
5	1	16	3.20	3.48
17	1	49	2.88	3.30
47	1	157	3.34	3.16
Σ	143	840	---	---

For explications cf. the notes to Table 1.

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Das Hohelied und die Sumerer, eine negative Zwischenbilanz

Blahoslav HRUŠKA

Es war eine ziemlich stille Zeit der tschechischen Orientalistik in der Mitte der siebziger Jahre, als ich K.Petráček in seinem Arbeitszimmer besuchte. Während der Besprechung künftiger Forschungspläne zeigte mir unser Lehrer seine Übersetzungen der neueren arabischen Lieder aus Palästina und Syrien. Er sprach begeistert über Sehnsuchts-, Liebes- und Schmerzerfahrungen, die dort zur Sprache kommen und die durch sich selber wirken. Die Liebespoesie, wohl eine der ältesten Gattungen, ist literarisch gekennzeichnet durch unzählige Vergleiche und Metaphern, deren Bilder man tief in die Vergangenheit verfolgen kann. Liebesgeschichten erzählte man während der Feste am Hof genauso gern wie bei dörflichen Hochzeiten in der Kneipe. K.Petráček wollte die Form und den Inhalt der Lieder gleichermaßen beachten und suchte die Vorläufer der Metaphorik. Unumgänglich mußte er sich auch mit einer Sammlung von Liebesliedern auseinandersetzen, die Salomo, dem mächtigsten israelischen König zuschrieben wird.

Über die Enstehung und Allegorisierung des alttestamentlichen Hoheliedes (Hhld.) streiten die Theologen, Gelehrten und Künstler fast zwei Jahrtausende. Die Rabbiner sahen im Hhld. ein Kunstwerk der israelischen Hofpoesie, das zwischen 721-693 vor Chr. von den Beamten des judäischen Königs Hiskia aufgeschrieben und verbreitet wurde.[1] Die Autorschaft Salomos läßt sich nicht nachweisen, bleibt aber aus verschiedenen Gründen[2] möglich. Der König konnte seine hohen Bediensteten (etwa die schriftkundigen, musizirenden und singenden "Weisen") mit der Niederschrift beauftragen. Aus den Sprüchen (Spr.30, 18-30) wissen wir, daß einige Beamter im Umkreis des Königs das tägliche Leben, den Menschen und die Natur beobachteten. Die Liebe (wörtlich: der Weg des Jungen bei dem Mädchen) war für sie "wunderbar und nicht begreiflich".

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[1] Vgl. Spr. 25,1 und L. GOLDSCHMIDT, Der babylonische Talmud, Bd.6, Den Haag 1933, S.976. Neben dem Hhld. werden oft die AT-Bücher Jesaja, Sprüche und Prediger als "Werke der Hiskia-Kanzlei" genannt.

[2] Der katholische Theologe O. KEEL (Das Hohelied, Zürcher Bibelkommentare AT 18, Theologischer Verlag, Zürich 1986, S.47-48) erwähnt Salmos Vorliebe für Frauen und Erotik (1 Kön. 10, 14-29; 1 Kön. 10, 1-10; 1 Kön. 11, 1-3). Vgl. noch 1 Kön. 5,1 : Salomo sammelte angeblich mehr als 1 000 Lieder, die in Israel im Volk verbreitet wurden. Der Name des Königs im Hhld. 1,1 eröffnet eine Reihe von lose zusammengefügten Liedern, wie auch früher der Name Gilgameš eine Reihe von mythischen Gedichten vereinte. Vgl. dazu I.M. DIAKONOFF, N.B. JANKOVSKAJA, An Elamite Gilgameš-Text, ZA 80, 1990, S.111.

Zwischen der Entstehung einzelner Lieder und der Kanonisierung des Hhld. liegt eine lange Zeit. Eine entscheidende Rolle spielten dabei schon während der Regierung Salomos (und später in Judäa, 8.-7.Jahrh.v.Chr.) politische, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Kontakte mit der altorientalischen Umwelt. Sowohl inhaltlich als auch formal stehen dem Hhld. altägyptische Liebeslieder am nächsten (einige Ostraka, Papyrus Chester Beatty I, Turiner Papyrus, Papyrus Harris 500).[3] Das Hhld. enthält viele aramäische Wörter, die nur durch Kontakte mit dem Norden nach dem Untergang von Samaria (722 v.Chr.) erklärbar sind. Oft zitiert wird 2. Kön. 18,26 mit der Aussage, daß jeder gebildete Judäer aramäisch verstanden habe. O. KEEL[4] rechnet wegen der persischen und griechischen Lehnwörter mit einer Entstehungszeit in der hellenistischen Epoche, oder "noch zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt".

Wir wollen an dieser Stelle nicht die darauffolgende allegorische Verfremdung des Hhld. betrachten und bekannte Streitigkeiten unter Exegeten (Rabbi Aqiba, Rabbi Schimeon ben Gamaliel II, Ibn Esra, Cyrill von Alexandrien, Origenes, Kyrill von Jerusalem, Theodor von Mopsuestia, Sebastian Castellio-Châteillon, J. Calvin u.a.) beschreiben. Uns interessiert nicht, wann und warum erklärt wurde, daß der Liebende den Jahwe und die Geliebte das Israel darstellen sollten. Über den Sinn solcher Verfremdung des sonst profanen Textes diskutierten ausgiebig schon die Kirchenväter auf dem Konzil in Konstantinopel (553 n.Chr.) - ohne Erfolg. Das Hhld. verblieb im alttestamentlichen Kanon trotz aller Bedenken der Moralisten. Das "erhabenste Lied" war trotz den lasziven Passagen schon immer eine "Stimme der Völker",[5] eine einmalig zusammengesetzte Sammlung von den altorientalischen und ägyptischen Liebeslieder. Kein anderer Text im Alten Testament bildet bis heute eine schönere Brücke zwischen Orient und Okzident. Wir sehen diese Brücke, wir sehen beide Brückenköpfe und trotzdem: Der Weg von einem Ufer zu anderem verliert sich im Nebel und verläuft nicht direkt. Auf beiden Seiten kann man ruhen und nachdenken. Auf dem west-östli-

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[3]Zum Textbestand s. A. HERMANN, Altägyptische Liebesdichtung, Wiesbaden 1959, S.3-8. Weitere Literaturhinweise finden sich bei D. MEEKS, s.v. Liebeslieder im Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Bd.3, Wiesbaden 1980, S.1051. Wir hatten zur Verfügung die deutschen Übersetzungen von H. KISCHKEWITZ, Liebe Sagen. Lyrik aus dem ägyptischen Altertum, Leipzig 1976.

[4]Das Hohelied, Zürich 1986, S.13-14. Zu den Lehnwörtern vgl. Hhld. 3,9 (griechisch) und 4,13 (persisch). Interessant ist auch der Hinweis auf die Oase En-Gadi (Hhld. 1,14), die erst im 6.Jahrh.v.Chr. besiedelt wurde.

[5]So der große Dichter J.G. Herder in der Einführung zu seinen hervorragenden Übertragungen in Lieder der Liebe. Die ältesten und schönsten aus dem Morgenlande nebst vier und vierzig alten Minneliedern, Erstausgabe Leipzig 1778. Vgl. dazu W. RUDOLPH, Das Buch Ruth. Das Hohe Lied. Die Klagelieder, (Kommentar zum Alten Testament 18, 1-3), Gütersloh 1962. J.G. Herder entdeckte altdeutsche (allemanische) Paraphrasen des Hhld., die sog. Minnelieder Salomos zu Ehre seiner Geliebten.

chen Diwan (so nach J.W. Goethe) entdecken wir in den bildhaften Liedern menschliche Gefühle - Freude, Lust, Sehnsucht, Zittern und Kummer.

Nach der eingehenden Untersuchung der altägyptischen Parallelen zum Hhld. von G. GERLEMAN[6] wollen wir auf einige inhaltliche und formale Verschiedenheiten von der sumerischen Poesie des 3.- 2.Jahrt. vor Chr. hinweisen, die von S.N. KRAMER[7] noch nicht erkannt wurden. Eine Bilanz läßt sich noch nicht ziehen, auch der Sitz im Leben des Hhld. bleibt unbekannt. Diese Lieder waren sicherlich keine singuläre Offenbarung des israelischen Volkes, man kann sie aber nicht in die altmesopotamische Literaturtradition einstufen und behaupten, es handelt sich um eine epigonenhafte Übernahme.[8] Die Annahme, das Hhld. könnte mit den Kulten göttlicher Paare (Dumuzi - Inanna, später Tammuz - Ištar, Isis - Osiris) zusammenhängen, trifft nur für wenige Texte żu.[9]

B. ALSTER[10] unterscheidet in einer Inhaltsfixierung drei Typen der sumerischen Liebeslieder. In Typ I sind die Liebenden bekannte Götterpaare, in Typ II verkehrt die Göttin Inanna (oder die ihr eingeweihte Priesterin *nu-gig, lukur*) mit

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[6]G. GERLEMAN, Ruth. Das Hohe Lied (Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testament XVIII), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1965.

[7]S.N. KRAMER, The Sacred Marriage Rite. Aspects of Faith, Myth and Ritual in Ancient Sumer, Bloomington - London 1969. Für die sumerische "Liebespoesie" gibt es heute weder Klassifizierungsmodelle noch Gattungsdefinitionen. Die Liebeslieder im Kramer's Buch sind z.T. auch Mythen, Legenden, regelmäßig wiederholte Kulthandlungen und zweckbestimmte Hymnen. Kramer hat 1969 erstmalig, wie es damals möglich war, eine in vielem besonders interesante Textgruppe der sumerischen Literatur erschlossen. Ergänzende Informationen und Textinterpretationen findet man in seinen späteren Aufsätzen The Dumuzi - Inanna Sacred Marriage Rite. Origin, Developement, Characters in: A. FINET, Hrsg., CRRA XVII, Ham-sur-Heure 1970, S.135-141 und Le rite de mariage sacré Dumuzi - Inanna, in: Revue de l'histoire des religions 181, Paris 1972, S.121-146.
Eine ältere Übersicht der angeblichen altmesopotamischen Parallelen (zu Hhld. 4, 1-7; 4, 9-15; 5, 10-16) bieten A. ROBERT und R. TOURNAY, Le Cantique des cantiques, Paris 1963, S.352-372.

[8]Vor der "extremen Radikalität" einiger Assyriologen des 19. und beginnenden 20.Jahrhunderts, deren maßlosen Überschätzungen der altmesopotamischen Hochkultur immer noch einige popularisierende Bücher verbreiten, warnt ausdrücklich H.-J. KRAUS, Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments, 2.Aufl., Neukirchen - Vluyn 1969.
Zu früherem "Pan-babylonismus" und zum Streit Babel - Bibel siehe jetzt ausführlich M.T. LARSEN, Orientalism and Ancient Near East, in: Culture and History ". Copenhagen 1987, S.96-115.

[9]Im Zusammenhang mit Hhld. 4, 12-15; 5, 10-16 wird J. Nougayrol (Ugaritica 5, 1968, S.310-311) die sog. "Message of Lú-dingir-ra to his Mother" erwähnt. Vgl. dazu M. CIVIL, JNES 23, 1964, S.1-11.

[10]B. ALSTER, Sumerian Love Songs, RA 79, 1985, S.127-128.

den "Du1muzi"-Königen (belegt sind Šulgi, Šusu'en und Iddindagan),[11] in Typ III handelt es sich um Liebesgeschichten ohne Bezug auf Mythologie und Ritualhandlungen. Wie bei jeder Gliederung der literarischen Gattungen, kann man auch hier keine gerade Grenzen ziehen.[12]

Die Aufnahme der sumerischen Lieder über Dumuzi und Inanna in Feste und Ritualhandlungen in der Ur-III und Isin-Larsa-Zeit steht im Widerspruch zur Erzählweise dieser einmaligen Love-Stories, wo der Gott als Hirt und die Göttin als Mädchen auftreten. Solche Geschichten entstanden sicherlich viel früher in einer Volkspoesie, wurden mündlich überliefert und erst später für Palast und Tempel "mythologisiert" und zum Kultdrama[13] gestaltet.

Die erste Schlüsselfigur Dumuzi war wahrscheinlich nicht von Anfang an ein Gott, sondern ein junger Mann, der erst sekundär in einem Fruchtbarkeitsritus vergöttlicht wurde.[14] Die einer Heiligen Hochzeit entsprechenden Ritualhandlungen sind in der frühdynastischen Zeit nicht nachweisbar. Das Mythologem der rituellen Paarung von Mann und Frau existierte schon in der Urzeit ohne repräsentative Darstellung durch Götterpaare.[15]

Die zweite Schlüsselfigur Inanna wird oft als eine Muttergottheit oder eine Vegetationsgöttin interpretiert,[16] obwohl es auf Grund des bisherigen For-

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[11]Das Liebeslied Šulgi's: S.N. KRAMER, Iraq 31, 1969, S.18-23; ders., ANET Supplement, Princeton 1969, S.644.
Das Liebeslied Šusu'ens: A. FALKENSTEIN, WdO 1, 1947-1952, S.43-50, Übersetzung S.N. KRAMER, ANET ".Aufl., S.496.

[12]Der Ritus der Heiligen Hochzeit der Göttin Inanna mit den sumerischen Königen gehörte zu den einmaligen Kultbräuchen (während der Krönung?). Die Verbindung mit dem alljährlich begangenen Neujahrfest ist nur in SRT 1, Z.174-175 (vgl. dazu SKIZ S.128 ff.) belegt.

[13] Zu den liturgischen Anweisungen vgl. C. WILCKE, AS 20, 1975, S.260; A. SJÖBERG, ZA 64, 1975, S.160-161. "Verbeugungen" (ki-ru-gú) und Männer- bzw. Frauenchöre unterbrechen den Text nur in wenigen Liedern und sind auch im Hhld. nicht ausschlaggebend, wie H. Schmökel (Heilige Hochzeit und Hohes Lied, in: Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 32/1, Wiesbaden 1956, S.6-35, 45-47) behauptete.

[14] S.N. KRAMER, The Sacred Marriage Rite, S.57; vgl. W. HEIMPEL, JAOS 92, 1972, S.188-191. Die Vergöttlichung erfolgte nach A. Falkenstein (CRRA III, 1954, S.62-64; ders., BiOr 7. 1950, S.58) erst in der Ur-III-Zeit und in Isin.
In der sumerischen Königsliste finden sich zwei Herrscher Dumuzi. Dumuzi von Badtibira regierte "vor der Sinflut" und war "Hirt", Dumuzi von Uruk/Ku'ara war "Fischer". In den sumerischen literarischen Texten bzw. in der sumerisch überlieferten Literatur findet diese Zwiegestaltigkeit Dumuzi's kein Echo. Dort ist Dumuzi Geliebter und Gemahl der Inanna. Vgl. dazu D.O. EDZARD in: H.W. HAUSSIG et al., Wörterbuch der Mythologie, Bd.1, Stuttgart 1965, S.51; W. HEIMPEL, JAOS 92, 1972, S.290.

[15] J.VAN DIJK, Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte, Bd.1, Leiden 1968-1971, S.485-487.

[16] S.N. KRAMER, The Sacred Marriage Rite, S.166. Zu den insgesamt 23 bal-bal-e-Liedern auf Inanna vgl. die Tabellen bei C. WILCKE, AS 20, 1976, S.290-292.

schungsstandes ebenfalls nicht sicher ist.[17] In den sumerischen Liebesliedern ist Inanna zunächst (vor der im Kult nachvollzogenen Vermählung mit Dumuzi) eine Geliebte. Die sumerischen Dumuzi-Inanna-Mythen verloren ihre Bedeutung am Ende der Isin-Larsa-Zeit. Ihre Verbreitung bis nach Syrien-Palästina und ein Überleben dieser Tradition bis ins 10.Jahrh. v. Chr. ist unwahrscheinlich.

Die Grundvokabel für "Liebe, lieben" sind sumerisch ki-ág, akkadisch râmu, rêmu. Das Begriffsfeld reicht von "Geborgenheit im Mutterleib" (arhuš) bis zu "einander entgegenkommen". Das sumerische Kompositum ki-ág wird oft als Hilfverb gebraucht für Vertrauen und Zuneigung. So "liebt" der Mensch (in den Hymnen meistens der König) Himmel, Tempel, Götter und andere Menschen. Das akkadische Verbum râmu bezieht sich nur selten auf geschlechtliche Liebe, die bekannteste Stelle ist wohl Gilgameš Tf. VI:48 ff. Im Verhältnis Gott - König und Gott - Mensch geht es mehr um eine hierarchische Liebe, um Schutz und Fürsorge. Der Mensch sucht dabei Gunst und bietet Treue, Gehorsamkeit und Loyalität.

In der sumerischen Literatur begegnen wir mehr Liebenden (Enki und Ninhursaga)[18] als Eheleuten. Die Liebenden sind oft recht jung (Enlil und Ninlil), trotzdem versuchen sie Geschletsverkehr zu vollziehen und preisen ihre Körper.[19] Sie treffen sich auf der Straße und verschwinden hinter den Mauern um ihr Stelldichein im Garten, auf der Wiese oder im Rohrdickicht zu haben. Die aussagen der alten Mesopotamier über sexuelle Praktiken sind nicht zurückhaltend. Die ungestillte Sehnsucht konnte zur Liebeskrankheit führen, die dann durch Liebeszauber[20] heilbar wurde.

Die Liebe symbolisierten rote Farbe, bunte Granatäpfel, Rauschgetränke, Milch, Butter und Sahne.[21] Es gibt aber zahlreiche andere metaphorische

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[17] F.R. KRAUS, WZKM 52, 1953-1955, S.53-54.

[18] Bearbeitung bei P. ATTINGER, ZA 74, 1984, S.1-52; vgl. noch B. ALSTER, BBVO 2, Berlin 1983, S.52-74.

[19] Zum fehlenden "petting" beim Liebesspiel s. J.R. COOPER s.v. Kuß in RLA 6, Berlin 1980-1983, S.375-379, zu den sexuellen Praktiken vgl. S.N. KRAMER, PAPS 107, 1963, S.507-508. Zu Enlil und Ninlil s. die Bearbeitung bei B. BEHRENS, Studia Pohl 8, Roma 1978.

[20] Vgl. dazu A. FALKENSTEIN, ZA 56, 1964, S.113-129 und R.D. BIGGS in RlA 7, Lief.1-2, Berlin 1987, S.17-18. Im Hhld. 2, 4-5; 7, 14 gelten als Aphrodisiaka Weinbeerkuchen, (Granat)äpfel und Mandragora. Zur gleichen Verwendung dieser Früchte in Mesopotamien vgl. R.D. BIGGS, TCS 2, S.70-74.

[21] Hier handelt es sich allerdings um stereotype Metaphern der Liebesfreude. Siehe dazu W.G. LAMBERT, Devotion. The Languages of Religion and Love, in: M. MINDLIN ET AL., Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East, London 1987, S.25-39; ders., The Problem of the Love Lytics, in: J.J.M. ROBERTS, Unity and Diversity, Baltimore 1975, S.98-135.
Das angekündigte Buch Eros and Pornography in Mesopotamian Poetry (demnächst in American Oriental Society Essays Series) blieb mir unzugänglich, zum Hinweis s. H. BEHRENS ET AL.,

Gestaltungen der Sehnsuchts- und Glückserfahrungen, die psychologisch bedingte interkulturelle Gemeinsamkeiten ausweisen. Im Hintergrund steht ein kulturgeschichtlich kaum erfaßbares erotisches Verhalten des Menschen, das sich seit Anfang der historischen Zeit nur geringfügig geändert hat.

In den gelesenen, rezitierten und gesungenen Liebesgeschichten des alten Ägyptens, Palästinas und Mesopotamiens finden wir in der Bildsprache keine eindeutige Spender oder Empfänger der Vergleiche, markant sind nur Unterschiede in den Bezugswörtern bzw. in den Versatzelementen. So nennen sich überall die Liebenden "Bruder" und "Schwester", das Wort "Freundin" (Hhld. 1, 9 und passim) ist in Mesopotamien dieser Literaturgattung m.E. nicht Belegt.

In der sumerischen Liebespoesie mußte die "reine" Himmelskönigin Inanna erst entscheiden, wen von ihren Anbetern sie nimmt. Der Hirt Dumuzi bietet ihr grüne Wiese und Milchprodukte, der Bauer Enkimdu dagegen Feldpflanzen und volle Magazine an.[22] Bei der Werbung um Inanna im Streitgespräch versucht Inannas Bruder Utu keine Schlichtung, er wirbt zunächst eindeutig für den Hirten. Inanna trifft die erste Wahl traditionsgemäß, wie im Streitgespräch zwischen Mutterschaf und Getreide.[23] Sie will den (Acker)bauer, denn er macht die Erde durch eigene Arbeit erst fruchtbar. Die Arbeit mit dem Pflug und das Gerät selbst symbolisierten im alten Mesopotamien geschlechtliche Liebe.[24]

S.N. KRAMER[25] hat richtig bemerkt, daß in seinem lose zusammengestellten Dumuzi-Inanna-Zyklus nach der Abweisung Enkimdus nun auch Dumuzi

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Dumu-é-dub-ba-a. Studies in Honour of A.W. Sjöberg, Philadelphia 1989, S.88.
Zu den Metaphern in den Liedern der sumerischen "Heiligen Hochzeit" vgl. V. AFANASJEVA, in: Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honour of I.M. Diakonaff, Warminster 1982, S.15-21.

[22] Dumuzi und Enkimdu: J.VAN DIJK, La sagesse suméro-akkadienne, Leiden 1954, S.65-86; Übersetzung auch bei S.N. KRAMER, ANET 2.Aufl., S.41-43.

[23] B. ALSTER, H. VANSTIPHOUT, Lahar and Ashnan. Presentation and Analysis of a Sumerian Disputation, ASJ 9, 1987, S.1-43, bes. Z.179-192. Das Hirtenmotiv kommt im Hhld. nur einmal (1, 7-8) vor, wenn der abwesende Liebende Hinweise gibt, wo er sich (zeitweise ?) aufhält. Die Liebenden treffen sich sonst draußen auf dem Weinberg (2, 10-13; 7, 12-13) oder im Garten. Vgl. noch Hhld. 1, 15-17.

[24] Bekannte Bilder sind: Schargestell = Mutter, Saatvorrichtung = Vulva, Saattrichter = Penis. Vgl. dazu A. SALONEN, Agricultura mesopotamica, Helsinki 1968, S.71-73 und jetzt auch C. WILCKE, A Riding Tooth: Metaphor, Metonymy and Synecdoche, Quick and Frozen in Everyday Language, in: M. MINDLIN ET AL., Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East, London 1987, S.77-102.

[25] S.N. KRAMER, Dumuzi and Inanna. Prosperity in the Palace, PAPS 107, 1963, S.507-508; ders., The Sumerians, Chicago 1963, S.173-174, 180. Vgl. schon J.VAN DIJK, La sagesse suméro-akkadienne, Leiden 1954, S.65-85 (zu Dumuzi und Enkimdu). Zum Verhältnis Bauer - Hirt s. W. HEIMPEL, JAOS 92, 1972, S.290-291.

als König mit Pflug im brachliegenden oder schon bewässerten Boden die Furchen ziehen kann und so die Rolle seines Rivals übernimmt. Hier liegt keine Verschiebung in den Machtbereichen der Götter vor. Die Landwirtschaft in der sumerischen Mythologie erscheint immer als eine sich ergänzende und voneinender abhängige Symbiose von Ackerbau und Viehzucht. Acker als Metapher für die Frau ist in Hhld. nicht belegt. Als Paradies der Liebe gilt ein verschlossener grüner Garten (4,12 - 5,1) oder ein Weinberg (7,12-13). Das sumerische Rauschgetränk Bier ersetzt im Hhld. der Wein. In beiden Kulturkreisen ist Honig Metapher für die Süßigkeit des Liebesgenusses beim Küssen (4, 9-11).[26]

Im Hhld. spricht der Liebende seine Geliebte mehrmals (4, 9-11) mit "Schwester" an. Auch umgekehrt wünscht sich das Mädchen, der Geliebte wäre ihr Bruder (7, 14 - 8, 2). Diese Verwandschaftsausdrücke deuten nicht nur auf eine Zuneigung der Geschwister hin, sie öffnen die Tür der bisher verborgenen Liebe. Die Geliebte möchte ihren Liebling in die gewöhnte Umgebung bringen. Der Traum ist, die Eltern möchten ihn als Sohn aufnehmen und sie könnte ihn dann anderen Mädchen (den Töchtern Jerusalems; 5, 2 - 6, 3) zeigen.

Bei Inanna und Utu ist die Schwester erfahrener. Sie ändert ihre Entscheidung selbständig, wenn Utu. schon den Bauer hinnehmen würde. Nun siegt eindeutig zwischen den Anbetern der Viehzüchter Dumuzi.

Der Sieg des Hirten kommt überraschend und unerwartet. In den mythischen Erzählungen über die Wahl der Herrscher aus den ländlichen Schichten wird vielmehr der Pflüger inthronisiert.[27] Das Hhld. entwickelte sich im syropalästinensischen Raum, in den ariden und semi-ariden Steppen. Im extensiven Ackerbau sind Nomaden mit ihren Herden mehr sichtbar als verstreute Getreidefelder. Besungen werden die blühenden Gärten mit Brunnen (4, 5) kaum aber die Kanäle (4, 13). Die sumerischen Lieder reflektieren eine Gesellschaft, deren Substanz von der intensiven Landwirtschaft auf den künstlich bewässerten Feldern abhing. Der

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[26] Das "Zungen-Machen" als Beischlaf (Fellatio, Cunnilingus) zu deuten, geht doch zu weit. Gegen S.N. Kramer (Sacred Marriage Rite, S.104) findet J.C. Cooper (RlA 6, Berlin 1980-1983, S.377) keine Belege für einen oralen Geschlechtsverkehr bei den Šumerern. Vgl. aber Dumuzi's Traum, Z.168, 195, 230, Bearbeitung bei B. ALSTER, Mesopotamia 1, Copenhagen 1972; weiter ders., RA 69, 1971, S.97-108.

[27] Zum Motiv "Bauer wird König" vgl. A. AARNE, S. THOMPSON, The Types of the Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography, 2.Aufl., Helsinki 1961, Nr.1531. Weitere Literaturhinweise findet man bei K. RANKE et al., Enzyklopädie des Märchens, Bd.1, Berlin 1977, S.1343-1344. Auch bei den tschechischen Přemysliden kommt der Ackerbauer (Pflüger) direkt vom entfernten Feld auf die Burg in Prag und vergißt nicht bei der Inthronisierung seinen bäuerlichen Ursprung zu zeigen. Die Geschichte über die Priesterin (Wahrsagerin) Libuše und den Bauer Přemysl erfreute sich großer Beliebtheit bei den Chronisten. "Hirte des Landes Sumer", später auch "Hirte der Schwarzköpfigen" war die häufigste metaphorische Selbstbezeichnung der altnesopotamischen Könige. Vgl. dazu W.W. HALLO, Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles, AOS 43, 1957 (passim) und M.J. SEUX, Epithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes, Paris 1967 (passim).

Viehzüchter weidete seine Herden z.T. auf den brachliegenden Ackerbauflächen, bekannt wurde auch das Überhüten junger Getreidestände im Frühling. Dumuzi siegt, weil er die ganze Kulturladschaft (Steppe, Weide, Rohrdickicht und Acker) nutznießt.

Während wir im Hhld. 5, 10-16 dem einzigen Lied, das den Mann beschreibt, begegnen, sind die Beschreibungen Dumuzi's keine Seltenheit.[28] Es gibt auch Gemeinsames. In den beiden zeitlich getrennten Textgruppen sind die Liebhaber von Kopf bis Fuß mit Gold und Edelsteinen verziert. In den Körperteil-Beschreibungen der Geliebten (Hhld. 4, 1-7) werden keine Edelsteine erwähnt. Der šu$_4$-ba-Stein und allerlei Schmuck betonen bei Inanna die Liebesbereitschaft. Sie verlangte neben gutem Essen auch andere Kostbarkeiten und sie bekam sie auch von der Mutter Ningal und von Dumuzi. Inanna - eine verwöhnte Gottin, eine Städterin?

Die Unterschiede zwischen Stadt und Land sind in den sumerischen Liedern kein Thema. In der frühdynastischen Zeit III hat sich in der Umgebung der alten Stadt Uruk die Zahl der ländlichen Siedlungen erheblich verringert. Bereits im 3.Jahrt. vor Chr. wohnte die Mehrzahl der Gesamtbevölkerung Babyloniens in den Städten entlang der Flüsse und großer Zufuhrkanäle. Die Städter kannten gut ihr Hinterland und dessen Volksleben. Die kostbaren Geschenke vor der Hochzeit waren in Ägypten, Palästina und in Mesopotamien nichts Ungewöhnliches, genauso wie das Baden[29] und das Schmücken der Braut vor dem Hochzeitsfest und das Dekorieren des Bettes[30] vor der ersten Nacht.

Dumuzi wurde im Inanna's Haus gut aufgenommen. Als er Inanna in seine eigene Familie führte, belehrte er sie über das gute Verhalten und setzte so ihre Würde ab.[31] So entstand zwischen Dumuzi und Inanna schon sehr früh ein

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[28] Zu den "Identifikationszeichen" in den Beschreibungsliedern, wo eine geliebte Person (sei es schon Frau, Mann oder die Mutter) als eine prunkvolle Statue geschildert wird, vgl. J.R. COOPER, Cuneiform Parallels to the Song of Songs, in: Journal of the Biblical Literature 90, Missoula 1971, S.157-162; W. HEIMPEL, JAOS 92, 1972, S.288-291.

[29] Vgl. Hhld. 3, 10-11. In 6, 8-10 rühmen die Frauen die Braut und verabschieden sich mit ihr. Zum Frauen-Chor in den sumerischen Liedern vgl. jetzt B. ALSTER, RA 79, 1985, S.129-135. Die Hochzeitsfeierlichkeiten in Syrien (19.Jahrh. n. Chr.) beschrieb der deutsche Konsul in Damaskus J.G. Wetzstein, zum Literaturhinweis siehe O. KEEL (wie oben in Anm.2), S.21-22. Das neue Material aus den arabischen Liebesliedern bietet K. Ringgren im Sammelband Palästinische Volksgesänge, hrsg. von S. Kinder, in: Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 5, 1952, S.82-90.

[30] Hhld. 3, 9-10. Vgl. W. RÖMER, K. HECKER, Lieder und Gebete I, in: Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Bd.2, Lief.5, Gütersloh 1989, S.659-673, Z.167-233; S.N. KRAMER, Sacred Marriage Rite, S.76, 80-82, 97-98.

[31] A. FALKENSTEIN, ZA N.F. 15, 1950, S.325-327.

gewisses Spannungsverhältnis, das in anderen mythischen Dichtungen[32] dann zum zentralen Thema wurde. In dieser (jüngeren ?) literarischen Tradition war Inanna als Göttin der Liebe nicht an einen festen Geliebten[33] gebunden.

Die meisten sumerischen Liebeslieder hängen mit Kulthandlungen und Riten zusammen. Sie spiegeln eine mythische Überlieferung wider, von der heute nur noch Bruchstücke vorliegen. Nicht alles, was einst im alten Mesopotamien Wirklichkeit war, ist in Ägypten und Palästina wiederholbar und festgefügtes Schema. Dies gilt auch für den Bereich der Heiligen Hochzeit in den Tempeln und Königshöfen. Das Hohelied war nicht nach einem mythischen oder religiösen Plan konzipiert, deshalb besteht auch keine Möglichkeit, dessen überzeitliche Formelelemente und Gattungen anderen Kulturen zuzuordnen und seinen Ursprung in Sumer zu suchen. Eine solche Annahme verbietet sich shon wegen der verschiedenen zeitlichen Verteilung der sumerischen und alttestamentlichen Literatur.

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[32] In Inannas Gang zur Unterwelt sitzt Dumuzi schon auf dem Thron von Uruk (Kulaba). Der in göttlichen Rang erhobene Viehzüchter begrüßt Inanna nicht mit gebührender Achtung. Inanna bietet Dumuzi ihrer Schwester, der Unterweltsgöttin Ereškigal, als Ersatz und opfert ihn. In dieser mythischen Überlieferung ist Utu Dumuzi's Helfer. Wenn Dumuzi entflieht, verwandelt ihn Inannas Bruder in eine Gazelle und dann in eine Schlange. Zum Text siehe W.R. SLADEK, Inanna's Descent to the Nether World, Diss. Baltimore 1974.

[33] Zur Inanna's Vorliebe für Gärtner (Sargon, Išullānu in Gilgameš Tf. VI) vgl. J. NOUGAYROL, RA 45, 1951, S.169-183; B. LEWIS, The Sargon-Legend, Cambridge MA 1980, S.59-60, 95-97; J. WESTENHOLZ, JNES 43, 1984, S.78-79. In Inanna und Šukalletuda (S.N. KRAMER, ArOr 17/1, 1949, S.399-405) schläft der Gärtner mit Inanna gegen ihren Willen und sie rächt sich mit den Plagen über Sumer.

Der X. Verbalstamm und seine Funktion im modernen Arabisch

Karel KELLER

Erweiterte Verbalstämme sind ein wichtiger Bestandteil des grammatischen und semantischen Systems semitscher Sprachen, wobei entwickelten sich am meisten im Hebräischen und Arabischen. Die erweiterten Stämme, deren Anzahl in den einzelnen Sprachen verschieden ist, haben ihre spezifischen grammatikalischen und semantischen Funktionen, die einerseits mit der Art ihrer Derivation zusammenhängen, andererseits enthalten sie ihre eigenen charakteristischen Züge. Diese typischen Funktionen der erweiterten Stämme wurden in der Fachliteratur schon vielfach beschrieben und ihre systematische Übersicht enthält jede Grammatik, resp. jedes Lehrbuch der gegebenen semitischen Sprache.

Das gilt auch für das Arabische. Wiewohl man die Richtigkeit der angeführten Arten der Ableitung sowie die Gültigkeit der grammatischen und Bedeutungstendenzen nicht bezweifeln kann, mit denen wir es bei den arabischen erweiterten Stämmen zu tun haben, so ergeben sich dennoch prinzipielle Fragen. Haben diese allgemeinen Charakteristiken, die die Schriftsprache als Ganzes, d.h. in ihrer viele Jahrhunderte währenden Entwicklung umfassen, ihre Gültigkeit auch für den Wortschatz des modernen Arabisch? Und wenn dem so ist, in welchen Proportionen treten diese Tendenzen in Erscheinung? Welche von ihnen sind die häufigsten und progressiven und welche dagegen unwesentlich und bloße Randerscheinungen?

Um diese Fragen zu beantworten ist eine gründliche Analyse der einzelnen erweiterten Stämme unerläßlich, und zwar mit einer ausführlichen Bewertung und Klassifikation der Bedeutung aller in ihnen auftretenden Verba sowie der wahrscheinlichen Art ihrer Ableitung. Das Material für die Verarbeitung dieses Themas sollten große Wörterbucher der modernen arabischen Schriftsprache sein. Aus verschiedenen Gründen haben wir zu diesem Zweck zwei von ihnen gewählt, die in der Welt sowohl wegen ihres beträchtlichen Umfangs, als auch aufgrund der Originalität des durchgeführten Exzerptes des Wortschatzes außerordentliche Anerkennung fanden. Es handelt sich um folgende Werke:

Hans WEHR: Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart (Leipzig 1958)

Charlampij Karpovič BARANOV: Arabsko-russkij slovar' (Moskva 1976).

Aus diesen beiden Wörterbüchern wurden insgesamt 6746 Verba in den erweiterten Stämme exzerpiert, die folgendermaßen aufgeteilt sind:

1770 Verba des	II. Stammes	690 Verba des	VIII. Stammes
546 - " -	III. "	22 - " -	IX. "
1083 - " -	IV. "	486 - " -	X. "
1181 Verba des	V. Stammes	2 Verba des	XI. Stammes
509 - " -	VI. "	11 - " -	XII. "
445 - " -	VII. "	1 Verbum des	XIV. "

Aus dieser Tabelle ergibt sich die Vorrechtsstellung des II. Stammes, dessen typische Gemination des 2. Konsonanten einige wichtige Bedeutungsfunktionen umfaßt. Auch der V. Stamm, der von ihm am häufigsten mit dem Präfix *ta*-abgeleitet wird und im Prinzip seine reflexiv-passive Variante zu sein scheint, erreicht eine hohe Anzahl von Vorkommen, ebenso wie der IV. Stamm, der insbesondere die faktitiv-kausative Tendenz betont. Die übrigen Stämme sind relativ seltener vertreten (vielleicht mit Ausnahme des VIII. Stammes), was jedoch keineswegs bedeutet, daß ihre Stellung zweitrangig ist. Ganz im Gegenteil, nur vermittels einer Analyse aller Stämme können wir uns eine Vorstellung vom ganzen System der erweiterten Stämme machen, von seiner gegenseitigen Verknüpfung und seinen Zusammenhängen.

Dabei ist es erforderlich zu betonen, daß die einzelnen Exempel der erweiterten Stämme selbständige lexikale Einheiten repräsentieren, in denen sich zwar manche grammatische und semantische Tendenzen zeigen, die jedoch in ihrer überwiegenden Mehrheit kein eindeutiger Beweis einer bestimmten grammatischen Kategorie sind (z.B. der Passivität, Reflexivität, Reziprozität u.ä.), die man als Paradigma auffassen könnte. Dennoch ist die Erforschung der Haupttendenzen eines jeden Stammes auch in praktischem Sinne sehr wichtig, denn sie ermöglicht in ihren Konsequenzen eine schnellere Bewältigung des Wortschatzes des Arabischen und ein tieferes Verständnis der Bedeutungsschattierungen der einzelnen Worte, der Bedeutungsverlagerungen, sowie der Schaffung neuer wissenschaftlicher und technischer Fachausdrücke.

Als Muster einer Analyse erweiterter Stämme präsentieren wir hier eine kleine Studie des X. Stammes vom synchronischen Gesichtspunkt aus. Es geht uns nicht um die Untersuchung der Geschichte seines Entstehens, seiner ursprünglichen Funktionen und semantischen Beziehungen, sondern um seine gegenwärtigen Bedeutungstendenzen und Arten der Derivation. Dabei werden wir die Derivation in etwas eingeengtem Sinne auffassen und zwar als die relativ nahestehendste, bis heute bewußte semantische Beziehung eines bestimmten Exempels des X. Stammes entweder zum Verbum des Grundstammes oder des IV. Stammes derselben Wurzel, mit dem er sicherlich durch seine Form historisch verknüpft ist, oder zum entsprechenden Nomen, d.h. zum Substantiv oder Adjektiv.

Wir haben eine Analyse von insgesamt 486 Verba des X. Stammes (also eines kompletten Komplexes) durchgeführt, von denen 98 nur in der letzten Ausgabe des BARANOV-Wörterbuchs registriert, während 13 nur im WEHR-Wörterbuch enthalten sind. Nebem den geläufigen quantitativen Merkmalen haben wir auch die semantischen Beziehungen des X. Stammes zum Grundstamm (I.) und den übrigen erweiterten Stämmen derselben dreikonsonanten Wurzel verfolgt, das Auftreten von Denominativen, charakteristische Bedeutungstendenzen und weitere außersystematische Bedeutungsveränderungen, die Existenz von Polysemie und verschiedene andere formale und inhaltliche Kuriositäten.

Die meisten Verba des X. Stammes besitzen Wurzeln, die mit dem Konsonant n beginnen (48 Fälle, d.h. 10%), es folgen $^c ayn$ (38), $ḥ$ (34), w (33), q (26), r (25), $ġayn$, f und k (je 21), b und m (je 20) usw., am Ende der Reihe $ḍ$ und $ṯ$ (je 6), t und y (je 5) und $ẓ$ (3). Der X. Stamm realisiert sich bei allen 28 Konsonanten, weil sein charakteristisches Präfix *ista-* gegenüber keinem von ihnen inkompatibel ist.

Interessante Angaben enthält die Tabelle über das Auftreten von Verba des X. Stammes in Kombination mit denen anderer Stämme derselben Wurzel. Überraschend ist gewiß die Feststellung, daß in vollen 155 Fällen (31,89%) der entsprechende IV. Stamm fehlt, zu dem der X. am häufigsten in Beziehung gebracht wird, und in 20 Fällen (4,12%) fehlt sogar der Grundstamm. In dieser Richtung haben wir folgende Fakten festgestellt:

4x tritt das Verbum des X. Stammes ganz selbständig auf, nämlich ohne jedweden weiteren Stamm derselben Wurzel (*ista'sada, istaḥdā, istan^c aġa, istawfaza*);

18x steht der X. Stamm in Kombination mit einem einzigen weiteren (davon 2x mit dem IV. Stamm - *istaḥāṭa, istanṭā*, 12x mit dem I. Stamm und 4x mit irgendeinem anderen - *istadfā* und *istafḥala* mit dem II., *istaqrā* mit dem V. und *istaknaha* mit dem VIII.);

54x realisiert sich der X. Stamm mit 2 weiteren Stämmen (davon 25x ohne den IV. Stamm, 3x ohne den I. - *istadnaba, istafraḥa, istanāḥa*, und 3x ohne den I. und IV. Stamm gleichzeitig - *ista'dā, ista'hara, istaṣḥafa*);

71x ist der X. Stamm mit 3 Stämmen kombiniert (davon 40x ohne den IV. Stamm und 2x ohne den I. - *istabhama, istawrata*);

· 129x tritt der X. Stamm gemeinsam mit 4 Stämmen auf (davon 39x ohne den IV. und einmal ohne den I. Stamm - *ista^c āna*);

104x finden wir beim X. Stamm zudem 5 Stämme (davon 18x ohne den IV. und einmal ohne den I. Stamm - *istadraka*);

71x ist der X. Stamm mit 6 anderen Stämmen kombiniert (davon 10x ohne den IV. Stamm);

24x hat der X.Stamm zudem 7 Stämme (davon einmal ohne den IV. Stamm - *istaqḍā*);

11x tritt der X. Stammm in voller Zusammensetzung mit den übrigen 8 Stämmen auf, wenn wir die sog. seltenen Stämme außer Acht lassen (*istaḥāla, istaṣlaḥa, istaᶜdā, istaᶜraḍa, istaᶜmala, istaᶜāda, istaᶜāra, istaqbala, istaqsama, istaqṭaᶜa, istaktaba*).

Das bedeutet, daß im Durschnitt die Verba des X. Stammes mit 4,23 anderen Stämmen kombiniert werden und daß die formale Beziehung zum IV. Stamm wesentlich lockerer ist, als allgemein angenommen wird.

Ferner wurde die Transitivität der Verba des X. Stammes verfolgt. Die bisher allgemein vorherrschende Annahme, die absolute Mehrheit dieser Verba sei intransitiv, hat sich nicht bestätigt. In dem von uns studierten Komplex sind 253 Verba (52,06%) transitiv, 98 (20,16%) haben beide Charakteristiken, sind somit teilweise intransitiv, teilweise transitiv, und nur 135 Verba (27,78%) sind intransitiv! Aufgrund dieser Tatsache - zusammen mit den oben angeführten Fakten - kann man schon jetzt mit Sicherheit feststellen, daß der X. Stamm in der gegenwärtigen Sprache entschieden keine quasi reflexiv-passive Variante des IV. Stammes ist.

Wir bemühen uns auch um eine Lösung der primären derivativ-semantischen Beziehung des X. Stammes zu den übrigen Wortarten, d.h. insbesondere zu Namen (Substantiva, Adjektiva) und zu anderen Verbalstämmen. Und hier ergab sich wiederum ein völlig unerwartetes Phänomen. Es überwiegt nämlich die Tendenz einer denominativen Ableitung, die wir mit großer Sicherheit bei 300 Verba (61,73%) feststellen haben. In 69 Fällen (14,20%) kann man zudem diese Art der Derivation zulassen, obwohl eine primäre Beziehung zum Verbum wahrscheinlicher zu sein scheint, und nur in 117 Fällen (24,07%) können wir behaupten, es handle sich nicht um Denominativa. Die Forschung in diesem Bereich ist freilich ziemlich schwierig im Hinblick auf die häufige Polysemie der Verba, übertragene Bedeutungen und einen gewissen Grad von Subjektivität bei der Entscheidung darüber, was man als denominativ auffassen kann und was keinesfalls. Aber selbst wenn uns in manchen Fällen zum Teil Ungenauigkeiten unterlaufen würden, ergibt sich dennoch aus der angeführten Statistik eindeutig, daß die meisten Verba des X. Stammes eine primäre Beziehung zum Nomen und erst dann zu den übrigen Verbalstämmen haben.

Was die grundlegenden semantischen Tendenzen anbelangt, so haben wir im X. Stamm 4 als die wichtigsten und bestimmenden festgestellt:

A. desiderative, rogative, supplikative oder exhortative (d.h. in den Bedeutungen "sich wünschen", "bitten", "fordern", "auffordern" u.ä.);

B. konative (d.h. in den Bedeutungen "anstreben", "sich bemühen", "intensiv suchen", "gewinnen" u.ä.);

C. existentielle (d.h. "sein" oder "werden" etwas oder jemand, "erwerben" irgendwelche Eigenschaften);

D. judikative und estimative (d.h. "betrachten als", "für etwas halten", "als etwas beurteilen", "irgendwie befinden", "als etwas bewerten").

Von den 300 beurteilten Denominativen des X. Stammes zeigte sich am häufigsten die konative Tendenz - 133 Fälle (davon 63x ausschließlich, 70x in Kombination mit weiteren Tendenzen), z.B.:

istadrā X (deriv. von *darā* - "Schutz") - "Schutz suchen, sich in den Schutz begeben" (I. und IV. haben andere Bedeutungen);

istaᶜāna X - "Hilfe suchen, um Hilfe bitten" (deriv. von *ᶜawn* - "Hilfe, Beistand"; der I. Stamm wird nicht benützt, der III. und IV. haben die Bedeutung "helfen", "beistehen");

istağwaba X - "verhören, auftragen, interpellieren" (deriv. von *ğawāb* - "Antwort"; der I. Stamm ist völlig anders);

istamnā X - "Selbstbefriedigung treiben" (deriv. von *minā* "Same, Sperma"; der I. Stamm ist ganz anders, zum IV. gibt es eine klare Beziehung: "ergießen, ausspritzen").

Bei diesen konativen Bedeutungen gibt es zudem die geläufige Tendenz zu dativer Reflexivität, d.h. "ausüben" oder "sich bemühen auszuüben" etwas zu eigenen Gunsten, für sich.

110x haben wir bei den Denominativen judikative oder estimative Bedeutungen festgestellt (67x ausschließlich, 43x in Kombination mit anderen), z.B.:

istaṣᶜaba X - "als schwierig betrachten, schwierig finden" (deriv. von *ṣaᶜb* - "schwierig");

istaḥsana X - "schön oder gut finden; billigen" (deriv. von *ḥasan* - "schön, gut u.and.);

istaš'ama X - "ein übles Vorzeichen finden (in), als böses Vorzeichen betrachten" (deriv. von *šu'm* - "böses Vorzeichen");

istağāda X - "für gut, ausgezeichnet halten" (deriv. von *ğayyid* - "gut, vorzüglich").

Die meisten Verba aus dieser Gruppe sind von Adjektiven abgeleitet, die Eigenschaften bezeichnen.

95x haben wir bei den Denominativen folgende Bedeutungen festgestellt: "etwas oder jemand werden", evtl. "jemand oder etwas sein", irgendeine Eigenschaft "erwerben" (42x ausschließlich, 53x in Kombination), z.B.:

ista'sada X - "kühn wie ein Löwe sein" (deriv. von *'asad* - "Löwe"; es gibt keinen
    anderen Stamm);

istarğala X - "ein Mann werden; sich wie ein Mann benehmen" (deriv. von *rağul* -
    "Mann");

istašraqa X - "zum Orientalen werden, orientalische Sitten annehmen" (deriv. von
    šarqī "orientalisch, Orientale");

ista°ğama X - "unarabisch werden" (deriv. von *°ağam* "Barbaren, Nichtaraber;
    Perser").

72x wurde bei den Denominativen eine desiderative Tendenz verzeichnet
(30x ausschließlich, 42x in Kombination), z.B.:

istaqrada X - "um eine Anleihe bitten" (deriv. von *qard* - "Anleihe, Darlehen";
    der Grundstamm hat eine ganz andere Bedeutung);

istarhana X - "als Pfand fordern von jemandem etwas" (deriv. von *rahn* -
    "Pfand");

istawdaha X - "um Erklärung bitten; untersuchen" (deriv. von *wādih* - "klar, deut-
    lich, offenbar");

istatabba X - "ärztlichen Rat erbitten (von), konsultieren (e-n Arzt)" (deriv. von
    tabīb - "Arzt").

Wenn wir auch die erwähnten weiteren 69 "strittigen" Denominative in
Betracht ziehen, stellen wir die zitierten Tendenzen hier in folgendem Verhältnis
fest: konative (32), desiderative (31), existentielle (10) und estimative (1). Die
letzgenannte ist deshalb so selten vertreten, weil estimative Bedeutungen gerade
für Namen (insbesondere Adjektiva) sehr kennzeichnend sind und unklare Fälle
treten bei ihnen kaum auf.

Der Gänze wegen führen wir einige Fälle außerhalb dieser Tendenzen an,
wo es zu anderen Bedeutungsverlagerungen kommt:

istatnā X - "ausnehmen, ausschließen" (deriv. von *itnāni* - "zwei");

istarğa°a X - u.a. die Formel aussprechen: *innā li-llāhi wa innā ilajhi rāği°ūn* (es
    gibt hier also eine Derivationsbeziehnug zum ganzen koranischen Satz);

istahalla X - "beginnen (neuer Monat); die Stimme erheben; anstimmen; beginnen
    (eine Arbeit); einleiten" (deriv. von *hilāl* - "Neumond, Halbmond" - mit
    übertragenen Bedeutungen);

istarba°a X - "mit gekreuzten Beinen sitzen od. sich setzen" (deriv. von *'arba°* -
    "vier"; dieselbe Bedeutung im V. Stamm).

Es ist evident, daß Denominative sowohl von konkreten Namen, als auch von ab-
strakten geschaffen werden. Insgesamt kann man dann zusammenfassen, daß
obwohl bei den Denominativa relativ oft alle hervorgehobenen semantischen
Tendenzen in Erscheinung treten, die läufigste von ihnen die konative ist.

Um jedoch eine vollkommene Vorstellung von diesen grundlegenden 4 Bedeutungstendenzen des X. Stammes zu gewinnen, mußten wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf einen kompletten Komplex von 486 Verba ausrichten. Die Ergebnisse erwiesen sich hiebei sehr ähnlich wie bei den vorausgegangenen: Am häufigsten wurden Verba mit wenigstens einer konativen Bedeutung registriert (164), ferner estimative (114), existentielle (99) und desiderative (94). Weiters haben wir 54 Verba festgehalten, bei denen sich diese Tendenzen in verschiedener Art kombinieren, was jedoch nichts an den ersten zwei Stellen in der von uns bestimmten Reihenfolge ändert. Wir können somit diesen Teil der Analyse damit beschließen, daß die konativen und estimativen Tendenzen die wichtigsten rein semantischen Eigenschaften des X. Stammes sind.

Befassen wir uns nun eingehender mit der Beziehung der Verba des X. Stammes zum IV. derselben Wurzel. Hier können wir 6 Typen gegenseitiger Relation feststellen: die reflexiv-passive Beziehung des X. Stammes zum IV. (die bisher oft als der bedeutendste Charakterzug angesehen wurde), die Bedeutungsidentität der beiden Stämme, das Auftreten manchermehr der oben erwähnten Tendenzen semantischer Verlagerung (desiderativ, konativ, existentiell, estimativ), einen allgemeinen Zusammenhang außerhalb dieser Tendenzen, ganz unterschiedliche Bedeutungen dieser beiden Stämme, resp. die Absenz des IV. Stammes. In gewissen Fällen zeigte sich eine Kombination mancher dieser Beziehungen; da versuchten wir dann dem Typ einer engeren und vom diachronischen Gesichtspunkt aus wahrscheinlicheren Beziehung den Vorrang zu geben. Dennoch erwähnen wir auch diese Kombinationen.

Aus der vorgenommenen Analyse ergibt sich, daß überhaupt am häufigsten - in 155 Fällen - der IV. Stamm fehlt (31,89%), was wir bereits bemerkten. Vom heutigen Gesichtspunkt aus besteht hier somit keine Relation zwischen den Verba des X. und IV. Stammes derselben Wurzel.

Nur 85x (17,49%) haben wir die so sehr erwartete reflexiv-passive Beziehung zwischen dem X. und IV.Stamm wenigstens in einer Bedeutung festgestellt, z.B.:

ista͑adda X - "sich vorbereiten, vorbereitet sein" (*'a͑adda* IV - "vorbereiten, bereit machen);

ista͑lama X "sich erkundigen, sich informieren, nachforschen" (*'a͑lama* IV -"benachrichtigen, informieren"), freilich zugleich mit der konativen und desiderativen Tendenz;

istayqaẓa X - "erwachen, aufwachen, sich wecken lassen" (*'ayqaẓa* IV - "aufwecken").

Eine Reihe dieser reflexiven Bedeutungen wird eben gleichzeitig von einer semantischen konativen Tendenz gekennzeichnet, d.h. "etwas anstreben", "aufsuchen",

event. von einer desiderativen und rogativen, d.h. "bitten um", "fordern" u.ä. Eine rein reflexiv-passive Beziehung zwischen den beiden Stämme ohne Bedeutungstendenzen ist im ganzen recht selten.

Die gleiche Anzahl - 85 Fälle (17,49%) - weist im X. Stamm wenigstens teilweise einen Bedeutungseinklang mit dem IV. Stamm auf, z.B.:

istakmala X - "vollenden, vervollständigen; erfüllen" (*'akmala* IV - "vollenden, ausführen, vervollkommen);

istaškala X - "zweifelhaft, unklar, schwierig sein; als zweifelhaft ansehen" (*'aškala* IV - "zweifelhaft, zweideutig, unklar, schwierig sein");

istaḥsada X - "reif sein" (*'aḥsada* IV - reif sein").

Es zeigt sich, daß eine Übereinstimmung sowohl zwischen transitiven, als auch zwischen intransitiven Bedeutungen entstehen kann. In manchen Fällen beobachten wir auch eine doppelte Beziehung zwischen diesen Stämmen, und zwar Reflexivität und Übereinstimmung, z.B.:

istafāda X - "Nutzen oder Vorteil ziehen; erwerben, gewinnen" (*'afāda* IV - "Nutzen oder Vorteil bringen; erwerben, gewinnen; Nutzen oder Vorteil ziehen").

In der absoluten Mehrheit wird jedoch die Bedeutungsanalogie nicht in vollem semantischem Ausmaß der verglichenen Verba realisiert, sondern nur zum Teil, denn die weiteren Bedeutungen des einen oder beider Stämme unterscheiden sich mehr oder weniger. Eine gewisse Erklärung für die teilweisen Bedeutungsübereinstimmungen kann man darin suchen, daß der faktitiv-kausative Charakter des IV. Stammes oft mit der konativen Tendenz des X. Stammes korrespondiert, die immer weniger zu Tage tritt, bis zu dem Grad, daß eine Verwischung der ursprünglichen unwesentlichen Unterschiedlichkeit einsetzt.

Weitere 65 Verba des X. Stammes (13,38%) weisen einen allgemeinen Bedeutungszusammenhang mit den entsprechenden Verba des IV. Stammes auf, der jedoch nicht direkt ist. Primär und bestimmend ist hier nicht die gegenseitige Beziehung, sondern die zu einem anderen Stamm, einem Nomen oder der Wurzel selbst, wobei im X. Stamm die bereits wiederholt erwähnten 4 semantischen Haupttendenzen geltend werden können, was jedoch keine Bedingung ist, z.B.:

istaṣbaḥa X - "das Licht entzünden, Licht machen, anzünden" (*'aṣbaḥa* IV - "in den Morgen eintreten; klar sein oder werden; am Morgen werden" usw.);

istaᶜdā X - "aufhetzen" (*'aᶜdā* IV - "anstechen, infizieren");

istalzama X - "erfordern, brauchen" usw. (*alzama* IV - "zwingen").

Nur etwas weniger Verba des X. Stammes - 52 (10,70%) - gibt es, bei denen der ihrer Wurzel entsprechende IV. Stamm eine ausgeprägt unterschiedliche Bedeutung hat, denn evtl. frühere semantische und gegenseitige Derivationsbeziehungen gingen ganz oder beinahe ganz verloren. Hier zitieren wir z.B.:

istaqdama X - "kommen lassen, zu sich rufen" (*'aqdama* IV - "sich erkühnen, wagen, sich heranwagen; angreifen");

istaqwā X - "sich verstärken" (*'aqwā* IV - "arm sein");

istahwā X - "an sich ziehen, verführen, verlocken" usw. (*'ahwā* IV - "herabfallen, fallen lassen...").

Schließlich haben wir bei 44 Verba des X. Stammes (9,05%) als primär eine der 4 angeführten semantischen Tendenzen direkt in Beziehung zum IV. Stamm festgestellt, mitunter zugleich auch zum Grundstamm oder Nomen, das ist jedoch keine Bedingung. Hierher gehören z.B. die Verba:

istağāra X - "Schutz, Beistand suchen" (*'ağāra* IV - "Asylrecht bieten, in Schutz nehmen; beistehen" : *ğāra* I - "abweichen, abirren; bedrücken");

istadnaba X - "für schuldig erklären" (*'adnaba* IV - "eine Sünde begehen; schuldig sein" : I. Stamm nicht belegt; Nomen *danb* - "Vergehen, Missetat");

istaršada X - "nach dem rechten Weg fragen; sich leiten lassen" (*'aršada* IV - "recht leiten, führen : *rašada* I - "gut geleitet sein, den richtigen Weg verfolgen; Nomen *rušd* - "Vernunft").

Eine gewisse Kuriosität besteht darin, daß im Falle der Opposition *istaqāda* X ("Wiedervergeltung üben") - *'aqāda* IV ("Wiedervergeltung üben lassen") der IV. Stamm gegenüber dem X. eigentlich eine faktitiv-kausative Beziehung hat. Dabei handelt es sich allerdings offensichtlich um eine denominative Derivation (*qawad* - "Wiedervergeltung"), denn der Grundstamm hat eine ganz andere Bedeutung.

Ein Beispiel der Kompliziertheit der Beziehungen zwischen dem X. und IV. Stamm ist ihre Realisierung von der Wurzel *qll*. Hier tritt nämlich eine Bedeutungsanalogie in Erscheinung, eine Reflexivität, die Tendenz "zu werden" und "als etwas angesehen zu werden", eine übertragene und selbständige Bedeutung:

istaqalla X - "wenig, gering finden; verachten; sich wenig machen aus; aufheben, hochheben; tragen, befördern, transportieren; besteigen; sich erheben; selbständig, unabhängig sein; allein besitzen" (*'aqalla* IV - "weniger machen, verringern, vermindern, seltener tun; aufheben, hochheben; tragen können; tragen, transportieren, befördern" : Nomen *qalīl* - "wenig, gering").

Solche Fälle sind bei weitem nicht vereinzelt.

Aus allen verfolgten Typen gegenseitiger Relationen zwischen dem X. und IV. Stamm ergibt sich also, daß zwischen den beiden zweifellos semantische Beziehungen bestehen, sie sind jedoch erheblich unregelmäßig und locker, was auch der hohe Prozentsatz der Absenz des IV. Stammes oder seine völlige Bedeutungsunterschiedlichkeit bezeugen.

Ferner muß man die semantischen Beziehungen zwischen dem X. und I. Stamm (oder Grundstamm) beachten. Dabei kann man identische Relationen studieren wie im vorangegangenen Teil beim X. und IV. Stamm. Hier fesselt am meisten die Tatsache, daß nahezu die Hälfte der Verba des X. Stammes - 240 (49,38%) - gegenüber dem Grundstamm eine Bedeutungsverlagerung oder Veränderung im Sinne der 4 semantischen Haupttendenzen geltend macht. Der Anschaulichkeit halber wiederum einige Beispiele:

istaktama X - "bitten zu bewahren; anvertrauen" (*katama* I - verbergen, geheim halten"; der IV. Stamm ist nicht belegt);

istafazza X - "erregen, aufhetzen, provozieren" (*fazza* I - "erschreckt sein oder werden; erschrecken, verscheuchen"; auch der IV. Stamm *'afazza* - "erschrecken"; es ist kein Nomen analoger Bedeutung belegt);

ista'nada X - "hartnäckig festhalten" (*'anada* od. *'anuda* I - "hartnäckig sein; abbiegen, abweichen"; hier handelt es sich jedoch um eine denominative Derivation: *'anīd* - "hartnäckig, eigensinnig");

istahğana X - "für schlecht halten; mißbilligen, verwerfen" usw. (*hağuna* I - "unrichtig sein"; Nomen *hağīn* - "niedrig, unedel, gemein").

Es ist evident, daß die meisten Verba des X. Stammes dieser Kategorie von Adjektiven oder Substantiven abgeleitet sind.

Wir haben auch 90 Verba des X. Stammes registriert, deren Bedeutung wenigstens teilweise mit dem Grundstamm derselben Wurzel identisch ist (18,52%), z.B.:

istaḥsala X - "sich verschaffen, erlangen, erwerben" (*ḥasala* I (*'alā*) - "erreichen, erwerben, erlangen");

istahatta X - "drängen, antreiben" (*hatta* I - "drängen, antreiben");

istakāna X - "sich demütigen, sich unterwerfen" (*kāna* I /Wurzel *kyn*/ - "sich demütigen, sich unterwerfen").

Aufgrund der Beziehungstypen folgen dann die Verba des X. Stammes, die prinzipiell der Bedeutung nach unterschiedlich vom zugehörigen Grundstamm sind (67, d.h. 13,78%), danach die Verba mit allgemeinem Bedeutungszusammenhang (52, d.h. 10,70%), in 20 Fällen wurde die Absenz des Grundstammes registriert (4,12%) und schließlich fanden wir nur 17 Verba, die in der Beziehung zum Grundstamm reflexiv-passiv sind (3,5%). Wiederum sind im Rahmen einer Wurzel Kombinationen dieser Phänomene möglich, sodaß oft eine Polysemie auftritt.

Wenn wir nun die Relationen des X. Stammes im Hinblick zum IV., resp. I. vergleichen, dann sehen wir, daß ausgeprägte Unterschiede insbesondere im Maß der Absenz der beiden primären Stämme auftreten (des IV. und I.), ferner in

der Anwendung kenngezeichnender semantischer Tendenzen ihnen gegenüber und schließlich in den reflexiv-passiven Beziehungen.

In Kürze muß man auch zwei typische Beziehungen des X. Stammes gegenüber den übrigen behandeln, obwohl diese Relationen aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach eher sekundär entstanden sind. In dieser Hinsicht interessiert uns vor allem der häufige Bedeutungseinklang, vollkommen oder teilweise, zwischen den Verba des X. Stammes und weiteren Stämmen derselben Wurzel. Diesen Einklang beobachteten wir laufend mit den Verba des V. Stammes (88 Fälle), des VIII. (50x) und des II. (46x). Demgegenüber bildet die semantische Analogie mit dem VI. (12x), dem III. (10x) und dem VII. Stamm (5x) im ganzen eine Ausnahme. Die angeführten Übereinstimmungen kann man zum Teil mit identischen Bedeutungstendenzen in diesen Stämmen erklären (z.B. die Bedeutung "irgendwie zu werden" ist auch im V. und VIII. Stamm recht üblich, konative Tendenzen zeigen sich auch im III. usw.). Mitunter verschmelzen auch bestimmte Tendenzen allmählich, bis ihre Unterscheidung semantisch irrelevant wird. Hier denken wir insbesondere an die deklarativen Bedeutungen des II. Stammes und die estimativen des X. (siehe z.B. *istaḥmaqa* X und *ḥammaqa* II - "für dumm, blöd halten"), vor allem im Falle der Derivation beider Stämme von Adjektiven. Eine ähnliche Verwischung der Bedeutungsunterschiede kann man auch bei der faktitiv-kausativen Tendenz des II. Stammes in der Beziehung zu den konativen Verba des X. Stammes beobachten. Semantisch irrelevant wird oft auch die dative Reflexivität des VIII. Stammes usw. Diese Feststellungen der semantischen Verschmelzung gelten selbstverständlich nicht allgemein und man kann sie nur dort registrieren, wo es die konkrete Bedeutung des gegebenen Verbums zuläßt.

Neben der gegenseitigen Bedeutungsanalogie des X. Stammes mit den übrigen ist auch die reflexiv-passive Beziehung dieses Stammes zum II. (46x) ein relativ häufiges Phänomen; sie tritt in den Fällen auf, wenn der II. Stamm ebenso wie der IV. eine faktitiv-kausative Funktion hat (z.B. *istaqwā* X "sich verstärken" : *qawwā* II - "verstärken"). Nur zufällig zeigt sich eine solche Beziehung zwischen dem X. und III. Stamm (*istaʿāda* X - "Ersatz erhalten, entschädigt werden" : *ʿāwaḍa* III - "ersetzen").

Ungefähr bei einem Drittel der Verba des X. Stammes (166 Fälle, d.h. 34,16%) haben wir es mit übertragenen Bedeutungen außerhalb der 4 erwähnten wichtigsten semantischen Tendenzen zu tun. Hier zeigt sich in voller Breite die Dynamik der Veränderungen, die die ursprüngliche Bedeutung in verschiedener Richtung entfalten, sei es als Spezifikation oder Generalisation. Oft wird auf diese Weise eine lange Skala gegenseitig zusammenhängender Bedeutungen geschaffen, wie z.B. bei den Verba *istaḥaqqa, istaʿrada, istaḥraǧa, istarsala, istadalla* usw., die mit Bedeutungen kombiniert sind, deren Ursprung offensichtlicher ist.

Bei einer kleineren Gruppe von Verba des X. Stammes (38, d.h. 7,82%) stellen wir Bedeutungen fest, die man als selbständig und unabhängig qualifizieren kann, denn ihr Ursprung und ihre Derivation sind vom Gesichtspunkt des aktuell verwendeten Wortschatzes unklar. Diese Bedeutungen treten entweder isoliert auf (z.B. *istahtara* X - "sich vergrößern", *istantara* X - "sich die Nase ausspülen"), oder wiederum in verschiedenen Kombinationen zusammen mit Bedeutungen, die abgeleitet werden können (z.B. *istakaffa* X - "die Hand bittend ausstrecken, betteln; die Augen mit der Hand beschatten, sich zusammenrollen /Schlange/; umgeben, umringen, sich gruppieren"). Völlig losgerissen von der ursprünglichen Quelle und ohne jeden Zusammenhang sind die Bedeutungen von Verba wie z.B. *istakrada* X - "ausbeuten; betrügen, täuschen"; *istawfaza* X - "auf der Lauer liegen; in Spannung sein; in Bereitschaft sein"; *istahda'a* X - "sich unterwerfen".

Zum Schluß wollen wir noch einige Kuriositäten formaler Art betrachten. Es ist uns gelungen insgesamt 7 Paare von Verba des X. Stammes derselben Wurzel zu sammeln (Typ *mediae w et y*), die in unterschiedlicher Form und in der Regel auch mit anderer Bedeutung in Erscheinung treten:

istaǧāba X - "erhören (Gebet), gewähren (Bitte)" : *istaǧwaba* X - "ausfragen";

istahyā (y) X - "sich schämen" : *istahyā ('alif)* X - "am Leben lassen";

istarwaha X - "atmen, riechen" :*istarāha* X - "sich ausruhen";

istatyaba X und *istatāba* X - "gut, angenehm finden; gern haben, mögen";

istahwana X und *istahāna* X - "gering schätzen, verachten";

istanwama X - "Pollutionen bei Nacht haben" : *istanāma* X "sich einschläfern lassen" usw.

Daneben tritt bei weiteren 4 Verba *w* als starker Konsonant auf: *istahwada, istahwaza, istahwana, istaswaba*.

Eine ganz vereinzelte Derivation weisen die Verba *istaqrata* X - "Aristokrat sein oder werden" (vom Nomen *'arīstuqrātī* - "Aristokrat"), *istantā* X - "aussprechen -*nt*- anstatt -*t*-" und *istan^caǧa* X - "Schaf sein oder werden, zurückschrecken, kapitulieren" (vom Nomen *na^cǧatun* - "weibliches Schaf") -von dieser letzten Wurzel wird ansonsten überhaupt nichts realisiert! Eine Besonderheit ist auch das nur passive Auftreten des Verbums *ustuhyima* X ("betört, bezaubert werden; leidenschaftlich verliebt sein"), wiewohl seine Ethymologie recht klar ist.

Bei 6 Paaren von Verba des X. Stammes haben wir eine Instabilität des letzten Konsonanten festgestellt, sodaß sie sich mit ihrer Wurzel bei Beibehaltung der ursprünglichen Bedeutung unterscheiden:

istahwada X und *istahwaza* X - "sich bemächtigen, Besitz ergreifen";

istahda'a X und *istahdā* X - "sich unterwerfen";

istadfa'a X und *istadfā* X - "sich wärmen";

istaqra'a X und *istaqrā* X - "untersuchen, erforschen; verfolgen";

istanšaqa X und *istanša'a* X - "forschen, fragen, suchen";

istanšaqa X und *istanšā* X - "riechen, einatmen".

Zum Schluß möchten wir gern die wichtigsten Erkentnisse zusammen-fassen, die sich aus der durchgeführten semantischen, grammatischen und for-malen Analyse des X. Verbalstammes ergeben, wie sie in der modernen arabi-schen Schriftsprache in Erscheinung treten:

1) Etwa 60% der Verba des X. Stammes kann man als Denominativa auffassen.

2) Mehr als die Hälfte dieser Verba sind transitiv, keine ganzen 30% intransitiv, der Rest hat Bedeutungen beiderlei Typs.

3) Höchstens ein Fünftel der Verba des X. Stammes ist reflexiv-passiv gegenüber dem IV. Stamm. Die Beziehung zu diesem Stamm ist gegenwärtig sehr verschie-denartig und in nahezu einem Drittel wird der IV. Stamm nicht realisiert.

4) Die semantischen Haupttendenzen des X. Stammes treten in dieser Reihenfolge auf: konativ, estimativ, existentiell und desiderativ. Oft kommt es zu ihrer Kombi-nation bei ein und demselben Verbum.

5) In vielen Fällen sind manche Bedeutungen der Verba des X. Stammes gleich mit solchen insbesondere des I., V., IV., VIII. und II. Stammes, wobei die ur-sprünglichen Bedeutungsschattierungen zum Teil verwischt werden.

6) Trotz ausgeprägter semantischer Tendenzen sind die Verba des X. Stammes selbständige lexikale Einheiten mit einer Menge verschiedener übertragener und unabhängiger Bedeutungen. Im X. Stamm tritt zahlreich Polysemie auf.

7) Der X. Stamm realisiert sich durchschnittlich mit etwa 4 weiteren Verbalstäm-men, oft ist diese Anzahl jedoch geringer. Die semantische und Derivationsabhän-gigkeit vom Grundstamm ist nicht besonders ausgeprägt, ähnlich wie das auch beim IV. Stamm der Fall ist.

Die Ergebnisse aller Teilanalysen des X. Stammes weisen in sehr über-zeugender Weise darauf hin, daß auch Studien anderer erweiterter Stämme fortge-setzt werden müssen, um manche bisher eingelebten Vorstellungen vom arabi-schen Verbalsystem korrigieren oder wenigstens präzisieren zu können. Trotz eventueller teilweiser Irrtümer, die mit der relativen Unvollkommenheit jedes Wörterbuches und der persönlichen Erfahrung eines jeden Forschers zusammen-hängen, sowie mit der nicht vollauf erfaßbaren Dynamik einer lebendigen Spra-che, scheinen in ähnlicher Weise ausgerichtete Studien für eine tiefere Erkenntnis der modernen arabischen Schriftsprache nicht nur in theoretischer Hinsicht von Vorteil zu sein, sondern auch für die praktische Ausnützung der neuen Erkennt-nisse in der pädagogischen Praxis.

Islam of Nāṣir's Era

Luboš KROPÁČEK

In the well known passage of his Philosophy of Revolution Gamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir reflects on the positive role assigned to his Egyptian homeland within the three larger circles to which it belongs and where it should endeavour to turn, move and act with all its force.[1] If we tried nowadays, over twenty years since the departure of the great *raʾīs*, to assess the degree of fulfilment of the expected vocation, what cannot pass unremarked is an obvious lack of relative balance, which, measured by further developments, may appear even paradoxical. In the first and second circles Nāṣir's Egypt stood up at the head of a strong historic movement of national liberation, restoration of political and cultural identity and pride, an overall advancement and a Pan-Arab and African continental unity. Moreover, it took up as well a prominent position in another, earlier unforeseen community of non-aligned nations. In a strange contrast, the level of achievement in the Islamic circle, in spite of undeniable efforts, which will be here an object of discussion, seems to lag behind. In truth, the onslaught of Islam as ideology and a mighty social and political force in the international arena dates back mainly to the seventies, that means to a period after Nāṣir's death.

Can the explanation be that Islam put on weight only as an alternative option after the luring nationalist and social projects had obviously failed to meet a part of expectations? Did Nāṣir himself hold back the ambitions of the political Islam of the fundamentalists, as his harsh clashes with the Muslim Brothers and his opposition to the Islamic Pact seem to suggest? Or did he fail to appreciate Islam at its real value? Would it be proper to say that he sought secularization of the society?

There is no doubt that his efforts were directed first of all towards a full national political and economic emancipation, to a higher level of social justice, as he understood it, and to a unity of the Arab *ʾumma*. These facts occasionally give voice to the opinion that he did not attach great importance to Islam within the process of the building up of the Arab Nation.[2] In a part of Marxist publications produced in the former Soviet bloc Nāṣir's Islam was understood as a marginal issue, a sort of toll paid to flatter and calm down feelings of the backward

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[1] GAMAL ABDEL-NASSER: The Philosophy of the Revolution, Cairo 1958, p. 67-70.

[2] e.g. Mārlīn NAṢR: *Al-īdiyūlūjīya al-qawmīya al-ʿarabīya fi-l-khiṭāb an-nāṣirī*. Beirut, Markaz dirāsāt al-waḥda al-ʿarabīya, 1981, p. 95.

social milieu. Another kind of evidence of how much the scholarly interest in *Islamica* of Nāṣir's Egypt was overshadowed by that in purely secular economic, military, political, sociological and ideological questions can be derived from the scanty representation of Islamic topics in the nearly complete bibliographical survey of "books on Nasser's Egypt" published by the Shiloah Center in Tel Aviv in 1972.[3] Needless to say, since the late seventies, at a time of a breath-taking upsurge of Islam as a political factor, the interest in this as yet marginalized topic has recorded a spectacular growth.[4]

Nāṣir many times took the initiative to wage oratorical counter-attacks on those who criticized his policy, in particular the socialist measures, from the Islamic standpoints. In doing so, he attached a label of "reactionaries" on his adversaries - Muslim Brothers at home, Saudi Arabia and sometimes Jordan abroad - and opposed their challenge with a strong emphasis on his own ideal of Islam as a religion of progress and freedom. After the disintegration of the union with Syria he felt compelled to defend the religion from the same angle, but in a different direction, against the Syrian Baasists who censured him for incorporating it at all into his revolutionary concepts.[5] When after Sadat's reforms a flood-gate was lifted in Egypt to all kinds of overwhelming criticism of the former leader, Islam-oriented voices were not missing. In the deluge Nāṣir was blamed as a dissenter (*mufsid*) and Nāṣirism called a political paganism (*wathanīya siyāsīya*)[6] or a modern pharaonism. His responsibility for the execution of leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood and in particular of Sayyid Quṭb was considered by numerous critics more sinful and despicable than the defeat in June '67 war. The prevailing tendency in expressions of blame has not been, however, genuinely religious but rather a moral condemnation of his alleged or real shameful behaviour

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[3] *Bibliografia ʿal Mitsrayim han-natsrit* (A Bibliography of Books on Nasser's Egypt 1952-1970). The Shiloah Center, Tel Aviv University, 1972.

[4]Some of the important studies in this respect: D. CRECELIUS: The Course of Secularization in Modern Egypt. In: JOHN ESPOSITO (ed.): Islam and Development. Syracuse University Press 1980; ḤASAN ḤANAFĪ: *Al-dīn wa-l-tanmiya fī Miṣr*. In: SAʿD AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM (ed.): Miṣr fī rubʿ qarn. Beirut, Maʿhad al-inmā' al-ʿarabī, 1981.

[5]A symptomatic example is Nāṣir's speech delivered at the University of Alexandria on 28.7.1963. Nāṣir's speeches have been collected and published in 7 volumes: *Khuṭab wa aḥādīth al-ra'īs Gamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir*, vol. 1-5, Cairo, Wizārat al-irshād al-qawmī, Maṣlahat al-istiʿlāmāt, undated, and vol. 6-7, Cairo, Markaz al-dirāsāt al-siyāsīya wa-l-istrātījīya bi-l-Ahrām, 1973.

[6]The term has been used as a title of book by DR. FAHMĪ AL-SHINNĀWĪ: *Al-nāṣirīya wathanīya siyāsīya*.

against some political opponents. Ethical reproof of this kind is of frequent occurence, a recent example can be found in Yūsuf al-Gharyānī's book of Nāsirian "pros and cons", which appeared at the Egyptian book market at the beginning of the commemorative year of two decades since Nāṣir's death.[7] The long list of Nāṣir's errors does not include sins or encroachments on Islam.

Nāṣir's Islam is clearly distinct from Atatürk's laicism, Khomeini's theocratical *velāyat-e faqīh* or any brand of contemporary fundamentalism. It constitutes a type of its own, although it has not yet become customary to classify it under its proper heading. It has its important organic place within the broad current of the modern history of Egypt and along with other elements of Nāṣirism it remains alive in the Nile valley as well as elsewhere in Arab and Muslim world. Nāṣirism, sometimes called different names, continues to be one of the most active alternatives and sometimes antitheses to the militant Islamic fundamentalism.

A most adequate and lucid picture of Nāṣir's Islam has been recently given in Rafʿat Sayyid Aḥmad's *Religion, State and Revolution*.[8] This monograph traces the evolution of the lasting tension between State and religion, between attempts at secularization and Islamic conservatism, throughout the last two centuries of the Egyptian history from Muḥammad ʿAlī downward. It deals with controversial discussions under the British occupation, in the era of the upward swing of the periodical press and the *salafīya* movement and later on in that of great hopes and animated debates between the two revolutions 1919 and 1952 when the ideas were merging in practical politics. It was a period of discussions about the Constitution, of a hesitant Congress on the caliphate and also of ʿAbd al-Rāziq's determined appeal for depoliticization of Islam.[9] The mental environment of that era was characterized both by the expansion of the secular rationalism, represented by a growing community of forward-looking intellectuals, and the rise of the Muslim Brothers and their categorical call for the establishment of an Islamic totalitarian theo- or nomocracy. Secularist trends were displayed either directly or indirectly as a part of such political aims and values as democracy, independence, socialism, Egyptian patriotism or Arabism. The efforts of Muhammad ʿAbduh and his school to reconciliate heterogeneous currents produced a strange result: revivalist

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[7]YŪSUF AL-GHARYĀNĪ: *ʿAbd al-Nāṣir fī-l-mīzān, ḥasanātuhu wa akhṭā'uhu wa ayyuhumā arjaḥ.* Alexandria, Wikālat Miṣr li-l-ṣaḥāfa wa-l-iʿlān, 1990.

[8]DR. RAFʿAT SAYYID AḤMAD: *Al-dīn wa-l-dawla wa-l-thawra.* Cairo, Al-dār al-sharqīya, 1989.

[9] ʿALĪ ʿABD AL-RĀZIQ: *Al-islām wa uṣūl al-ḥukm;* new edition in Al-Mu'assasa al-ʿarabīya li-l-dirāsāt wa-l-nashr, Beirut, 1972.

thoughts of the *salafīya* were adopted and reworked from their respective angles by liberals as well as fundamentalists and followers of various opinions oscillating in conciliatory positions somewhere in the middle between the two clear-cut poles.

Nāsir's approach pushes the outcome of the previous development to a new synthesis. In his concept the strong, autoritative State, whose centralism is fully in concert with the historical traditions of the Nile valley,[10] assumes the responsibility for the fulfilment of secular goals, such as the Arab unity and socialism, on the understanding that the efforts made in this direction should contain and combine national, social and religiouis dimensions. This does not mean at all a separation of religion from the State, because the religion, understood as a positive cultural and moral legacy, is assigned a task to mobilize for the set targets and support them with convincive and emotionally efficient arguments. The religious belief gets an allotted place within the all-round process of development and change of the society. Nāsir anchored his political and moral credo in this respect in his conviction, expressed in his speech in 1961, that "Islam in its early stage had been the first religion of socialism and the State, established by Islam and Muhammad, had been the first socialist State".[11] This idea was further elaborated in the National Charter: "All revealed messages were in their intrinsic nature human revolutions bound to assure honour and happiness for man".[12] In 1966 Nāsir defended his belief against conservative interpretations: "The *sharīʿa* of God is one of justice and equality, whereas the *sharīʿa* of reaction stands against Islam and against religion, however they may try as they will to display it to their advantage..."[13]

RAFʿAT has undertaken a careful analysis of Nāsir's speeches and main ideological documents of his era (Philosophy of Revolution, National Charter, Declaration of March 30, 1968). It appears that Nāsir's approach to Islam remained in its basic features identical throughout the fifties and sixties. What, however, was changing according to the needs of either internal or foreign policy was the intensity of the utilization of the religious factor and the distribution of emphasis. On the whole, the available evidence shows that Nāsir resorted to rhetorical references

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[10]Centralism as a constant feature in the Egyptian history has been recently studied in detail by DR. NAZĪH NAṢĪF AL-AYYŪBĪ: *Al-dawla al-markazīya fī Miṣr.* Beirut, Markaz dirāsāt al-wahda al-ʿarabīya, 1989.

[11]Nāsir's speech from July 22, 1961.

[12]*Al-Mīthāq al-watanī,* Cairo, Wizārat al-irshād al-qawmī, 1962, p. 105.

[13]Nāsir's speech from May 1, 1966.

to religious values rather rarely: in altogether 834 speeches he delivered in 1952-1970 they occur only in 55 instances.[14]

A strong religious tinge is most suspicious in the verbal style of speeches from the period after the defeat in June 1967, when Egypt sought and established political rapprochement with Arab conservative monarchies. At that time Nāṣir's speeches, in particular addresses to the soldiers, virtually abound in terms drawn from the spiritual vocabulary: *qadar, īmān, qiyam rūḥīya, irādat Allāh, al-jihād al-akbar, al-ṣabr wa-l-thiqa fī naṣr Allāh* etc. The religious diction rose to importance also in the first years of the revolution, including the first clash with the Muslim Brothers and the Suez war, as well as in the mid-sixties, when the second conflict with the Muslim Brothers and polemics with the Islamic Pact took place. The frequency of the religious references records its lowest tide in 1958-62, in the period of the unification with Syria and of its aftermath. It is worthy of note that Nāṣir preferred using the word religion, *dīn* (global occurence 192), to the more specific *Islam* (115). By the way, the same tendency can be discerned also in Qadhdhāfī's *Green book* and other writings.

RAFᶜAT has produced a detailed analysis of Nāṣir's speeches also from the point of view of the time-bound variability of the intensity and the general function of the religious diction:

- Religion as a factor of political mobilization (this type of utilization is the most frequent, occurs mainly in the first years of revolution).

- Religion as a factor in the process of social transformations (this type classes second from the viewpoint of frequency of utilization; the climax is reached in mid-sixties).

- Religion as a factor of confrontation in foreign policy (the climax is reached in 1964-66 during the campaign against Muslim Brothers and the Islamic Pact, in the course of the war in Yemen).

- Religion as a factor in building up the Arab nationalism (climax after 1967).

Nāṣir's main efforts were always directed towards the achievment of the Arab national unity, whereas panislamic goals were liable to arouse his suspicion and mistrust. It is true that at the time of the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956 he declared *jihād* against the invaders, but out of the reach of critical moment of that kind he in principle declined the idea of a formal Islamic alliance. In an interview with American journalists in 1960 he was quoted as saying:"If an Islamic Pact, Jewish Pact, Christian Pact and Buddhist Pact are set up, what will

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[14]Rafᶜat Sayyid AḤMAD, op.cit., p.113.

the situation in the world look like... I do not think it will be a nice world."[15] A construction built purely on the Arab national foundations was, in his view, more reliable, because such an alliance could be kept immune from the Western pernicious influence, which had got some foothold in the world of Islam since Iran and Turkey had recognized Israel.[16]

In relation to the Muslim world Gamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, as a rule, was using expressions *tadāmun* and *taʿāwun*, only once he used the word *waḥda*, "unity", which he otherwise kept in reserve only for the Arab national meaning.[17] When speaking about the Arabs he used the word *'umma* in singular but in reference to the Muslim world in plural - *'umam*: "The Arab nation (*'umma*) sees no contradiction between her clearly defined Arab nationalism and her sincere, fraternal solidarity with Muslim nations (*'umam*). The Arab Nation with her progressive, revolutionary forces does not consider Islam to be an obstacle on the way of progress but, on the contrary, in both her feeling and belief considers it an impulse for development".[18]

Nāṣir's opposition to the idea of setting up an institutional framework for the Islamic solidarity and cooperation stemmed from both internal and external political reasons. In the mid-sixties when King Faisal took the initiative to invite Muslim nations to some form of integration, Egypt was experiencing the second round of a violent conflict between the régime and the Muslim Brothers. The most outstanding thinker of the Brotherhood smashed by this wave of reprisals Sayyid Quṭb openly disagreed with the goals of the Arab nationalism and with socialist efforts and opposed them with ideas of a different soci-political system based exclusively on the Koran.[19] In a critical memorandum worked out on official commission by the chairman of Al-Azhar committee for *fatwas*, expressing like most Azhar institutions a perfect loyalty to the State, Quṭb's views were strongly condemned as instigation to revolt against the interest of the homeland. The call for God's direct rule was rebuked as a thought taken over from the *Khawārij*, who

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[15]quoted from RAFʿAT SAYYID AḤMAD, op.cit., p. 113.

[16]Nāṣir's speech from Feb. 20, 1966.

[17]in the speech from July 23, 1955.

[18]Nāṣir's speech from March 27, 1967.

[19]"The goal of Islam is not to introduce the Arab nationalism, nor the social justice, nor the rule of morals. If it were so, God Himself would have realized all this in one single moment. But the goal is to establish a society of Islam, in which the provisions of the Koran are implemented literally." - SAYYID QUṬB: *Maʿālim al-ṭarīq*, Cairo, Dār al-sharq, 1982, p. 71.

also used it in their days as a vehicle for splitting and destroying the community.[20]

In the field of the foreign policy Nāṣir's opposition to the Saudi Islamic initiative was, on the one hand, a consequence of the political and military conflict between the United Arab Republic and Saudi Arabia in Yemen and, on the other hand, of an ideological collision in which Nāṣir had to parry attacks waged on him from the position of conservative Islam because of the Marxian sources of his socialism. He kept stubbornly rejecting all accusations of this kind and advancing the argument that the substantial difference between him and communism consisted in his very belief in religion and its freedom.[21]

King Faisal, in his turn, felt compelled to defend himself from charges from the side of the Nāṣirites: "It is necessary to distinguish between what has been given a deceptive name of 'Islamic Pact' and the call we have issued for convening of an Islamic summit conference. What we wish is to promote a solidarity of 600 million Muslims, whose help and support have a precious value for our main Arab demands, especially as regards Israel... Accordingly, there is no conflict between Arabism and the Islamic solidarity. The Christians did the same at their last Council in Vatican... Why should we, Muslims, be deprived of the right to organize? The duty to serve Islam is sacred for us and nothing shall divert us from it".[22]

Later developments made King Faisal's reasoning outweigh that of his adversary. Amidst the atmosphere of bitterness and defiance after the defeat in Six Days War Nāṣir gave in to a deeper Islamic orientation.[23] got reconciled with his conservative rivals and took part in the first Islamic summit conference convened in September 1969 to voice i.a. the indignation at the fire of *al-Aqṣā* mosque in Jerusalem. Thus an international framework for the Islamic circle was established

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[20]The text of the memorandum is quoted in ʿABDALLĀH IMĀM: ʿAbd al-Nāṣir wa l-ikhwān al-muslimūn. Cairo, Dār al-mawqif al-ʿarabī, 1980, pp.118-24.

[21]cf. Nāṣir's speech from February 25, 1965.

[22]Daily *Al-Raʾy al-ʿāmm*, Kuwait, 22.2.1966 - quoted from SIMON JARGY: Islam et chrétienté, Genève, Labor et Fides, 1981, p. 160.

[23]In a very typical speech of this kind Nāṣir in the solemn address from July 23, 1967, spoke about the probation that God made the people undergo. He also referred to popular fatalistic proverb *Lā yughnī hadhar ʿan qadar*. The integral text of this speech is given in English translation in W. LAQUEUR (ed.): The Israel-Arab Reader. A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict, New York, 1969, pp. 199-203.

- Organization of Islamic Conference - in which a role of particular importance fell on Saudi Arabia.

Islam in Nāṣir's Egypt was both in contents and forms of organization put under an all-round control and pressure by the State. Due to detailed studies of M. Berger ample information is available and easily accessible on how mosques and popular religious organizations, in particular *sūfī tarīqas* and voluntary benevolent societies, lost their independence and got subordinate to the government.[24] There exists fairly abundant literature also on other fields of religious life and their reduction under the government's control.

In a brief survey the policy of the State can be summarized into four types of reformatory measures: abolition, reorganization, regulation and founding of new institutions.

Sharīʿa courts were abolished. The measure was taken by Law passed in 1955, which did not call forth any opposition from the side of Muslim officials. Muslim courts along with parallel confessional councils of the Copts were disestablished and all judicial agenda related to matters of personal statute (*al-ahwāl al-shakhsīya*) became assigned to unified judiciary of the State. Nevertheless, the sensitive field of the *al-ahwāl al-shakhsīya* was not affected by changes in legislation. What changed, however, was the situation and role of women in the society. Women acquired the right to education, the Constitution from 1956 guaranteed them the right to vote and to be elected and the general scope for active participation of women in economic and public life grew perceptibly wider. The June war 1967 brought about discontinuation of the parliamentary debate on amendment of legislation on divorce.

A large-scale reorganization touched in particular Al-Azhar, so that its millenary prestige should furthermore serve the policy and ideology of State. The respective Law was promulgated on June 22, 1961, a month before the well-known corpus of socialist legislations. At the session where the Law was passed 49% of the deputies were absent, many of them obviously wished to express in that way their disagreement.[25] Official motives given to explain the reform point out that Islam does not differentiate between religious and secular knowledge. Accordingly, the education and authority of the reformed Azhar should be henceforward kept in close touch with the present-day needs of the society. Sheikh of Al-Azhar was to be appointed by the President and made subordinate to a per-

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[24]MORROE BERGER: Islam in Egypt Today. Social and Political Aspects of Popular Religion. Cambridge university Press, 1970.

[25]RAFʿAT SAYYID AḤMAD, op.cit., p. 241.

manent supervision of the Ministry of Al-Azhar Affairs. This special Ministry was merged in Ministry of Waqfs in 1968. The whole body of reform measures changed the traditional institution into an active part and a prestigious vehicle of social transformations, as well as of their defense and propagation both in the country and abroad. It was a general belief in Egypt that Al-Azhar embodied a recognized religious authority for millions of Muslims everywhere in Africa and Asia. Therefore, the Islamic Research Council (*Majmaᶜ al-buhūth al-islāmīya*) of Al-Azhar with participation of twenty foreign nationals (out of fifty) should have become the most important centre of the Islamic internationalism and a vehicle of ideological radiation of Nāsir's brand of Islam. Starting from 1964 the Research Council held conferences on important modern topics of the doctrine, invitations being sent to the leading *ᶜulamā'* from all parts of the Muslim world. These conferences aspired at the role of the highest collective authority of Islam. The whole scheme recorded only a partial success.[26]

A number of governmental and political bodies were established in order to assume the responsibility for the regulation of religious life inside the country. Bureau of Religious Affairs set up within the structure of the Arab Socialist Union was commissioned to produce studies on the relationship between Islam and Socialism. It convened meetings of *ᶜulamā'*, where they were given briefings and instructions on the socialist ideology. One of the secretariats of the Arab Socialist Union was responsible for propaganda and ideology (*amānat al-daᶜwa wa l-fikr*). In 1967 the emphasis on revolutionary concepts started to lose ground and self-critical views of the preceding period could be heard.

Ministry of the National Guidance, in its turn, looked after the regulation of information spread by the mass media, while Ministry of Waqfs in the same style supervised the spiritual work of imāms of mosques and contents of Friday *khutbas*. Quite often it proceeded to direct distribution of model drafts of *khutbas* on both traditional and modern topics to those concerned.

Activities of *sūfī* orders, whose number in Egypt in the period under review went beyond sixty, were also regimented with a relative success. Numerical importance of their membership is estimated in various sources to be somewhere between 3 and 6 millions. The top of their hierarchical structure was formed by Supreme Sufi Council (*al-majlis al-aᶜlā li-t-turuq as-sūfīya*) and the traditional formal head referred to as *shaikh al-mashā'ikh*. In Nāsir's period this office was held by Muhammad ᶜAlwān. In general, the orders backed up the national and

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[26]The reform and international activity of Al-Azhar is discussed in detail in L. KROPÁČEK: Al-Azhar and the Modern World, Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philologica Orientalia, 1969, pp.35-58.

socialistic policy of the government. In the mid-sixties they gave their support to the *ra'īs* in the hard clash with the Muslim Brothers as well as in the campaign against the foreign "Muslim reaction" (i.e. kings Faisal and Hussein, Shah of Iran and President Bourguiba). Articles published in the *sūfī* monthly *Majallat al-islām wa t-taṣawwuf* furthered the general notion of socialism as a genuine doctrine of believers, based on ethical values of Islam and far from being a product of atheists. In December 1967 the *ṭarīqas* organized a big manifestation march in support of Gamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. A long-standing project of adoption of new statutes for the orders was, however, allowed to materialize only in 1976, under Sādāt.

Among new Islamic institutions founded in Nāsir's Egypt the first in chronological order was the Islamic Conference (*al-muʾtamar al-islāmī*) established in 1954 as a result of Nāsir's talks with King Saʿūd on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Mecca. The Conference was set a task to work for the consolidation of Egypt's ties with other Muslim countries. Muhammad Anwar al-Sādāt was appointed its top official. The whole project, however, soon slipped from the Egyptian side to a level of political polemics with Baghdad Pact and thus the idea of Islamic conferences passed to other hands, mainly those of the Saudi monarch.

In 1960 Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (*al-majlis al-aʿlā li-l-shuʾūn al-islāmīya*) was established in Cairo. Berger by right points out that it became virtually an autonomous parallel to the Ministry of Waqfs and, in particular, of its Directorate General for the propagation of Islam (*al-idāra al-ʿāmma li-l-daʿwa al-islāmīya*).[27] Its task was to diffuse Islam and promote a revival of the Islamic cultural heritage. The Supreme Council fulfilled this mission by a large publication activity, including an encyclopaedia of fiqh (*Mawsūʿat ʿAbd al-Nāṣir li-l-fiqh al-islāmī*), series of "Islamic studies" and "Islamic books" (*dirāsāt fi-l-islām, kutub islāmīya*) and a monthly *Minbar al-islām* in Arabic, English, French and Spanish. A great number of booklets were published as well in various Asian and African languages. Moreover, the Supreme Council was sending missions abroad and establishing there Islamic centres, which i.a. provided courses in Arabic and distributed copies of the Koran and various religious books and records. Needless to say, the government was utilizing this institution, subordinate to the President's office and directed by an army officer, for the propagation of the official political views and, inside the country, as a proof of the Islamic devotion and legitimity of the régime.

Activities of other new establishments were run on similar lines. They comprised various cultural and propagation institutions, such as a broadcast station

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[27]M. BERGER, op.cit., p. 47.

specializing in Koran and Islam (in 1964-67), Islamic cultural centres *dūr al-qur'ān*, large scale editions of classical works of Islamic literature as well as of modern treatises and exposés, publishing of Islamic journals and magazines and of religious supplements to Friday issues of newspapers etc. In this connection it is fair to point out that the Islamic culural activism of all these media, as well as the regimented Muslim education provided at school[28] and in youth camps, in spite of the strong governmental control and streamlined ideological shape, has shown a great deal of positive features, especially in its emphasis on ethical and cultural values.

A question left for consideration in conclusion concerns Nāṣir's concept of secularization. BERGER has shown that the circles of the religious establishment in Egypt accepted secularism in fact if not in principle, while the State pursued a policy not of separation, i.e. of secularization, but of arrogation of religious functions and prestige for its own interests and goals of the day.[29] Rafʿat speaks of a specific variety of Nāṣirian secularism, which does not mean the separation of religion and State but rather their close cog-wheel-like connection allowing for a utilization of Islam to serve the needs of socio-economic transformations. It has been a social, not philosophical concept of secularization.[30]

While the Muslim Brothers and other fundamentalists draw their course of action from the firm basis of Islam, which they interpret and try to implement as politics, the Nāṣirism, on the contrary, starts from political principles, in which it incorporates its ideological and instrumental concepts of Islam. This approach has shown an attractive way to follow to several left-wing tendencies in the Arab and Muslim world at large. Nevertheless, in view of the specific relationship between socio-political and theological dimensions in Islam it has never been elaborated in a doctrine suggestive of a theology of liberation. As a matter of fact the term *lāhūt al-taharrur* has been as yet used in the Islamic connection as a reference to other historical tendencies.[31]

From the general viewpoint the experience of the Nāṣirian approach seems to confirm the understanding that the main obstacle in face of the efforts towards

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[28]Details on religious education in school curricula are given in RAFʿAT SAYYID AHMAD, op.cit., pp. 265-275.

[29]M. BERGER, op.cit., p. 128.

[30]RAFʿAT SAYYID AHMAD, op. cit., p. 18 and 132-3.

[31]HĀDĪ AL-ʿALAWĪ uses this term in reference to shīʿite clergy's opposition to the British or any Western influences in Iran and Iraq in the 19th and 20th century.

secularization in Islam is not theological, but sociological.[32] The social reality is liable at any time to provide a fertile soil for either amalgamation of the religious belief with and ideology or even for its absorption by a misshaping ideological drive guided by its own specific interests, closely linked with the quest of political power. These chronically appearing deformations have been opposed by currents of thought that stress the need to clearly distinguish between religious and political domains. In the history of the modern Islamic thought in Egypt they are represented by a number of outstanding thinkers from ᶜAlī ᶜAbd al-Rāziq down to the most recent elaborations of M. Saᶜīd al-ᶜAshmāwī: "God desired Islam to be a religion, but people turned it into politics".[33]

Author's note:

This paper was read in its original form at the Symposium on Gamāl ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir held by the Cabinet of Oriental Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava on Sept. 28, 1990. The present, enlarged English version is dedicated to the memory of my late teacher Professor K. Petráček. Besides his well-known merits in the fields of linguistics and literary history it is just as well to bring to remembrance his contribution to Islamic studies, less known for outward reasons. The main bulk of Petráček's writings on Islam and contemporary currents of thought in Egypt and other Arab countries has come out only in Czech, usually in limited numbers of copies. Particular attention should be given to his *Islám a obraty času* (i.e. "Islam in Changing Times"; Praha, Svoboda, 1969, only 1100 copies). The book written with a deep philosophical insight and a perfect mastery of an erudite essayistic style gives an analysis of the relationship between Islam and political and social ideologies of the Arab countries in 1960's. It has stimulated further research by a number of Petráček's students.

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[32]cf. BASSAM EL HACHEM: Introduction à l'étude de la religion et de la sécularization. Beyrouth, 1984, p.555.

[33]MUḥAMMAD SAᶜĪD AL-ᶜASHMĀWĪ: *Al-islām al-siyāsī.* Cairo, Dār Sīnā, 1987. A stimulating review and reflection on ᶜAshmāwī's ideas can be found in J. BERQUE: Qu'est-ce que l'islamisme, In: Le Monde diplomatique, 437, August 1990.

La langue des tablettes araméennes de Bruxelles

Edward LIPIŃSKI

Les Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, à Bruxelles, ont acquis en 1972 soixante-cinq tablettes en argile, portant des empreintes sigillaires et un texte en écriture cunéiforme ou araméenne. Ces documents proviennent apparemment des archives d'un site de la région de Gozan-Harran et sont datés par les noms des éponymes assyriens du VIIᵉ siècle av.n.è.[1]

Ils comprennent quarante-et-un textes assyro-babyloniens, dont trois portent des épigraphes araméennes, vingt-trois textes rédigés exclusivement en araméen et une tablette ne portant que deux empreintes d'un sceau.

Ces textes doivent paraître prochainement dans la série des *Documents du Proche Orient ancien. Épigraphie*, publiée par les Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. La présente étude, dédiée à la mémoire du prof. K. PETRÁČEK, vise à décrire la langue de ces tablettes araméennes que nous citerons d'après les numéros d'ordre de la publication, mais dont nous donnons ci-dessous les coordonnées muséographiques, utilisées dans divers articles parus depuis 1975.[2] La lettre O. y représente le sigle des collections proche-orientales des Musées:

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[1] Deux tablettes en cunéiforme, appartenant aux mêmes archives mais acquises par des personnes privées, ont été publiées, respectivement, par J.N. POSTGATE, Assyrian Texts and Fragments, dans Iraq 35 (1973), pp. 13-36 (voir pp. 34-35, nᵒ 6), et A.K. GRAYSON, dans Ladders to Heaven, Toronto 1981, pp. 126-127, puis Länder der Bibel, Mainz a/R 1981, pp. 136-139, nᵒ 84. On notera que le signe cunéiforme KAL (*tan*) se présente sur ces tablettes sous la forme du signe DIR.

[2] E. LIPIŃSKI, Les tablettes araméennes de Bruxelles, dans Actes du XXIXᵉ Congrès International des Orientalistes. Études sémitiques, Paris 1975, pp. 25-29; ID., Textes juridiques et économiques araméens de l'époque sargonide, dans J. HARMATTA (éd.), Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Alten Vorderasien, Budapest 1976 (= Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 22 [1974]), pp. 373-384; D. HOMÈS-FREDERICQ, Glyptique sur les tablettes araméennes des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Bruxelles), dans Revue d'Assyriologie 70 (1976), pp. 57-70; E. LIPIŃSKI, *Nešek* and *tarbīt* in the Light of Epigraphical Evidence, dans Orientalia Lovaniensia. Periodica 10 (1979), pp. 133-141; ID., Les temples néo-assyriens et les origines du monnayage, dans E. LIPIŃSKI (éd.), State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East II, Leuven 1979, pp. 565-588; ID., Aramaic-Akkadian Archives from the Gozan-Harran Area, dans Biblical Archaeology Today, Jerusalem 1985, pp. 340-348; P. GARELLI, Les archives inédites d'un centre provincial de l'Empire assyrien, dans K.R. VEENHOF (éd.), Cuneiform Archives and Libraries, Leiden 1986, pp. 241-246. Voir aussi ci-dessous, notes 3 et 4.

n° 42	=	0.3714		n° 54	=	0.3648
n° 43	=	0.3645		n° 55	=	0.3656
n° 44	=	0.3713		n° 56	=	0.3716
n° 45	=	0.3655		n° 57	=	0.3657
n° 46	=	0.3646		n° 58	=	0.3647
n° 47	=	0.3670		n° 59	=	0.3649
n° 48	=	0.3654		n° 60	=	0.3651
n° 49	=	0.3650		n° 61	=	0.3671
n° 50	=	0.3658		n° 62	=	0.3715
n° 51	=	0.3659		n° 63	=	0.3652
n° 52	=	0.3673		n° 64	=	0.3717
n° 53	=	0.3672				

Le vocabulaire et la syntaxe des documents en question reflètent leur genre littéraire. Ce sont des sommaires de contrats conclus entre particuliers: actes de prêt, contrats de troc ou de vente et d'achat, pièces relatives à des aliénations immobilières. On y trouve aussi le libellé d'un arbitrage, un avis d'expédition, un message. La valeur légale des documents proprement juridiques est garantie par les noms des témoins, par le sceau du débiteur ou du garant, voire par des empreintes d'ongles ou d'autres marques authentifiant l'acte. Deux tablettes ont une forme rectangulaire, tandis que les autres se présentent sous la forme de bulles triangulaires qui étaient fixées par les cordons à des rouleaux de papyrus ou de parchemin. Ces derniers contenaient le texte complet des accords et étaient scellés par les bulles, qui sont les seuls vestiges des documents originaux.

L'intérêt linguistique de cette documentation réside d'abord dans sa rareté même, puisqu'à peine une vingtaine de pièces semblables ont été publiées à ce jour. Elles proviennent du site de Kouyoundjik, à Ninive, d'Assur, de Tell Halaf, l'antique Gozan, et de sites indéterminés. Nous avons étudié plusieurs de ces textes dans les *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics* I[3] et F.M. FALES les a réédités avec les épigraphes araméennes des contrats akkadiens,[4] dont ceux

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[3] E. LIPIŃSKI, Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics I (Orientalia Lovaniensia. Analecta 1), Leuven 1975, pp. 83-142.

[4] F.M. FALES, Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Assyrian Period (Studi semitici,n.s. 2), Roma 1986. Cet ouvrage sera cité plus loin au moyen du sigle AE.

de Ninive sont désormais accessibles dans la nouvelle édition de Th. KWASMAN[5] et, partiellement, dans la série *State Archives of Assyria*.

Le site de Kouyoundjik a livré six textes comparables, dont deux bilingues. Quatre de ces documents ont trait a des prêts d'orge, mais ne mentionnent pas des témoins.[6] Un de ces documents est daté de 682 av.n.è. et un autre de 674 av.n.è. Le cinquième texte est très mutilé, mais comprenait une liste de témoins.[7] Le sixième acte, conclu en présence de témoins, se rapporte à une hypothèque.[8]

Les fouilles d'Assur ont livré huit tablettes araméennes de ce type. Six d'entre elles ont été éditées en 1921 par M. LIDZBARSKI,[9] la septième a été publiée en 1975 par H. FREYDANK,[10] tandis que la huitième est encore inédite. Trois tablettes d'Assur appartenaient aux archives privées d'Aššur-šallim-aḫḫē et se rapportent à des prêts d'orge. C'est également le cas d'une quatrième tablette, datée de 659 av.n.è. Deux documents ont trait à des prêts d'argent, tandis que le septième est une sorte de liste récapitulative de débiteurs.

Les fouilles de Tell Halaf ont livré, pour leur part, cinq tablettes araméennes des archives privées d'El-manāni. Elles ont été éditées par J. FRIEDRICH en 1940[11] et portent sur des prêts d'orge. Ces cinq tablettes ont été trouvées dans un vase contenant des tablettes inscrites en cunéiforme et datées, à l'exception d'une, de l'année éponyme de Nabû-mār-šarri-uṣur qui correspond à l'année 614 av.n.è. ou, plus probablement, à l'une des années de règne d'Aššuruballiṭ II à

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[5] Th. KWASMAN, Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum (Studia Pohl : Series Maior 14), Roma 1988, n°s 2 (= AE 20), 5 (= AE 10), 23a(= AE 21), 81a (= AE 28), 93 (= AE 1), 122 (= AE 33), 124 (AE 30), 125 (= AE 31), 128 (= AE 32), 136 (= AE 27), 146 (AE 17), 165 (= AE 23), 171 (= AE 2), 194 (= AE 14), 198 (= AE 15), 208 (= AE 19), 215 (= AE 24), 222 (= AE 25), 274+175+ 276 (= AE 16), 302 (= AE 5), 321 (= AE 22), 383 (= AE 3), 384 (= AE 6), 408 (= AE 34).   Les lectures de Kwasman sont parfois différentes de celles de Fales, ainsi: ⌈⌉ rqᵓzbn ṭṭ[ ] (n° 5, 19'), *dyn krb* ⌈⌉ *[l]* (n° 93, 24), *'št. 'bdnbw* (n° 124, 32'), *dnt [']šdrqʾl* (n° 125, 37), [']hzt [ ]mt 'hz xxx (n ° 146, 37), [ ]n 'mnk// [ ]⌈x⌉ t (n° 222, 31'-32'), [ ]x *wh[q]ly. hwpnd zy* (n° 274+275+276, 62'), *dnt. hwš* ⌈wʾ⌉ (n° 302, 22), *šʿrn. znh. zy* (n° 383, 10), *5b. 7* ⌈zyʾ⌉ (n° 383, 13).

[6] AE 3 (= KWASMAN, n° 383), AE 6 (= KWASMAN, n° 384), AE 7, AE 9.

[7] AE 11.

[8] AE 13.

[9] M. LIDZBARSKI, Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur (WVDOG 38), Leipzig 1921, pp. 15-20, n°s 1-6 = AE 46-51.

[10] H. FREYDANK, Eine aramäische Urkunde aus Assur, dans Altorientalische Forschungen 2 (1975), pp. 133-135 = AE 52.

[11] J. FRIEDRICH, dans Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf (AfO, Beih. 6), Berlin 1940, pp. 70-78 et pl. 30-32, n°s 1-5 = AE 53-57.

Harran, de 612 à 610/609 av.n.è. On situera donc ces cinq textes araméens entre 614 et 610/609.

Une tablette de provenance inconnue, acquise par le Musée du Louvre (AO 25 341), a été éditée en 1973 par P. BORDREUIL.[12] C'est le protocole du règlement d'un litige en l'an 635 av.n.è. J. STARCKY a publié en 1960 un acte de prêt d'argent, daté de la 34e année de Nabuchodonosor II, c'est-à-dire de l'an 571/570 av.n. è.[13] Enfin, les fouilles de Dūr-Katlimmu ont livré dix-sept tablettes araméennes, encore inédites. Par ailleurs, quelques tablettes ont été découvertes lors des feuilles récentes de Tell Aḥmar et de Tell Sioukh Faouqâni, deux tablettes ont été retrouvées dans les collections du Musée de Baghdad et seront publiées dans la revue *Sumer*, tandis que quelques autres pièces, peu nombreuses, sont apparues sur le marché des Antiquités et certaines d'entre elles ont été acquises par des Musées.

Vu le nombre extrêmement réduit des documents araméens relevant du domaine du droit privé au VIIe siècle av.n.è, les tablettes des Musées de Bruxelles constituent un lot relativement important. Non seulement elles dépassent en nombre tous les autres textes similaires publiés à ce jour, mais leur diversité est plus grande et les formulaires employés sont parfois plus développés. La plupart de ces textes sont datés ou peuvent être datés indirectement.

Leur apport linguistique à la connaissance de l'histoire de l'araméen est aussi précieux que leurs nouveautés de lexique. Ils sont rédigés en araméen ancien, utilisé effectivement par les populations résidant en Syrie septentrionale, et cela jusqu'à la fin du VIIe siècle av. J.-C. Cet araméen, qui ne se distingue point de celui des inscriptions du VIIIe siècle - mis à part les textes rédigés dans le dialecte de Sam'al - était mal documenté au VIIe siècle av. n.è.

Nous examinerons cette documentation nouvelle du point de vue de l'orthographe et de la morphosyntaxe.

1. Orthographe

A. Caractères polyvalents

L'évolution de l'orthographe araméenne et les transcriptions cunéiformes des mots et noms propres araméens permettent de constater que l'araméen du VIIe siècle possédait encore la plupart des phonèmes considérés généralement comme proto-sémitiques. L'écriture empruntée au phénicien ne constituait cependant pas

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[12] P. BORDREUIL, Une tablette araméenne inédite de 635 av. J.- C., dans Semitica 23 (1973), pp. 95-102 et pl. I-V = AE 58.

[13] J. STARCKY, Une tablette araméenne de l'an 34 de Nabuchodonosor (AO, 21.063), dans Syria 37 (1960), pp. 99-115.

un instrument adéquat qui aurait permis de marquer tous les phonèmes d'une manière claire et distincte. Certains graphèmes sont dès lors utilisés d'une manière polyvalente, mais la pratique scribale révèle en l'occurrence une régularité remarquable qui doit se prévaloir d'une tradition solidement établie.

Les phonèmes consonantiques qui ne possèdent pas de graphème propre sont les interdentales $\underline{d}$, $\underline{t}$ et $\underline{t}$ (z),[14] les fricatives latérales $ś$ et $ṣ́$ $(ḍ)$. [15] Ils sont représentés par les graphèmes suivants:

Araméen ancien		Araméen postérieur	Cunéiforme
ḏ	z	d	d, z
ṯ	š (s à Tell Fekherye)	t	s, š
ṱ	ṣ	ṭ	ṭ
ś	š	s	s, š, ṭ[16]
ṣ́ (ḍ)	q	c	ḫ, q
ġ	c	c	ḫ
ḥ	h	ḥ	ḫ

Les scribes des tablettes de Bruxelles suivent, à une exception près, l'orthographe de l'araméen ancien:

$\underline{d}$ = z: ʾdmᶜzy (n° 49, 3), zk (n° 42, 3), zy (nᵒˢ 45, 8; 48, 1; 49, 1.2; 50, 2; 52, 1; 56, 2 ; 59, 1; 61, 2 ; 62, 2; 54, 3.4; 0. 3693), ᶜzrdd (n° 64, 6) ᶜzrn (n° 55, 13), ᶜmḥzy (n° 43, 3);

$\underline{t}$ = š: hḏᵓš (n° 46, 6), šᵓh (n° 59, 3) šlš(h) (n ᵒˢ 51, 3; 64, 2.4), šql(n) (nᵒˢ 43, 2; 44, 1; 45, 8; 49, 4; 56, 6; 58, 1; 64, 5);

$\underline{t}(z)$ = ṭ: aucune attestation;

ś = š: bršmš (n° 50, 4) šhd(n) (n ᵒˢ 42, 5; 43, 2; 44, 5.[6].[7]; 45, 9; 46, 5; 47, 5; 48, 5.7.8; 49, 7.8; 50, [6-9]; 51, 4; 52, [3].4; 53, 5; 55, 10; 56, [10]; 57, 7;

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[14] Malgrè l'opinion de C. ZACCAGNINI, Il fonema z in arabo classico, dans Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli 33 (1973), pp. 531-549, il faut maintenir la distinction primitive des phonèmes z < ṯ et d < ṣ́, qui est confirmée indirectement par l'étude paléographique de D. FREILICH et D. PARDEE, {z} and {ṭ} in Ugaritic: A Reexamination of the Sign-Forms, dans Syria 61 (1984), pp. 25-36.

[15] Nous adoptons le symbole ś à la suite de J. KURYŁOWICZ, Studies in Semitic Grammar and Metrics, Kraków 1973, pp. 27-29. See also R.C. STEINER, The Case for Fricative-Laterals in Proto-Semitic (AOS 59), New Haven 1977.

[16] Cette diversité de transcriptions apparaît dans les noms propres: E. LIPIŃSKI, op.cit. (note 3), pp. 106-108; R. ZADOK: On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods. Onomastic Study, 2ᵉ éd., Jerusalem 1978, p. 245.

58, 7 ; 59, 14.16; 60, 6; 62, 5; 63, 7; 64, 8), *šh[r-]* (n° 44, 5), *šhrnwry* (n°s 55, 2; 56, 2; 56, 2; 57, 2; 58, 3; 59, 2; 60, 3; 61, 3-4), *štmwh* (n° 42, 1), *šmšly* (n° 51, 2), *ṣᶜrn/šᶜry³* (n ^{os} 45, 1; 47, 1.4; 50, 1; 51, 1; 52, 1; 57, 1);

ṣ(d) = q: *qn* (n°s 55, 1.4; 59, 1), *qpn* (?) (n° 54, 3), mais ṣ(d) = ᶜ dans *³rᶜ* (n° 64, 2);

ġ = ᶜ: *bᶜy* (n° 43, 1), *hdᶜr* (n° 48, 6), *hdᶜš* (n° 46, 6), *ᶜyr* (n ^{os} 44, 2; 45, 2; 54, 5);

ḥ = h: *³hbw* (n° 51, 6), *³hwn* (n° 61, 4),*(³)hlrm* (n ^{os} 47, 5; 48, 7; 59, 5), *blhdn* (n° 42, 8), *hdy* (n°s 42, 2; 44, 2; 45, 3; 46, 1; 47, 3; 49, 8[?]; sceau de 0.3686), *hsṭ³* (n° 64, 7), *hrn* (n°s 50, 2; 54, 4), *hrny* (n°s 49, 1; 51, 1; 52, 1; 53, 4), *yrh(³)* (n°s 42, 10; 44, 8; 45, 4; 49, 6; 50, 10; 55, 8; 56, 8; 57, 5; 58, 6; 63, 6; 64, 5), *mh³* (n°s 46, [4]; 47, 3; 50, 5), *nb³hdn* (n° 45, 2).

Il en résulte une polyvalence des graphèmes suivants:

z: /z/ ou /d/
h: /h/ ou /ḥ/
ᶜ: /ᶜ/, /ġ/ ou /ṣ(d)/ dans *³rᶜ*
q: /q/ ou /ṣ(d)/
š: /š/, /ṯ/ ou /ś/

B. Aphérèse, apocope, quiescence

L'aphérèse du *nūn* initial du nom du mois de Nisan est attestée par la graphie constante *³sn* (n°s 42, 11; 44, 8; 49, 6; 58, 6). Elle reflète un phénomène d'articulation de l'akkadien, reconnaissable notamment à la transcription *³nrt/ᶜnšt* du théonyme "Ninurta" et, en cunéiforme, à l'orthographe de certaines formes verbales[17] et peut-être de l'anthroponyme *I-sa-na-a-a*,[18] "Né au mois de (N)isan".

L'aphérèse de l'*aleph* initial de l'élément *³h*, "frère", des anthroponymes, considérée souvent comme un trait typiquement phénicien, se rencontre dans la graphie *hlrm* (n° 59, 5) du nom *³hlrm* (n° 48, 7), confirmée en cunéiforme par *Ha-la-rim*, attesté dans les mêmes archives.[19] Une aphérèse similaire du *hé* de l'élé-

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[17] W. VON SODEN, Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik (Analecta Orientalia 33), Roma 1952, § 33b.

[18] Th. KWASMAN, op.cit. (note 5), n°s 324, 13; 408, 15'. Une autre interprétation est proposée par K.L. TALLQVIST, Assyrian Personal Names, Helsingfors 1914, p. 103a.

[19] 0.3666, v° 11'; 0.3685, 30.47; 0.3693, 10; 0.3708, 31; 0.3711, 10. Ces références nous ont été aimablement communiquées par le prof. P. GARELLI qui a préparé l'édition des tablettes cunéiformes de ces archives.

ment théophore *hdd* se remarque dans les noms propres *ddy* (n°ˢ 55, 9; 56, 9.12; 57, 6; cf. 49, 7) et *ddn(w)r(y)* (n°ˢ 45, 10; 46, 7; 55, 14; 62, 7).

L'apocope du -*t* de la finale -*āt(e/i)* est attestée dans *mqrh* < *maqarrāte/ti*, "balles" (n°ˢ 60, [1]; 61, 1; 62, 1), dans *rsh* < *rēšāti*, "prémices" (n°ˢ 49, 2; 56, 1; 63, 1) et peut-être dans *smnh* (n°ˢ 50, 10; 56, 8-9) < *šamānat*, "huit". On relève le même phénomène dans l'orthographe araméenne des toponymes *m^clnh* (n°ˢ 55, 4; 56, 5) et probablement *ḥwrh* (n° 54, 7). C'est une donnée constante des documents araméens, connue déjà par le toponyme *ḥdwh* (AE 3, 3; 6, [4]) = ᵘʳᵘ*Ha-an-du-a-te*, le titre *ḥzn ʾglh* (AE 49, 2) = *ḥazannu Ēkallāti*, l'anthroponyme *ʾrḃlsr* (AE 27) = ᶠIV.DINGIR-*šár-rat*.

Au stade de la langue que reflètent nos tablettes, l'*aleph* n'est parfois pas noté, signe évident qu'il n'était plus prononcé dans certaines circonstances. On note la disparition de l'*aleph* devant la voyelle d'une syllabe qu'il commençait dans les noms propres *ʾdb* (n° 42, 6) < *ʾdʾb*, *ʾhbw* (n° 51, 6) < *ʾhʾbw*, si le nom est araméen, puis dans *zbdl* (n° 57, 9) < *zbdʾl*, *ydʿl* (n° 55, 12) < *ydʾˀl*, *šmšly* (n° 51, 2) < *šmšˀly*. Dans le cas de *ydʿl*, la disparition de l'*aleph* peut s'expliquer aussi par son assimilation à la pharyngale *ʿayin*. L'orthographe historique s'est maintenue dans *ḥnʾl* (n°ˢ 59, 17; 64, 8), mais ce maintien de l'*aleph* dans *ḥnʾl* peut résulter de l'occlusion glottale intervenant entre les deux voyelles distinctes de *Ḥinnī-ʾel*. La même situation se présente dans *nb[ʾt]rny* (n° 60, 9) et *ʾrbʾl* (n° 49, 2).

Le *hé* à l'intérieur d'un nom n'est plus prononcé dans *mtʿdd* < *mtʿhdd* (n°ˢ 44, 3; 56, 4; 54, 2), mais on peut expliquer ici sa disparition par l'assimilation du *hé* à la pharyngale *ʿayin*. Le *hé* initial de l'élément théophore *Hadd(u)* n'est plus prononcé ou est réduit à un *aleph* dans les noms propres *ʾdb* (n° 42, 6), *ʾdbrk* (n° 55, 12), *ʾdgʾy* (n° 58, 10), *ʾdgp* (n° 42, 9), *ʾdy* (n°ˢ 44, 6; 57, 10), *ʾdmczy* (n° 49, 3), *ʾdntn* (0.3693), *ʾdšmc* (n° 63, 8), *ʾdšry* (n° 42, 10). Le nom *ʾdqr* (n° 45, 11) est probablement akkadien. L'orthographe historique s'est maintenue en revanche dans *hdʿr* (n° 48, 6) et *hdʿš* (n° 46, 6).

C. Notation des voyelles

Les voyelles finales brèves, que présupposent les anthroponymes akkadiens *blhdn* (n° 42, 8), *nbʾhdn* (n° 45, 2), *pzqln* (?) (n° 42, 9), *qtln* (n° 42, 2), *šnb* (n° 42, 7), ne sont pas notées, mais il serait prématuré d'en conclure qu'elles n'étaient plus prononcées. En revanche, les voyelles longues sont notées aussi bien à la fin qu'à l'intérieur des mots, sans que cet usage soit suivi d'une manière constante. On notera en particulier l'orthographe *ss* du mot "cheval" (n° 42, 4), alors qu'il devait se prononcer *sūsē* en araméen ancien.

Les tablettes de Bruxelles attestent l'usage de trois *matres lectionis*: *hé* est employé à la fin des mots pour *ā* et probablement pour *e*; *waw* est utilisé pour *ū* et *yōd* pour *ī*.

La voyelle finale *ā* est indiquée par *hé* dans *hwh* (n° 59, 10), *zph* (n°s 50, 1; 62, 1), *mnh* (n° 48, 4), *mqrh* (n°s. 60, [1]; 61, 1; 62, 1), *rsh* (n°s 49, 2; 56, 1; 63, 1), *šᶜh* (n° 59, 3), *šlšh* (n° 64, 4), et dans les toponymes *hwrh* (n° 54, 7) et *mᶜlnh* (n°s 55, 4; 56, 5). Elle est également notée dans *šṭmnh* (no 42, 1) et dans le nom propre *šmᶜʾyh* (n° 51, 2), bien qu'elle fût probablement brève.

Le *hé* de *qsh* (n° 45, 6) pourrait marquer la voyelle *e* plutôt que *ā*, de même que le *e* final de *šamāne* est indiqué au moyen d'un *hé* dans le nom du mois *smnh* (n°s 50, 10; 56, 8-9), "huit", à moins qu'il ne faille considérer cette forme comme une transcription du féminin assyrien *šamānat*, qui qualifierait nor- malement le substantif masculin *yrh*, "mois".

Si la finale du féminin singulier à l'état absolu est ainsi marquée par *hé*, le morphème de l'état emphatique est, en revanche, indiqué toujours par *aleph*, que l'on ne peut donc considérer comme une *mater lectionis*: *hstʾ* (n° 64, 7), *yrhʾ* (n°s 56, 8; 64, 5), *kspʾ* (n°s 42, 5; 55, 6), *spyʾ* (n° 59, 2), *qnʾ* (n° 61, 4), *rhnʾ* (n° 64, 1), *šᶜryʾ* (n° 47, 4).

La voyelle finale *ī* est indiquée par *yōd* dans *ʾdmᶜzy* (n° 49, 3), *ʾdšry* (n° 42, 10), *ʾpy* (n° 56, 13), *bᶜy* (n° 43, 1), *brky* (n° 62, 6), *ddy* (n°s 55, 9; 56, 9.12; 57, 6), *ddn(w)ry* (n°s 45, 10; 46, 7; 62, 7), *hddš(w)ry* (n°s 44, 3; 59, 5-6; 60, 4 [?]), *hwy* (n° 45, 7), *zy* (n°s 45, 8; 48, 1; 49, 1.2; 50, 2; 52, 1; 56, 2; 59, 1; 61, 2; 62, 2; 54, 3.4; 0.3693), *kny* (n° 58, 8), *msy* (n°s 43, 4; 48, 9), *nb[ʾt]rny* (n° 60, 9), *nny* (n° 47, 6), *ᶜmhzy* (n° 43, 3), *ᶜtrsmky* (n° 52, 3), *šᶜlty* (n°s 58, 11; 60, 8), *šhrnwry* (n°s 55, 2; 56, 2; 57, 2; 58, 3; 59, 2; 60, 3; 61, 3-4; 62, 2), *šmšly* (n° 51, 2), peut-être aussi dans *ʾdy* (n°s 44, 6; 57, 10), s'il faut le lire *ʾAddî* plutôt que *ʾAdday*, éventuel- lement dans *bsy* (n° 63, 3), *hgny* (n° 50, 3) et *ky* (n° 42, 1).

La voyelle finale *ū* est indiquée par *waw* dans *ʾbrnbw* (n° 57, 3), *ʾhbw* (n° 51, 6), *hlw* (n° 54, 6) et *ytyhw* (n° 42, 6). En revanche, la finale *ū* du pluriel verbal ne serait pas marquée dans *hsd* (n° 59, 8.11-12), si le sujet en était le pluriel *hsdn* 5.

La voyelle médiane *ê* est indiquée par *yōd* dans *rbyh* (n°s 57, 4; 60, 5; 61, 5; 62, 4), mais il faut noter que ce *yōd* appartient au radical.

La voyelle médiane *ū* est indiquée par un *waw* dans *ʾhwn* (n° 61, 4), *ddnwry* (n°s 46, 7; 62, 7), *hddšwry* (n°s 59, 5-6; 60, 4 [?]), *nbwš[zb]* (n° 56, 11), *nwrn* (n° 51, 5), *swpn* (n° 59, 7), *šhrnwry* (n°s 55, 2; 56, 2; 57, 2; 51, 3; 59, 2; 60, 3; 61, 3-4; 62, 2).

D. Emprunts au néo-assyrien

La transcription des noms propres assyriens et des termes d'emprunt n'est fixée que par la prononciation. L'orthographe phonétique de l'araméen permet ainsi de constater des changements de consonnes et de déterminer la lecture de certains idéogrammmes, ainsi AGRIG = *masennu* = *mšn*.

Le /k/ intervocalique du néo-assyrien est transcrit *g* dans *mngsr* (n° 45, 5) = *Mannu-ki-šarri*. Le /š/ néo-assyrien est transcrit *s* dans le même nom propre, dans *rsh* (n°s 49, 12; 56, 1; 63, 1) = *rēšāti*, *smnh* (n°s 50, 10; 56, 8-9) = *šamāne* ou *šamānat*, peut-être *'sn* (n°s 42, 11; 44, 8; 49, 6; 58, 6) = *(N)iš(š)an*, dans le nom *ssny* (n° 52, 4), si ce dernier transcrit bien *Šamaš-ēnāia*.[20] Le /s/ néo-assyrien est représenté par *š* dans *mšn* (n°s 55, 9; 56, 10) = *masennu*,[21] *šb'* (n° 55, 6) = *seba*, dans les noms propres *šnb* (n° 42, 7) = *Sin-abi* et *šnzqp* (n°s 55, 11; 56, 11) = *Sin-zāqip*. Le /ss/ néo-assyrien, provenant des changements phonétiques *št* > *lt* > *ss*,[22] est pareillement rendu par *š* dans *'šr* (n° 49, 2) = *Ištar*, *'šrn* (n° 45, 9) = *Ištarānu*, *'bd'šr* (n° 52, 2) = *'Abd-Ištar*.

Nous avons déjà attiré l'attention sur l'apocope de la désinence -*t* et l'aphérèse de *n* dans le nom du mois Nisan. Si *ssny* (n° 52, 4) correspond bien à *Šamaš-ēnāia*, cette orthographe confirme la quiescence ou l'assimilation du *m* de *Šamaš* en néo-assyrien ou, du moins, dans certains de ses dialectes.

Les voyelles initiales des mots et des noms propres akkadiens sont précédées d'un *aleph* prosthétique. C'est le cas de *Ad(ad)-uqur* = *'dqr* (n° 45, 11), *Ahabû* (n° 51, 6), *Ana-Adad* (?) = *'nhdd* (n° 54, 1), *Ištarānu* = *'šrn* (n° 45, 9), *Ubru-Nabû* = *'brnbw* (n° 57, 3), *(N)iš(š)ānu* = *'sn* (n°s 42, 11; 44, 8; 49, 6; 58, 6), *Ištar* = *'šr* (n° 49, 2), *Arba'il* = *'rb'l* (n° 49, 2). A l'intérieur des noms propres, le *aleph* est utilisé pour marquer la voyelle initiale de l'élément théophore dans *'bd'šr* (n° 52, 2) et *šm'yh* (n° 48, 2), ainsi que pour séparer deux voyelles distinctes; il possède alors une valeur consonantique. Cet emploi du *aleph* se rencontre dans *Nabû-ah(a)-iddin(a)* = *nb'hdn* (n° 45, 2), *Nabû-ētiranni* = *nb['t]rny* (n° 60, 9), *Arba'il* = *'rb'l* (n° 49, 2). Dans les autres cas, les scribes ne recourent pas au *aleph* pour introduire un élément anthroponymique commençant par une voyelle. On le voit dans *Bēl-ah(a)-iddin(a)* = *blhdn* (n° 42, 8) et *(Gabbu-ina-)qāt-ilāni* = *qtln* (n° 42, 2), alors que les exemples de *nb(w)šzb* (n°s 55, 10; 56, 11)

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[20] On notera la transcription araméenne *ss* de l'élément théophore *Šamaš* dans l'inscription de Tell Fekherye, ligne 7.

[21] Cf. E. LIPIŃSKI, In Search of the Etymology of Some Semitic Loan-Words, dans Y.L. ARBEIT-MAN, Fucus (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 58), Amsterdam-Philadelphia 1988, pp. 325-333 (voir pp. 325-329).

[22] W. VON SODEN, op.cit. (note 17), §§ 30h et 34d.

restent incertains, ce nom pouvant s'interpréter *Nabû-šēzib* ou *Nabû-ušēzib*. Le cas de *limmu* = *l'm* (n°s 42, 11; 44, 9; 45, 4; 55, 9; 56, 9; 57, 6) ne constitue pas une exception à cet emploi du *aleph*, car *l'm* semble être un ancien terme ouest-sémitique. Quant au *aleph* final de *šb'* = *seba* (n° 63, 6), il marque l'occlusion de la glotte (< *šb'*) qui termine ce mot et se manifeste dans le redoublemement du *t* de la forme féminine *sebettu*.

2. Morphosyntaxe

A. Les éléments nominaux de la phrase

A.1. L'état. Les trois états du nom araméen sont représentés sur nos tablettes.

A.1.1. L'état absolu d'un nom commun caractérise généralement l'indétermination du nom. Son emploi se remarque surtout dans certains cas précis.

A.1.1.1. Le prédicat nominal, par sa nature, est généralement indéterminé:

l'm N, "étant éponyme N" (n°s 42, 11; 44, 9; 45, 4; 55, 9; 56, 9; 57, 6);

šhd N, "est témoin: N" (n°s 43, 2; 44, 5.[6].[7]; 45, 9; 46, 5; 47, 5 [?]; 48, 5.7.8; 49, 7.8; 50, [6-9] [?]; 52, [3].4; 53, 5; 59, 16);

šhdn NN "sont témoins: NN" (n°s 42, 5; 47, 5 [?]; 51, 4; 55, 10; 56, [10]; 57, 7; 58, 7; 59, 14; 60, 6; 62, 5; 63, 7; 64, 8).

On notera que l'usage identique de l'état absolu se rencontre sur la stèle de Sfiré I, A, 12 (*šhdn kl '[lhy ktk...]*) et sur les tablettes araméennes du VIIe siècle (AE 11, 3'; 13, v° 2; 46, v° 1; 47, v° 2; 48, v° 1; 49, v° 2.5; 50, 5; 51, v° 1.2.3.5; 54, v° 1.2.3; 55, v° 4; 56, v° 1; 58, v° 6). C'est pourquoi il faut peut-être lire *šhdn* à la place de *šhdy['*] sur la tablette de Tell Halaf 1, 10 (AE 53, v° 3). En revanche, les documents araméens d'Égypte utilisent au pluriel l'état emphatique *šhdy'*. [23]

Le prédicat peut être constitué aussi d'un nom introduit par une préposition. Le nom, s'il n'est pas déterminé par un suffixe, se trouve à l'état absolu:

qn' lmtnn, "le petit bétail est (donné) en prêt gratuit" (n° 55, 4-5);

(šqln) 10 kš'rn, "il y a 10 (sicles) comme restants" (n° 45, 8);

rbh 1 bkplh, "son intérêt est de 1 en son double" (n° 55, 7-8);

rbyh bplgn, "son intérêt se fait par moitiés" (n°s 60, 5; 61, 5-6; 62, 4).

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[23] B. PORTEN et A. YARDENI, Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt. 2. Contracts, Jerusalem 1989, p. XLIa.

A.1.1.2. Les noms de titres ou métiers, même employés en apposition à un nom propre, sont grammaticalement indéterminés:

ddy mšn, "Dadī, l'intendant" (n°s 55, 9; 56, 9-10). On notera que le nom apposé est en l'occurrence moins précis que le premier nom, qui est un anthroponyme.

ḥsdn 7, "7 moissonneurs" (n° 47, 7);
ḥsdn 5, "5 moissonneurs" (n° 59, 9).

A.1.1.3. Les noms d'espèces et de matières sont indéterminés, sauf si l'on en a déjà parlé:

ʾmr 1, "1 agneau" (n° 59, 4);
bdl, "étain" (n°s 42, 3; 53, 1.4);
ḥmr, "âne" (n° 46, 1);
ḥmrn 7, "7 ânes" (n° 53, 2-3);
[h]ntn, "froment" (n° 52, 1);
ksp, "argent" (n°s 43, 1; 44, 1; 45, 3.7; 49, 1; 55, 1; 56, 1.5.12; 58, 1; 63, 1; 64, 4);
ss, "cheval" (n° 42, 4);
ṣwpn 4, "4 moutons blancs" (n° 59, 7);
ṣn 2, "2 (têtes) de petit bétail" (n°s 55, 1; 59, 1);
šʾh 1, "1 brebis" (n° 59, 3);
šʾrn, "orge" (n°s 45, 1; 47, 1; 50, 1; 51, 1; 52, 1; 57, 1);
tbn, "paille" (n°s 48, 1; 60, 1; 61, 1; 62, 1).

A.1.1.4. Les noms de mesures sont indéterminés, même s'ils sont accompagnés d'un nombre:

mqrh, "balles" (n°s 61, 1; 62, 1);
šqln, "sicles" (n°s 43, 2; 44, 1; 45, 8; 49, 4; 56, 6; 64, 5).

L'ellipse de certains noms de mesure est assez fréquente. Ainsi *hmr(n)*, "charge(s) d'âne", est sous-entendu aux n°s 47, 2; 50, 1; 51, 3; 57, 1, et le mot *šql(n)*, "sicle(s)", est sous-entendu aux n°s 45, 3; 55, 1; 63, 2.

A.1.1.5. Les noms de nombre et les noms des fractions sont indéterminés:

ḥd, "un" (n° 64, 6);
kpl, "double" (n° 56, 8);
plgn, "moitiés" (n°s 60, 5; 61, 6; 62, 4);
šlš, "trois" (n°s 51, 3; 64, 2);
šlšh, "trois" (n° 64, 4).

A.1.1.6. L'accusatif direct n'impliquant pas de détermination parfaite est grammaticalement indéterminé et s'emploie à l'état absolu:

ʾrʿ ... lqh, "il a pris le terrain" (n° 64, 2-3);
byt šlm, "il a payé la maison" (n° 54, 7);
yšlm bdl, "il payera l'étain" (n° 53, 3-4);
ksp ... ntn, "il a donné l'argent" (n° 63, 1-3);
mhʾ yd, "il a topé dans la main" (n°s 46, 4-5; 47, 3; 50, 5);

ʿyr ksp, "il a remboursé l'argent" (n° 45, 2-3);
šʿrn šlm nbʾhdn, "Nabû-aḫa-iddina a payé l'orge" (n° 45, 1-2).

A.1.1.7. Le nom en apposition concorde avec le premier nom pour (la détermination ou) l'indétermination:
ʾrʿ byt šlš, "un terrain, contenance de 3 (seʾah)" (n° 64, 2);
ksp rsh lhdd, "argent, 'prémices' de Hadad" (n°s 56, 1; 63, 1-2);
ksp ... rsh zy ʾšr ʾrbʾl, "argent, 'prémices' d'Ištar d'Arbèles" (n° 49, 1-2);
šʿrn 3 zph, "3 (homer) d'orge, prêt (à intérêt)" (n° 50, 1);
tbn ... zph, "paille...., prêt (à intérêt)" (n° 62, 1-3).

Dans le premier cas, *ʾrʿ* pourrait être aussi à l'état construit. Un doute analogue subsiste dans l'emploi du mot *yrḥ*, "mois", suivi du nom du mois. Les attestations de l'état emphatique *yrḥʾ* avec les mois *smnh* (n° 56, 8; AE 50, 4), "Huit", et *šbʾ* (AE 51, 4), "Sept", indiquent toutefois que l'on est en présence d'un apposition au moins dans les cas de ces deux mois, même lorsque le scribe utilise l'état absolu *yrḥ* (n°s 50, 10; 63, 6). Pour les autres noms de mois, la construction fut ressentie comme génitivale, au moins à une époque postérieure, comme il appert notamment de Megillat Taanit I, 1: *bryš yrḥʾ dnysn*, "au début du mois de Nisan".[24]

A.1.2. L'état construit caractérise un nom employé en liaison étroite avec un suffixe pronominal ou un autre nom qui en détermine le sens, à l'instar d'un construction génitivale.

A.1.2.1. Le second nom, faisant fonction de complément déterminatif, peut être déterminé par lui-même (nom propre), par un suffixe, par un autre nom, enfin en raison du contexte.

A.1.2.1.1. Le nom régi est un nom propre, donnant lieu à une construction génitivale que l'on peut admettre également pour les noms des mois autres que "Sept" et "Huit":
ʾšr ʾrbʾl, "Ištar d'Arbèles" (n° 49, 2);
br mtʿdd, "fils de Matiʿadad (n°s 55, 3; 56, 3-4);
yd ʾshr, "la 'main' d'Eshor (?)" (n° 54, 5);
yrḥ ʾsn, "le mois de (N)isan" (n°s 42, 11; 44, 8; 49, 6; 58, 6);
yrḥ zb[ ], "le mois de ..." (n° 57, 5);
yrḥ smn, "le mois de Siwān" (n° 45, 4);
yrḥ tmz, "le mois de Tammuz" (n°s 55, 8[?]; 64, 5).

A.1.2.1.2. Le nom régi peut aussi être indéterminé grammaticalement:
byt šlš, "une contenance de trois (seʾah)" (n° 64, 2);
zpt šqln 3, "emprunt de 3 sicles" (n° 49, 4);

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[24] K. BEYER, Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer, Göttingen 1984, p. 355, xyMT.

qṣh ksp, "la totalité de l'argent" (n° 45, 6-7).

A.1.2.2. Le nom à l'état construit peut être déterminé par un suffixe pronominal:

brh, "son fils" (n° 48, 3);

zdkn, "votre gratification" (n° 54, 6);

kplh, "son double" (n°s 55, 8; 56, 8; cf. 63, 5);

plgh, "sa moitié" (n°s 44, 4; 49, 5);

rbh, "son intérêt" (n°s 44, 4; 46, 3; 49, 5; 55, 7; 56, 7; 58, 4; 63, 4);

rbyh, "son intérêt" (n°s 57, 4; 60, 5; 61, 5; 62, 4);

rbᶜh, "son quart" (n° 58, 5).

A.1.3. L'état emphatique caractérise un nom commun qui n'est pas à l'état construit et désigne une chose parfaitement déterminée. L'état emphatique est toujours marqué au moyen d'un *aleph* postposé.

A.1.3.1. Une chose est parfaitement déterminée quand on en a déjà parlé:

ksp, "l'argent (en question)" (n°s 42, 5; 55, 6);

ṣpy, "les moutons blancs (en question)" (n° 59, 12);

qn, "le petit bétail (en question)" (n° 55, 4);

šᶜry, "l'orge (en question)" (n° 47, 4).

A.1.3.2. Le nom collectif d'une catégorie de choses, dont certaines sont prises en considération par l'auteur, est parfaitement déterminé et s'emploie à l'état emphatique:

ḥṣt, "campagnes" ou "huttes" (n° 64, 7);

rhn, "hypothèque" (n° 64, 1).

A.1.3.3. Le nom commun, auquel un nom propre est apposé, est de ce fait parfaitement déterminé:

yrḥ *smnh*, "le mois Huit" (n° 56, 8-9).

L'usage contraire prévaut cependant dans ce cas précis, vu que le mot "mois" s'emploie d'ordinaire à l'état absolu ou à l'état construit avec le nom propre du mois en rapport génitival avec le nom régissant.

A.2. *Les compléments du nom.* Un nom déterminé par un autre nom peut non seulement se trouver à l'état construit et constituer avec ce nom un groupe génitival ou bien être suivi d'un nom en apposition, mais il peut aussi être relié au nom déterminant par une préposition ou par le pronom déterminatif - relatif *zy*.

A.2.1. La construction génitivale est normalement évitée quand, le second nom étant déterminé, le premier est logiquement indéterminé.

En effet, la détermination du nom régi entraînerait normalement la détermination du nom régissant. C'est donc pour des raisons de clarté que le nom du sujet possédant une chose est introduit par la preposition *l* d'appartenance qui supplée le génitif du sujet possédant la chose:

hmrn lḥdy, "des ânes (appartenant) à Haddiy" (n° 46, 1);

ksp ... lhdd, "de l'argent (appartenant) à Hadad" (n° 58, 1-2);

ksp ... lhdy, "de l'argent (appartenant) à Haddiy" (n° 44, 1-2);

qn 2 wksp 5 lšhrnwry, " du petit bétail, 2 (têtes), et de l'argent, 5 (sicles), (appartenant) à Šehrnûrî" (n° 55, 1-2);

rsh lhdd, "'prémices' (appartenant) à Hadad" (n°s 56, 1; 63, 1-2);

šᶜrn lhrny, "de l'orge (appartenant à) Harranay" (n° 51, 1);

šᶜrn lšhrnwry, "de l'orge (appartenent) à Šehrnûrî" (n ° 57, 1-2);

tbn ... lšhrnwry, "de la paille (appartenant) à Šehrnûrî" (n° 60, 1-3).

A.2.2. Une autre manière d'éviter la détermination du nom régissant consiste à apposer, au premier nom, le pronom démonstratif - relatif *zy* suivi du nom du sujet possédant. Cette construction, dont on connaît des parallèles dans d'autres langues sémitiques, correspond à l'usage de *ša* en akkadien:

[h]ntn zy hrny, "du froment (appartenant) à Harranay" (n° 52, 1);

zy ʾdntn, "(appartenant) à Adnatan" (O.3693);

ksp zy hrny, "de l'argent (appartenant) à Harranay" (n° 49, 1);

qn 2 zy šhrnwry, "du petit bétail, 2 (têtes), (appartenant) à Šehrnûrî" (n° 59, 1-2);

rsh zy ʾšr ʾrbʾl, "'prémices' (appartenant) à Ištar d'Arbèles" (n° 49, 2);

šᶜrn ... zy šhrnwry, "de l'orge, ..., (appartenant) à Harranay" (n ° 50, 1-2);

tbn ... zy šhrnwry, "de la paille,..., (appartenant) à Šehrnûrî" (n°s 61, 1-3; 62, 1-2);

tll zy qpn, "Tilul (appartenant) au Qipan" (n° 54, 3).

Dans aucun des cas attestés sur nos tablettes, le nom déterminé par *zy* ... ne se trouve à l'état emphatique. Ceci correspond à l'usage de la même construction sur les lions-poids de Ninive, qui datent du temps de Salmanasar V (727-722 av. J.-C.) et portent les épigraphes *mn(y)n ... zy ʾrqʾ* et *mn(y)n zy mlk* (CIS II, 1-5), également sur les tablettes de Ninive (AE 3, 1-2; 5; 6, [1-2]; 7, 1-2; 8, 1-2; 9, 1-2; 10 [?]), d'Aššur (AE 46, 1-2; 47, 1-2; 48, 1-2; 49, 3; 50, 2; 51, [2]) et une de Tell Halaf (AE 55, 1-2). En revanche, c'est un nom à l'état emphatique qui précède *zy* dans l'inscription de Sfiré III, 7-8, sur une tablette de Ninive (AE 15, 7-3) et dans la bilingue de Tell Fekherye 1 et 16-17, où l'emploi de l'état absolu est cependant attesté aussi à la ligne 23.

A.2.3. Le nom suivi de *zy* faisant office de pronom relatif reste également à l'état absolu:

ksp ... zy ntn šhrnwry, "l'argent ... que Šehrnûrî a donné" (n° 56, 1-2);

tbn zy zbn šmᶜʾyh, "la paille que Šamaᶜ-Aya a achetée" (n ° 48, 1-2).

A.3. Les compléments du verbe

A.3.1. Le complément direct peut précéder ou suivre le verbe. Il n'est jamais précédé de la particule *ʾyt*. On le rencontre dans les cas suivants:

ʾrᶜ ... lqh ᶜnn, "'Anān a pris un terrain" (n° 64, 2-3);

byt šlm, "il a payé la maison" (n° 54, 7);

hwy zy šqln, "il a produit ce que nous avons pesé" (n° 45, 7-8);

hn ˣl ... hmrn 3+3+1, "si j'amène... 7 ânes" (n° 53, 1-3);

hn ḥsd ḥsdn 3+2, "s'il fait moissonner 5 moissonneurs" (n° 59, 8-9);

yhb ksp⁾, "il devra donner de l'argent" (n° 42, 4-5);

yšlm bdl, "il payera l'étain" (n° 53, 3-4);

ksp ntn b⁾py, "il a donné l'argent à Apî" (n° 56, 12-13);

ksp ... ntn bsy, "Bassiy a donné de l'argent" (n° 63, 1-3);

lqḥ zpt šqln 3, "il a contracté un emprunt de 3 sicles" (n° 49, 3-4);

mḥ⁾ yd, "il a topé dans la main" (nᵒˢ 46, 4-5; 47, 3; 50, 5);

ᶜyr ksp ..., "il a remboursé l'argent" (n° 45, 2-3);

spy⁾ yšlm, "il devra payer les moutons blancs" (n° 59, 12-13);

šᶜry⁾ hšhl, "il a délivré l'orge" (n° 47, 4);

šᶜrn šlm nb⁾hdn, "Nabû-aha-iddina a payé l'orge" (n° 45, 1-2).

A.3.2. Le complément d'objet indirect, composé d'une préposition et de son nom, se rapporte à un verbe dans plusieurs syntagmes.

A.3.2.1. C'est la préposition *l* qui exprime le mieux le bénéficiaire d'une action:

yšlm bdl lhrn[y], "il payera l'étain à Harranay" (n° 53, 3-4);

ksp ... ntn bsy lbbn, "Bassiy a donné l'argent à Babān" (n° 63, 1-4);

ᶜyr ksp lhdy, "il a remboursé l'argent à Ḥaddiy" (n° 45, 2-3);

štmnh ... lhdy "nous avons décidé ... en faveur de Ḥaddiy" (n° 42, 1-2).

A.3.2.2. La même fonction est cependant attestée aussi pour la préposition *qdm*:

hn ˣl kbdl qdm hdd, "si j'amène de l'étain comme ça devant Hadad" (n° 53, 1-2).

A.3.2.3. À la place de la préposition *l*, on rencontre également *⁾l*. Ainsi dans:

ksp ... zy ntn šhrnwry ⁾l ⁾mnn, "l'argent ... que Šehrnûrî a donné à Amnān" (n° 56, 1-3; cf. 43, 1; 46, 2; 47, 1; 49, 3; 50, 2-3; 55, 2-3; 57, 3; 59, 5-6; 62, 3).

A.3.2.4. La préposition *ᶜl* introduit la personne à laquelle incombe une obligation, sur laquelle pèse une charge, comme dans les propositions nominales (nᵒˢ 51, 2; 58, 2-3; 60, 4; 61, 4).

štmnh ... ᶜl qtln zk "nous avons décidé ... à charge du susnommé Qatilani" (n° 42, 1-3).

A.3.2.5. La préposition *b* peut exprimer l'idée d'équivalence, dans les propositions verbales aussi bien que nominales (nᵒˢ 44, 4; 47, 2; 49, 5; 55, 7-8; 56, 7-8; 57, 4; 58, 4-5; 60, 5; 61, 5-6; 62, 4; 63, 4-5). Cet emploi du *b "pretii"* se rencontre dans les propositions verbales suivantes:

⁾rᶜ ... lqḥ ᶜnn ... bksp, "ᶜAnān a pris un terrain ... pour de l'argent..." (n° 64, 2-4);

bdl bss bsr, "l'étain est insuffisant pour un cheval" (n° 42, 3-4).

La préposition *b* est utilisée aussi pour la proximité, pour le contact, ou pour indiquer l'endroit où l'action se passe, où l'on se trouve (cf. n° 54, 3):

byt šlm bhwrh, "il a payé la maison à Hawarah" (n° 54, 7);

ksp ntn b⁾py, "il a donné l'argent à Apî" (n° 56, 12-13);

ᶜzrdd ṯh brhn, "Ezradad touche au bien hypothéqué" (n° 64, 6-7).

    A.3.2.6. Le sens partitif de la préposition *mn* est attesté dans la phrase: *mn qšh ksp hwy*, "de la totalité de l'argent il a produit ... " (n° 45, 6-7).

    Elle exprime l'idée d'éloignement dans la proposition relative:

zy ᶜmd mn ᶜyr yd 'shr, "qui a renoncé au remboursement de la 'main' (part) d'Es-
hor (?)" (n° 54, 4-5).

    On l'emploie en particulier pour l'idée de provenance:

lqh ᶜnn mn 'bntn, "ᶜAnān (l')a pris de Abnatan" (n° 64, 3-4; cf. 55, 4; 56, 4-5).

    A.3.2.7. La préposition *k* exprime un rapport d'égalité ou d'équivalence:

hn ˣl kbdl, "si j'amène de l'étain comme ça" (n° 53, 1; cf. n° 45, 8).

B. Les éléments verbaux de la phrase

B.1. Le parfait des verbes actifs exprime l'aspect accompli de l'action:

'rᶜ lqh ᶜnn mn 'bntn, "ᶜAnān a pris un terrain de Abnatan" (n° 64, 2-4);

byt šlm bhwrh, "il a payé la maison à Ḥawarah" (n° 54, 7);

hwy zy šlqn, "il a produit ce que nous avons pesé" (n° 45, 7-8);

ksp ... zy ntn šhrnwry, "argent que Šehrnûrî a donné" (n° 56, 1-2);

ksp ntn b'py, "il a donné l'argent à Apî" (n° 56, 12-13);

ksp ... ntn bsy lbbn, "Bassiy a donné de l'argent à Babān" (n° 63, 1-4);

lqh zpt šqln 3, "il a contracté un emprunt de 3 sicles" (n° 49, 3-4);

ᶜyr ksp lhdy, "il a remboursé l'argent à Ḥaddiy" (n° 45, 2-3);

ᶜmd mn ᶜyr, "il a renoncé au remboursement" (n° 54, 4-5);

štmnh ky, "nous avons décidé ainsi" (n° 42, 1);

š̌ry' hšhl, "il a délivré l'orge" (n° 47, 4);

š̌rn šlm nb'hdn, "Nabû-aha-iddina a payé l'orge" (n° 45, 1-2);

tbn zy zbn šmᶜ'yh, "paille que Šamaᶜ-Aya a vendue" (n° 48, 1).

    Même dans la sphère du futur, c'est le parfait qui exprime l'aspect accompli de l'action:

hn hsd hsdn 3+2 hwh šlm, "s'il fait moissonner 5 moissonneurs, il devient quitte" (n° 59, 8-10);

hn lhsd spy' yšlm, "s'il ne fait pas moissonner, il devra payer les moutons blancs" (n° 59, 11-13).

B.2. Le parfait des verbes statifs ou employés comme tels exprime une situation de fait:

bdl bss bsr, "l'étain est insuffisant pour un cheval" (n° 42, 3-4);

ᶜzrdd ṯh brhn, "ᶜEzradad touche au bien hypothéqué" (n° 64, 6-7).

B.3. L'imparfait indicatif exprime l'aspect inaccompli de l'action et possède la nuance modale de "devoir" ou "pouvoir":

hn ˣl kbdl qdm hdd whmrn 3+3+1 yšlm bdl lhrny, "si j'amène de l'étain comme ça devant Hadad et 7 ânes, il payera l'étain à Ḥarranay" (n° 53, 1-4);

hn lḥsd ṣpy' yšlm, "s'il ne fait pas moissonner, il devra payer les moutons blancs" (n° 59, 11-13);
yhb ksp', "il devra donner de l'argent" (n° 42, 4-5).

C. Syntaxe

C.1. Propositions elliptiques. La plupart de nos tablettes contiennent des propositions apparemment elliptiques qui sont en réalité des propositions nominales dont le prédicat consiste en une préposition suivie d'un nom. Le prédicat suit toujours le sujet. Par exemple:

qn' lmtnn l'yr 3 ltrlt, "le petit bétail (est donné) gratuitement pour le mâle, (devient) 3 pour la brebis pleine" (n° 55, 4-6);
rbh bplgh, "son intérêt (s'élève) à sa moitié" (n°s 44, 4; 49, 5; cf. 55, 7-8; 56, 7-8; 57, 4; 58, 4-5; 60, 5; 61, 5-6; 62, 4; 63, 4-5);
š'rn lḥrny 'l šmšly, "l'orge appartenant à Harranay (est) à charge de Šamšilî" (n°s 51, 2; cf. 43, 1; 44, 1-3; 46, 1-2; 47, 1-2; 49, 1-3; 50, 1-3; 52, 1-2; 55, 1-4; 57, 1-3; 58, 1-3; 59, 1-7; 60, 1-4; 61, 1-4; 62, 1-3).

C.2. Propositions verbales

C.2.1. Propositions affirmatives. La plupart des propositions verbales de nos textes sont affirmatives:

'r' ... lqḥ 'nn, "'Anān a pris un terrain" (n° 64, 2-3);
bdl bss bṣr, "l'étain est insuffisant pour un cheval" (n° 42, 3-4);
byt šlm bḥwrh, "il a payé la maison à Ḥawarah" (n° 54, 7);
hwy zy šqln, "il a produit ce que nous avons pesé" (n° 45, 7-8);
ksp ntn b'py, "il donné l'argent à Apî" (n° 56, 12-13);
ksp ... ntn bsy lbbn, "Bassiy a donné de l'argent à Babān" (n° 63, 1-4);
lqḥ zpt šqln 3, "il a contracté un emprunt de 3 sicles" (n° 49, 3-4);
mḥ' yd, "il a topé dans la main" (n°s 46, 4-5; 47, 3; 50, 5);
'zrdd tḥ brhn, "'Ezradad touche au bien hypothéqué" (n° 64, 6-7);
'yr ksp lhdy, "il a remboursé l'argent à Haddiy" (n° 45, 2-3);
'md mn 'yr yd 'shr šmh zdhn, "il a renoncé au remboursement de la 'main' (part) d'Eshor (?)" (n° 54, 4-5);
štmnh ky, "nous avons décidé ainsi" (n° 42, 1);
š'ry' hšhl, "il a délivré l'orge" (n° 47, 4);
š'rn šlm nb'hdn, "Nabû-aḫa-iddina a payé l'orge" (n° 45, 1-2);
tbn zy zbn šm''yh, "paille qu'a vendue Šama'-Aya" (n° 48, 1-2).

C.2.2. Propositions volitives. L'indicatif imparfait possède souvent une nuance volitive:

yhb ksp', "il devra donner de l'argent" (n° 42, 4-5);
yšlm bdl lḥrn[y], "il devra payer l'étain à Ḥarranay" (n° 53, 3-4). Cf. B.3.

C.2.3. La proposition conditionnelle est étroitement apparentée à la proposition temporelle et, dans les cas qui se présentent sur nos tablettes, on peut se demander si le sens conditionnel de la phrase l'emporte toujours sur la nuance temporelle qui est souvent implicite. Les suppositions formulées en l'occurrence sont conçues comme réelles et la particule *hn* y introduit la protase.

On a le parfait dans la protase et l'apodose dans:

hn ḥṣd ḥṣdn 3+2 hwh šlm, "s'il fait moissonner 5 moissonneurs, il devient quitte" (n° 59, 8-10).

On a le parfait dans la protase et l'imparfait dans l'apodose dans:

whn lḥṣd spyʾ yšlm, "et s'il ne fait pas moissonner, il devra payer les moutons blancs" (n° 59, 11-13);

hn ʿl bdl qdm hdd whmrn 3+3+1 yšlm bdl lḥrny, "si j'amène de l'étain comme ça devant Hadad et 7 ânes, il devra payer l'étain à Ḥarranay" (n° 53, 1-4).

C.3. Le casus pendens. Un nom peut être placé en tête de la phrase d'une façon indépendante de la proposition qui suit, dans laquelle il est repris à l'aide d'un pronom rétrospectif. Cette construction en *casus pendens* est motivée par un désir de clarté ou par l'importance de l'élément qui s'impose d'abord à l'esprit.

Sur nos tablettes, l'élément mis en exergue est un complément déterminatif:

wkspʾ rbh 1 bklph, "et l'argent, son intérêt est de 1 en son double" (n° 55, 6-8).

C.4. Coordination. La conjonction coordinative *w* est utilisée pour joindre des noms ou des propositions.

C.4.1. Deux ou plusieurs noms coordonnés:

ʾl bʿy wšyr (n° 43, 1);
ʾl rpʾn wšyr (n° 47, 1-2);
ʾnhdd wmtʿdd (n° 54, 1-2);
ʾšrn wddnry wʾdgr (n° 45, 9-11);
brky wddnwry (n° 62, 6-7);
hdʿš wddnwry (n° 46, 6-7);
[h]lrm wnny (n° 47, 5-6);
hnʾl whddšlm wklby wʿbdʾ wʾlʿbd (n° 64, 8-10);
kbdl ... whmrn 3+3+1 (n° 53, 1-3);
nwrn wʾhbw (n° 51, 5-6);
ssny wyʾš[y ʾ]ʾ (n° 52, 4-5);
ʿzrdd ... wḥṣtʾ (n° 64, 6-7);
qdm ʿyr whddšry (n° 44, 2-3);
qn 2 wksp 3+2 (n° 55, 1);
qnʾ ... wkspʾ (n° 55, 4-6);
šʾh 1 wʾmr 1 (n° 59, 3-4);

š⁽ᵃ⁾lty wnb[ʾt]rny (n ° 60, 8-9);
šmᶜᵃyh wbrh ʾsrʾ (n ° 48, 2-3).
C.4.2. Deux prépositions coordonnées avec leur nom:
ʾl bty wʾl ḥgny (n° 50, 2-3).
C.4.3. Deux propositions nominales:
šhd[n ḥ]lrm wnny wḥṣdn 3+3+1 (n° 47, 5-7);
š⁽ᵃ⁾rn lhrny ᶜl šmšly ... wšhdn nwrn wᵃhbw (n ° 51, 1-6).
C.4.4. Une proposition nominale et une proposition verbale:
š⁽ᵃ⁾rn ʾl rpᵃn wšyr ... wḥdy mhʾ yd (n° 47, 1-3).
C.4.5. Deux propositions conditionnelles disjonctives, avec le *w* ayant la valeur de
"mais": *hn ḥṣd ... whn lḥṣd* (n° 59, 8-13).

Ces données grammaticales devraient s'insérer, à un stade ultérieur de la
recherche, dans l'ensemble de la documentation araméenne antérieure à l'époque
achéménide. Si les inscriptions dans le dialecte propre de Samʾal constituent un
cas spécial, la bilingue assyro-araméenne de Tell Fekherye,[25] l'inscription de
Tel Dan (Tell el-Qādi) et la grande inscription de Deir ʿAlla[26] paraissent s'in-
scrire dans ce même ensemble, malgré certaines particularités orthographiques ou
dialectales. Si on leur joint les tablettes araméennes de Bruxelles, dont les plus
anciennes sont de peu postérieures aux stèles de Neirab,[27] de même que l'inscri-
ption du cippe votif de Tell Ḥalaf,[28] les nouvelles épigraphes pondérales,[29] les

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[25] Son édition par A. ABOU-ASSAF, P. BORDREUIL et A.R. MILLARD, *La statue de Tell Fekherye
et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne*, Paris 1982, a déjà été suivie d'un nombre con-
sidérable d'études. Voir, en dernier lieu, E. LIPIŃSKI, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and
Onomastics II*, Leuven 1994, où l'on trouve également une étude de l'inscription de Tel Dan
(Tell el-Qādi) et de celle de Deir ʿAllā, de même qu'un réexamen des tablettes déjà publiées et
appartenant aux mêmes archives que les tablettes de Musées de Bruxelles, mais ne faisant pas
partie de leurs collections.

[26] On trouvera l'état de la question dans les actes du colloque qui s'est tenu à Leiden en 1989:
J. HOFTIJZER, G. VAN DER KOOIJ (éd.), *The Balaam Text from Deir ʿAlla Re-evaluated*, Leiden
1991.

[27] On notera que Šiʾ-gabbar, auquel est dédiée une des stèles de Neirab, était actif au temps de
Sargon II; cf. S. PARPOLA, *Siʾgabbar of Nerab Resurrected*, dans Orientalia Lovaniensia. Perio-
dica 16 (1985), pp. 273-275.

[28] G. DANKWARTH - Ch. MÜLLER, *Zur altaramäischen "Altar" - Inschrift vom Tell Halaf*, dans
Archiv für Orientforschung 35 (1988), pp. 73-78.

[29] H.D. GALTER - B. SCHOLZ, *Altvorderasiatisches in österreichischen Sammlungen*, dans Archiv
für Orientforschung 35 (1988), pp. 30-47 (voir pp. 32-34). Les inscriptions ne sont pas hébraï-
ques, mais araméennes: il faut les lire *mnh mlk*, "mine royale", cf. CIS II, 6, 1; 8; 9.

autres tablettes araméennes encore inédites et la pierre de touche du VIIIe siè-
cle,[30] on obtient un lot important de sources épigraphiques qui enrichissent con-
sidérablement notre connaissance de l'araméen ancien des IXe, VIIIe et VIIe
siècles av.n.è.

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[30] P. BORDREUIL, Catalogue des sceaux ouest-sémitiques inscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale,
du Musée du Louvre et du Musée biblique de Bible et Terre Sainte, Paris 1986, n° 4.

On grammatical functions of the gerund in Amharic

Uwe MAAß

1. The gerund is one of the most complicated and contradictory forms of the Amharic verbal system.[1]

Particular studies of the Amharic gerund are rare.[2] Its functions are usually described under corresponding chapters of grammars and textbooks in a more or less extended form.

The article presented is based on a deeper study of the Amharic gerund[3] and reexamines the functions of the gerund already recorded from a new theoretical point of view as well as adds some more functions which were not estimated in earlier studies.

2. The questions of origin and morphological structure of the Amharic gerund have been clarified satisfactorily. It is generally recognized that the Amharic gerund developed from a verbal noun (infinitive or nomen actionis) in the accusative with possessive pronominal suffixes added to it.[4] In present Amharic the former accusative inflection $-\ddot{a}$ became part of the complex gerundival affix with the structure $C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_3\ddot{a}$- or $C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2iC_3\ddot{a}$- for three-radical verbs of type A and B respectively. The former possessive prono-minal suffixes have lost their posses-sive meaning and are now considered as a personal inflection.

The following two schemes show the difference between possessive prono-minal suffixes and the gerundival inflection:

Possessive pronominal suffixes:

	singular		plural
1.p.	*-e/-ye*	1.c.	*-aččin*

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[1]See, for instance, HETZRON (1972: 98): "This chapter (i.e. the converb - U.M.) is necessarily sketchy, converbial constructions being the most complicated section of South Ethiopic syntax." Evidence of this problem, too, gives the terminological controversy about the naming of the gerund. To the list of names given by TITOV (1959:: 185) today we may add the following: "converb" (HETZRON 1972: 98), "Perfektpartizip" (DIETSCH, in print), "gerundial'naya forma perfekta" (ČERNECOV 1972: 93).

[2]There are only two articles by TITOV (1959, 1963) especially dedicated to the Amharic gerund.

[3]This is the Ph.D. thesis by the author of this article entitled "The gerund in Amharic and in Tigrinya. A comparative functional analysis".

[4]See PRAETORIUS (1879: 243), TITOV (1963: 82), STARININ (1967: 84) and ČERNECOV (1972: 92).

	singular		plural
2.p.m.	*-h*	2.c.	*-aččihu*
2.p.f.	*-š*		
3.p.m.	*-u/-w*	3.c.	*-aččäw*
3.p.f.	*-a/-wa*		

Gerundival inflection

	singular		plural
1.p.	*-e*	1.c.	*-n*
2.p.m.	*-h*	2.c.	*-aččihu*
2.p.f.	*-š*		
3.p.m.	*-o*	3.c.	*-w*
3.p.f.	*-a*		

Pecularities in the formation of the gerund of derived verbal stems are exhaustively described in TITOV (1959).

3. More difficult is the analysis and description of its grammatical functions: The Amharic gerund can be used as a secondary predicate or as an adverb; it can be part of composed prepisitions and conjunctions or is a conjunction by itself; and sometimes it is part of composed nominal lexemes. It is not easy to explain the interdependence and changing of its morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties in each of these functions without a suitable theoretical framework. Here appears the set of problems, that raises in the grammatical description of non-finite verbals of any language and are related to the parts of speech. New theoretical approaches are required to resolve these problems. In our analysis we depart from the theoretical settings of the X' - theory, namely those about word classification.

4. Traditionally, the parts of speech are primarily defined by morphological and semantic criteria.[5]

This results in quite rigid borders between the word classes and hinders the analysis of languages, where morphological items do not play such an important role like in Indoeuropean languages, for instance. Following the X'-theory, traditional word classes like V(erb), N(oun), A(djective), Adv(erb), and P(reposition)

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[5]About the historical development of word classification and the used criteria in STEPANOWA-/HELBIG 1981: 17ff. Traditional concepts of parts of speech are often based on the analysis of Indoeuropean languages, where the morphological criterion plays an important role.

are interpreted as distinctive syntactic features.[6] Each of them may have a positive (+), a negative (-), or a variable (α) specification depending on the concrete function of a lexical unit. All the syntactic features taken together constitute the syntactic (or lexical) categorization of a lexical unit, i.e. distinguish the type of a lexical category. That means the syntactic criterion here is the primary base for word classification. And, as far as we understand the grammatical function of a word chiefly as its syntactic position,[7] the syntactic or lexical categorization of a gerund we use to differentiate its grammatical functions.

One lexical unit (word, affix or other morphemes) can have different categorizations, and, therefore, it can belong to different word classes.[8]

These principles of word classification have been applicated to Amharic and gave the following word classes:[9]

	V	N	A	Adv	P
(V)	+	-	+	-	-
(N)	-	+	+	-	-
(A)	-	-	+	+	-
(Adv)	-	-	-	+	-
(P)	-	-	-	-	+

Not included in this classification are conjugations, articles, and non-finite verbals (e.g. infinitives, gerunds, imperfectrr). We are going to categorize the gerund taking into account the various syntactic positions, where it is met, and to explain the parallel morphological and semantical changes it undergoes.

5. Gerunds with the categorization $+V+Adv^o$ function mainly as the head of isolated gerundival phrases, that have the value of subordinate clauses and take the syntactic position of an adverbial modifier of the whole sentence.

The internal structure of a gerundival phrase completely corresponds to that of a sentence.

(1)   *ali misa bälto*
        bälla

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[6]We rely mainly on the principles of word classification worked out by the German linguists STEINITZ (1984, 1985, 1988) and ZIMMERMANN (1984, 1985, 1988). ZIMMERMANN (1988) for the first time includes the non-finite verb forms of German into her classification.

[7]Here we include the so-called word syntactic positions.

[8]e.g. the English word "use" can appear as $+V-N-A-Adv-P^o$ (shortened $+V-A^o$) and $-V+N-A-Adv-P^o$ (shortened $+N-A^o$).

[9]cf. DIETSCH 1987: 111.

> Ali having   eaten supper
>   ate

Owing to this parallelism the gerund takes here the feature (+V). But, lacking the categories of tense and mood, the gerund is not able to function as sentence predicate. In these two categories it depends on the finite verb.

(2)   *ali misa bälto särra*

Ali, having eaten supper, worked.

(3)   *ali misa bälto yisarall*

Ali, having eaten supper, works/will work.

(4)   *ali misa bälto yisira*

Let Ali eat supper and (then) work.

The gerund does not have an independent temporal meaning, but it can express anteriority or simultaneity regarding the action expressed by the main verb. Furthermore, the gerundival phrase can obtain additional adverbial meanings. The semantic interpretation of the gerundival phrase depends on two factors:

(i) the perfective meaning, which is inherent to the gerundival affix[10]

(ii) The extralinguistic relationship between the actions described by the gerund and the finite verb, or simply, the practical experience of the speaker/-hearer.

The perfective sense of the gerundival affix brings about a relative temporal meaning of anteriority (concerning the gerund of action and process verbs) and of simultaneity (concerning the gerund of state verbs).[11]

Cf. the following sentences with gerunds of an action, process, and state verb respectively:

(5)   *almaz firafire gazta wädä bet tämälläsäčč*

Almaz, after having bought fruits, returned home.

(6)   *firew bädänb bäqlo täqorräṭä*

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[10]The gerundival affix (C_1ä$C_2$$C_3$ä-) is supposed to bring a perfective component into the semantics of the gerund form, which is, probably, explicable by the nominal origin of this verb form. Suffix conjugation in Semitic formerly had been used to express states, but no actions (see D'JAKONOV 1965: 85).

[11]The question of the relative temporal meaning of the gerund has not been answered definitely in former publications. It was only mentioned that the gerund can express both anteriority ans simultaneity without giving an operative rule for its interpretation.

The fruit, after having become ripe, was cut off.

(7)   *käbbädä ba'alga lay täññito mashaf yanäbball*

Käbbädä, lying on the bed, reads a book.

The relative temporal meaning of the gerund can be overimposed by additional adverbial meanings: of cause (8), of condition (9), of concession (10), and of modal-expounding (11). That is why gerunds that function as the head of an isolated gerundival phrase get the feature (+Adv).

(8)   *'ih …inqilf aṭṭäš näw mässäläññ yammittinäčannäčiw* (BG:7)

Ah..It's because you lack sleep that you're so nervous, like it seems to me.

(9)   *yäsäwn rist yaläbalabbatu fäqad arsäh läbaläbetun yämmi- gä- bawn abäl sattikäfl qartähall* (AG:128)

If you plough one's rist without the permission of the feudal Lord, you, possibly, can't pay the required salary to the owner.

(10)   *..libbaččäw rihrahe tämolto yiqirta liyadärrigillät alčaläm* (BG: 30)

...though his heart was full of compassion, he could'n forgive him.

(11)   *haǧǧi igunčaččäw yänäbbäräwn čat bäwiha tägumätmiṭäw käwaṭu bähwala...* (GA: 108)

After Haǧǧi swallowed the kat which left in his mouth, by rinsing it down with water...

Additional adverbial meanings are testified by transformation of the gerundival phrase into a synonymous subordinate causal, conditional, concessive, or modal-expounding clause. For the respective phrases in (8)-(11) following transformations are possible:

(8')   *inqilf silä'aṭṭaš näw...*

It is because you lack sleep...

(9')   *yasäwn rist yaläbalabbatu fäqad bittars noro...*

If you would plough one's rist withouth the permission of the feudal Lord...

(10')   *libbaččäw rirahe minim bimmolla...*

Though his heart was filled with compassion...

(11')   *bäwiha iyyägomätämmäṭäw...*

By rinsing it down with water he...

The subjects of the gerundival and the main clause are not necessarily the same. But when they are identical the subject appears at the syntactic surface only one time, at the beginning of the sentence.

6. Gerunds take part in the formation of complex sentence predicates, and then they do not correspond to a subordinate clause, i.e. they have not the syntactic value of a clause.

Together with full, semi-auxiliary, and auxiliary verbs gerunds can constitute the predicate of a sentence. Their categorization in this function, however, remains $+V+Adv^o$, because they do not change their valency and take the position of a verbal modifier.

6.1. In composition with full verbs gerunds are able to form a complex predicate that expresses a new meaning, and, therefore, is considered as a compound verb. Syntactically these compounds are one constituent with its own valency, i.e. the syntactic arguments of the gerund and the finite verb sum up and are partially identical. Such complex predicates we regard as an analytical type of word-foration.[12]

Compound verbs containing gerunds are used frequently in Amharic.[13] Consequently, this analytical type of word formation seems to be quite productive. Cf. the following compounds:

läyyito awwäqä	'to be versed in'	(to distinguish + to know)
mälliso sättä	'to give back'	(to return + to give)
mälliso tärra	'to call back'	(to return + to call)
säbro gäbba	'to break in'	(to break + to enter)
sibo awätta	'to pull out'	(to pull + to bring out)
qädto awätta	'to draw out'	(to draw + to bring out)
bänno täffa	'to vaporize'	(to steam + to disappear)
anqo gäddälä	'to strangle'	(to choke + to kill)
täkättilo hedä	'to walk behind'	(to follow + to walk)
täkättilo rotä	'to run behind'	(to follow - to run)
gottito aqärräbä	'to draw near'	(to draw + to bring near)

The $+V+Adv^o$-gerunds in compound verbs always stand adjacent to the finite verb, and no syntactic constituent can be between the two components.[14] Here are some examples for the usage of compound verbs.

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[12]The main type of Amharic verbal word-formation is, however, synthetic (affixation). The gerunds in this function are comparable with the quasi-prefixes used in German word-formation, like zurück-, hinein-, auseinander- a.o., in "zurückkommen", "hineinwerfen", "auseinander-rennen" meaning come back, throw in and run apart.

[13]In MAAß (1990) about 100 compound verbs of Amharic are mentioned.

[14]If another constituent stands between the gerund and the finite verb the gerund is interpreted as the head of an isolated gerundival phrase with sentence value (cf. above under 5.).

(12)   *yänämay fitawrari asäge täzizäw mäṭṭaw wädä marqos yizäwač-*
         čäw hedä   (HA: 303)

The governor of Nämay, Fitawrari Asäge, having come by order, took
them with him to Marqos.

(13)   *assir assir ṭiyyit čämmira säṭṭaččaččäw* (BG: 42)

She gave ten additional bullets to each of them.

When the finite verb of the complex predicate is negated, the gerund lies in
the scope of negation, cf. *sibo alwaṭṭawm* means "he didn't pull it out". This is
not the case, when the finite verb of a composite sentence (containing a gerundival
phrase) is negated, cf. *bälto alhedäm* "Having eaten, he didn't go".

6.2. Gerunds in connection with semi-auxiliary verbs, like *čarräsä, fässamä,
qoyyä, walä, täqämmaṭä,* and *norä,* are used to express aspectual meanings. The
gerund (+V+Adv⁰) and the finite verb (+V-A⁰) forming a complex predicate
become a new semantical unit, where the last modifies the meaning of the first
with regard to the continuation or limitation of the action expressed by the gerund.
The finite verb itself undergoes a certain desemantization, and that is why it is
called then a semi-auxiliary verb or "Funktionsverb".[15] In this way one can ex-
press the conclusive, durative-limitative, and durative-aterminative aspects. See,
for example, the following sentences:

(14)   *anbibäw sičärrisu wäräqätu käğğaččäw wäddäqu* (HA: 142)

When he finished to read the letter dropped out of his hand.

(15)   *qänun mulu indätälämmädäw kä'and quṭqwaṭo sir täšäššigäw
         walunna...*   (GA: 77)

As usual they have been hiding themselves the whole day under a bush
and...

In a survey we summed up the semi-auxiliary verbs that are used for the
expression of aspects.

(i) conclusive aspect

čarräsä 'to finish', *fässämä* 'to complete', *abäqqa* 'to bring to an end',
adärräsä 'to accomplish'

(ii) durative-limitative aspect

qoyyä 'to wait, to remain', *qärrä* 'to remain', *aräffädä* 'to spend the mor-
ning', *amäššä* 'to spend the evening', *addärä* 'to spend the night', *walä*
'to spend the day', *sanäbbätä* 'to spend the week', *kärrämä* 'to spend the
winter/year'

(iii) durative-aterminative aspect
  täqämmaṭä 'to sit/settle down', *norä* 'to live'

Aspectual constructions with the gerund are negated by the negation of the finite verbs, as the compound verbs are.

To this type of aspectual construction we include the pattern "gerund + *yawqall/ayawqim*" expressing the sense of "ever/never".[16]

6.3. With the auxiliary verbs *allä* 'there is', *näbbara* '(he) was' and *honä* 'to become' the gerund forms the analytical tenses present perfect, past perfect, and probable perfect.

Being united with the gerund, the auxiliaries show a tendency to lose their personal inflection, i.e. they either are used in a clipped form (like *-all* and *näbbär*) or are frozen in the 3rd person singular masculine (like *yihonall*).

In the present perfect tense the clipped auxiliary *-all* merged with the gerund and both became one word (phonetically and graphically). This is the result of a phonological process connected with the disappearance of the glottalic sound (') in Amharic. But also morphologically the present perfect is on the way to become indivisible. It is neither used with the relative particle *yä-* nor does it appear with conjugations.[17]

Having lost their personal inflections, the auxiliaries *-all*, *näbbär*, and *yihonall* are now only tense markers, i.e. they have only a temporal meaning, whereas the gerund is marked for person, number, and gender. The present perfect even is on the way to become a synthetic tense form, because the auxiliary has the characteristics of a bounded morpheme.

The lost of the personal inflection seems to be a process not yet completed. Witness for this give the older grammars of Amharic as well as older texts, where the auxiliaries are presented either only inflected or both inflected and non-inflected.[18]

It is not necessary here to discuss meaning and usage of the tenses formed with the gerund, because this has been done exhaustively in earlier studies.[19]

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[16]Cf. TITOV (1959: 202)

[17]In these usages the present perfect is substituted by the simple perfect. One exclusion is the expression *indih hono sallä* 'besides that' which seems to be archaic.

[18]Cf. ISENBERG (1887: 72), MONDON-VIDALHEIT (1898: 69), TITOV (1963: 84).

[19]Cf. POLÁČEK (1972) and HARTMANN (1980), for instance.

6.4. Sometimes the gerund is used in connection with the copula *näw*. This usage, however, seems to be restricted to oral speech.[20] In agreement with KAPE-LIUK[21] we consider it to bę the result of the omission of a relative verb form. It is a kind of ellipsis with the intention to make a saying more expressive or to give it a sense of justification. See the next example:

    (16)   *gwaddäññannätkin fälligge näw* (BG: 77)

    I want your friendship!

This expression is preceded by the question: *lämin bärun qolläfkäw ...indinnitäñña näwa* 'Why you locked up the door ... to sleep with me, isn't it?' So (16) is the shortened answer to this question. The complete answer is, possibly, the following:

    (17)   *bärun   yäqolläfkut   indinnitäñña   sayhon   gwaddäññannatkin fälligge näw*

    I locked up the door not to sleep with you but to become your friend.

7. In many works about Amharic are mentioned adverbially used gerunds.[22]

Gerunds with the ability to function as an adverb have a variable categorization: $\alpha V+Adv^o$. Depending on its syntactic position a given gerund may belong either to the category $+V+Adv^o$ (cf. the gerunds descripted in 5. and 6.1-6.3) or to the category $+A+Adv^o$. The difference of the two categories is shown in the following sentences.

    (18)   *saratäññoččun mängädun asfaftäw bet mäsrat ǧämmäru*

    The workers, having widened the road, began to build a house.

    (19)   *ali siläguzow asfafto tänagroall*   .

    Ali talked about his journey in detail.

The gerunds in (18) and (19) differ in their syntactic valency: While *asfafto* in (18) can take a direct object (here *mängädun*) the same gerund in (19) is not able to take a direct object. The change of morpho-syntactic properties is accompanied by a semantic shift.

Gerunds of the category $\alpha V+Adv^o$ are inflected for person, number, and gender (in agreement with the syntactic subject). But the inflection is not necessary for this function. The majority of the adverbially used gerunds can be transformed into a synonymous prepositional phrase (PP) containing a noun which is

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[20]Therefore the "gerund + copula is not a tense form but a stylistic means to increase the expressivity of a sentence.

[21]Cf. KAPELIUK 1982.

[22]Cf. PRAETORIUS (1879:374), DAWKINS (1960: 96), TITOV (1959: 199).

derived from the same root as the gerund is.[23] The gerund in (19) can be substituted by the PP *bäsäfiw* (lit.: in extensive). This transformation is not applicable to the gerund in (18).

There is a great number of adverbially used gerunds. Here are some examples (in brackets we give the original verbal meaning):[24]

amriro	'bitterly' (*amarrärä* 'to make bitter')
maldo	'early (in the morning)' (*mallädä* 'to get up early')
amšito	'late' (*amäššä* 'to spend the evening')
mälliso	'again' (*malläsä* 'to return')
mälalliso	'often, repeatedly' (*malallässä* 'to return sometimes')
afrido	'late (in the morning)' (*aräffädä* 'to spend the morning')
riqo	'far' (*raqä* 'to be far')
täsasto	'by mistake' (*täsasatä* 'to make a mistake')
golto	'clearly' (*golla* 'to be clear')
aqqälatfo	'fluently' (*aqqälaṭṭäfä* 'to make quickly')
qälṭifo	'quickly' (*qäläṭṭäfä* 'to be quick')
qärbo	'nearly, nearby' (*qärräbä* 'to be near')
awqo	'consciousely' (*awwäqä* 'to know')
aṭliqo	'profoundly, deeply' (*aṭälläqä* 'to deepen')
aṭbiqo	'strongly' (*aṭäbbäqä* 'to strengthen')

8. A number of adverbially used gerunds have been frozen in the 3rd person, singular, masculine, i.e. they losed their personal inflection and remain unchangeable independently from person, number, and gender of the syntactic subject. The lost of inflection is the reason why such gerunds get the categorization +A+Adv⁰. In this way they became separate lexemes, namely adverbia tantum, and are not connected with the underlying verb. To the category of adverbs (+A+Adv⁰) belong the following gerunds:

alfo(m)	'furthermore'
alfo alfo	'sometimes, often'
wilo adro	'sooner or later'
zuro zuro	'at last, at the end'
qäṭṭilo(m)	'then'
dägmo	'again, also'

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[23]There is only a little number of genuine adverbs in Amharic. That is why the prepositional phrase take the positions of adverbs.

[24]More adverbially used gerunds see MAAß 1990.

čärriso	'completely, fully'
fässimo	'completely, at all'
kätto	'at all'
qädmo	'earlier, before'

Frozen gerunds that denote temporal or graduating circumstances can take the definite article (suffix *-w*) and the accusative form (suffix *-n*), cf. *qadmowinim* "earlier, before" and *kättowinim* "at all". The adverbialized gerund *qadmo* can even be connected with the relative particle *yä-*, cf. *yäqädmow säwočč* "people of the past". Due to these facts such gerunds are categorized as +N+A+Adv°-lexemes.[25]

9. The gerund of certain verbs can fulfill the syntactic function of a conjunction. As a conjunction serve the gerunds *hono(m)* "nevertheless, however" (from *honä* "to become"), *bilo(m)* "not only... but also" (from *alä* "to say"), *qärto* "to say nothing of, not to mention" (from *qärrä* "to remain"), *čämmiro* "as well as" (from *čämmärä* "to add"). All these conjunctions are copulative. For their usage see next sentences:

(20)   *alamaččäw yäsäw zär dässita näw. honom yihinin yäčiqunočč dässita bämiňňot bičča lämasgäňňät indämmayčilu yawqallu* (BG: 28)

Their aim is the happiness of mankind. They, however, know that the happiness of the opressed can't be attained only by wishes.

(21)   *bizuwoččaččin   yihin   yätigil   godana   linnizälqäw   qärto gimmaš mängädim lämähed anničilim* (BG: 25)

Many of us aren't able to cover the half of this path of struggle, not to mention to go it up to the end.

(22)   *wäyane tänässahu yämmiläw bätigray bilom bä'ityopya ikkulinnätin lämasfän näw* (YZI)

The rebel says: I rose up to safeguard equality not only in Tigray but also in Ethiopia.

10. The gerund takes part not only in the formation of syntactic units (sentences, clauses, predicates) but also in the formation of words. It occures as a part of several word classes. There are some few adverbial prepositions of the category +Adv+P° which contain a gerund:[26]

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[25]To this category belong, for instance, the genuine adverbs *bättam* "very", *iǧǧig* "very" as well as the denominal adverbs *zare* "today", *sämon* "this week", *ahun* "now".

[26]Though these prepositions consist of a pre- and postposition- and therefore could be called circumpositions - we name them prepositions, understanding this as a lexical category.

kä-...ğämmiro	'since'
kä-...ansito	'since'
kä-...qättilo	'after, behind'
kä-...alfo	'besides, beyond'
kä-...asqäddimo	'before'

The prepositions *kä-...ğämmiro* and *kä-...ansito* besides that can function as adverbial conjunctions with the same meaning "since". Their categorization remains the same, too.

(23)   *kätwat ğammiro yälläččim* (BG: 234)

She's away since the morning.

(24)   *bäzzabbih kätäwällädä ğämmiro ammist amät iskimmollaw mulu tena alnäbbärawm* (HA: 30)

Since Bäzzabbih was born up to the age of five he had never been completely healthy.

11. Moreover, the gerund takes part in the formation of nominal lexeme of the categories $+N+A^o$ and $+N-A^o$. This function of the gerund has been taken into consideration insufficiently in earlier studies, since it seems to be a quite productive pattern of modern Amharic word-formation.[27]

We have recorded about 40 compounds of the structure "gerund + noun". Here are some examples:

abro addäg	'childhood friend'
ačdo mäwqiya	'harvester thresher'
arqo tämälkaččinnät	'long-sightedness'
arqo assabi	'far-seeing'
arso addär	'peasant'
särto addär	'worker'
qäddo tiggäna	'surgery, operation (med.)'
awqo abäd	'excentric'
awqo färänğ	'impostor; con-man'
fätno däraš polis	'stand-by service of the police'
särto masayya	'pattern; sample'

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[27]In Amharic the nominal word-formation is chiefly based on morphological (affixation, patterns) and syntactical (status constructus, periphrasis, syntactic words) means. Word compounding is unusual and appeared, obviously, not long ago. Word compounds with the gerund were mentioned only marginally by ČERNECOV (1980) and RICHTER (1984) in connection with the word *särto addar*.

särgo gäbb	'intruder'
manahloňňinnät	'chauvinism'
(= *man ahlonn* + *innät*)	
wärro bälla	'gangster; rowdy'
zoro gätäm	'roundish'

Taking part in nominal word-formation, the gerund loses its personal inflection again and is used in the 3rd person, singular, masculine only. Cf.:

(25)   *yičč set särto addär nat*

This woman is a worker.

The gerund and the nominal part of such words morphologically and syntactically form one unit: case inflections and definite articles are added to its end [see (26)], and the relative particle as well as preposition stand before it [see (27)].

(26)   *särto addärun awqalIähu*

I know the worker.

(27)   *yäsärto addäročč sibsäba*

a meeting of workers

12. Based on this functional analysis the Amharic gerund is characterized as a polyfunctional verbal form which, depending on its concrete verbal meaning and syntactic position in a sentence, can belong to various lexeme classes (parts of speech). Furthermore, the Amharic gerund takes part in word-formation of prepositions, conjunctions, and nominal lexemes.

For the ascertainment of the grammatical functions (the lexical categorization) of Amharic gerunds we worked out some operational criteria:

1. Gerunds functioning as the head of an isolated gerundival phrase $(+V+Adv^o)$

(i) can be transformed into an adverbial clause with the corresponding adverbial meaning,

(ii) are not in the scope of negation of the finite verb,

(iii) are negated by the suppletive construction "*si* + neg.imperfect".

2. Gerunds of the category $+V+Adv^o$ functioning as a part of complex predicates (compound verbs, aspectual constructions, analytical tenses)

(i) are in the scope of negation of the finite verb,

(ii) cannot be transformed into an adverbial clause,

(iii) are always adjacent to the finite verb.

3. Gerunds functioning as adverbs $(\alpha V+Adv^o$ and $+A+Adv^o)$

(i) can be substituted by synonymous PP,

(ii) cannot be transformed into an adverbial clause,

(iii) show a tendency to lose their personal inflection, being frozen in the 3rd person, singular, masculine.

The tendency of gerunds in non-verbal functions to lose their personal inflection can be explained by the principle of language-economy having the aim to reduce redundant linguistic information. Gerunds functioning in non-verbal positions do not need the categories of person, number, and gender for their function. So the inflection is redundant.

A parallel process takes place in analytical tenses containing gerunds, where the inflection of the auxiliaries is redundant, because it enough to mark person, number, and gender at the gerund.

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AG = Abbe Gubäñña, Aliwwällädim, Addis Ababa 1973.
BG = Bä'alu Girma, Yäqäyy kokäb ṭiri, Addis Ababa 1975.
GA = Gäbbäyähu Ayyälä, Ṭamra tor, Addis Ababa 1980.
HA = Haddis Alämayyähu, Fiqir iskä mäqabir, Addis Ababa 1983.
YZI = Yäzareyyitu ityoṗya, yäkatit 3 qän, 1983.

Inverse Schreibungen des Reichsaramäischen im Lichte späterer aramäischer Orthographien und Aussprachen.

Rudolf MACUCH

Die Übernahme einer fremden Schrift für eine andere Sprache war keineswegs so problemlos, wie es uns nach Jahrtausenden orthographischer Entwicklung und Vereinfachung komplizierter Schriftsysteme erscheinen möchte. Es gab und gibt jedoch noch immer Semitisten, die das orthographische und lexikalische Gerüst des Altaramäischen (AA) sowie die scriftlichen Behelfsmittel des Reichsaramäischen (RA) für bare Münze genommen und daraus weitgehende unzureichende phonetische und andere sprachgeschichtliche Konsequenzen gezogen haben. Obwohl in den altaram. Inschriften schon einige aram. Elemente vorhanden sind, treten sie so furchtsam ans Licht und sind von orthographischen, morphologischen und lexikalischen, ja sogar syntaktischen Kanaanismen so stark überlastet, daß Joh. FRIEDRICH dazu neigte, in den Inschriften von Zencirli eine selbständige nordwestsemitische Sprache zu sehen, die er nach dem in ihnen erwähnten Ursprungsort als "Jaudisch" bezeichnete. "Für die Annahme eines aram. Untergrundes mit kanaanäischen Beimischungen" schien ihm in diesen Inschriften "zu wenig Aramäisches und vor allem zu viel Eigenständiges und noch dazu recht Altertümliches" vorhanden zu sein.[1] Diese Züge haben aber die Inschriften von Zencirli mit denen von Sfire und anderen altaram. Inschriften gemeinsam, auch wenn die Sprache der letzteren dem spätern RA näher steht und ihre Kanaanismen nachlassen.

I. Die altaram. Inschriften beweisen deutlich, mit welchen anfänglichen Schwierigkeiten das Schreiben des Aramäischen, das keine schriftliche Tradition hatte, verbunden war. Die Schreiber waren an kanaänischen Texten geschult und fanden es leichter, diese Sprache als ihre eigene aramäische zu schreiben. Deshalb gingen sie nur langsam und furchtsam vom Kanaanäischen zum Aramäischen über. Dies erklärt, warum es in diesen Inschriften so wenig Aramäisches und so viel Kanaanäisches und Archaisches gibt, beweist aber auf keinen Fall, daß diese künstliche Mischsprache tatsächlich gesprochen wurde, sondern vielmehr umgekehrt, daß sie von den wenigen Schreibern dem völlig analphabetischen Volk in seine Sprache übersetzt und in dieser interpretiert werden mußten.

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[1]J. FRIEDRICH, Zur Stellung des Jaudischen in der nordwestsemitischen Sprachgeschichte. In: Studies in Honour of Benno Landsberger (Chicago 1965, 425-429), Sp.428 unt.

Schriftliche Übernahme fremdsprachlicher Elemente, ja ganzer Wörter und flektierter Wortformen war bei der Übernahme fremder Schriften im Alten Orient durchaus üblich. Nicht nur die Akkader haben von den Sumerern zahlreiche Logogramme übernommen und akkadisch gelesen, sondern noch dreitausend Jahre danach, als die aram. alphabetische Schrift schon allgemein verbreitet war und auch das RA seine Rolle ausgespielt hatte, haben die Perser in ihre komplizierte, nur aus dreizehn allographischen Buchstaben bestehende mittelpersische Schrift, Pahlavi, über eintausend erstarrte logographische aramäische Formen eingeführt, mit deren Entzifferung die Iranistik noch immer nicht restlos fertig geworden ist. Nachdem die Perser schon in der Achaimenidenzeit - höchstwahrscheinlich nach dem Vorbild des aram. Alphabets - eine einwandfreie alphabetische Keilschrift für ihre alte Sprache erfunden haben, ist zwar dieser reaktionäre Schritt der Erfinder der mittelpersischen Schrift erstaunlich. Er ist aber gleichzeitig ein Beweis dafür, wie ernst man die geschriebenen Formen genommen hat: lieber sie behalten und übersetzen als sie durch eigensprachliche zu ersetzen!

Die Lage der altaram. Schreiber konnte nicht besser gewesen sein. Das Kanaanäische hatte schon eine Literatur, mit der die aram. Schreiber als einzige Gelehrte ihres Volkes vertraut gewesen sein mussten. Unter solchen Umständen ist es nicht erstaunlich, daß sie auch südkanaanäische Formen, die sie nicht direkt von den Phöniziern übernommen haben konnten, verwendet haben. Daß solche Formen eher durch Literaturkenntnisse als durch Reminiszenzen an ein Zusammenleben der Aramäer mit den Südkanaanäern in der Nomadenzeit erklärt werden können - wie ich vor knapp zwanzig Jahren, dem Vorschlag Friedrichs folgend,[2] annahm - steht außer Zweifel. Was mich damals irregeleitet hat, war vor allem der doppelte Gebrauch des nur aus dem Althebräischen bekannten *w-cons.impf.* in der Inschrift des Königs ZKR: *w's' ydy lbᶜlš(my)n wyᶜnny bᶜlšmy(n)* "u. ich erhob meine Hände zu B.-Š. u. B.-Š. erhörte mich". Heute halte ich diese vereinzelte althebr. Phrase in einer altaram. Inschrift aus Syrien einfach für ein literarisches Cliché. Der König ZKR hat die Phrase auf diese Art sicher nie ausgesprochen, und hätte der Schreiber sie dem Volk verständlich machen wollen, so hätte er zum normalen volkstümlichen *w* + Pf. zurückkehren müssen, das er zwar zu sprechen pflegte, aber nicht zu schreiben wagte.

II. Im RA schwinden zwar lexikalische und syntaktische Kanaanismen, aber kanaanäische orthographische Gepflogenheiten verbleiben bis zum Ende dieser künstlichen Hoschsprache. Die ursemitischen Interdentale, *d̠* und *t̠*, wurden auch weiter durch die Zischlaute *z* und *š*, wie im Kanaanäischen und Akkadischen,

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[2]R. MACUCH, In: F. ALTHEIM - R. STIEHL, Christentum am Roten Meer, I (1971) (537 - 557), S. 545 f.

wiedergeben, obwohl ihre tatsächliche Aussprache sich kaum von den im späteren Aramäisch üblichen Dentalen, *d* und *t*, unterschied. Gelegentliche Dubletten, wie *zhb* u. *dhb* od. *šql* u. *tql* usw., beweisen nur, daß es sich bei den häufigeren ersteren um eine historische, bei den selteren letzteren aber um eine phonetische Schreibung handelt. Wie hochgehalten die historische Schreibungen war, erhellt sich nicht nur durch das seltene Auftauchen phonetischer Varianten, sondern auch durch gelegentliche Verschlimmbesserungen, in denen ursprüngliche Dentale durch Zischlaute ersetzt werden, wodurch Formen, wie *zyn wzbb* (Brooklyn-Pap. 3:17) für das ursprüngliche und auch im RA übliche *dyn wdbb* "Gerichtsprozeß" u.ä., zustande kamen,[3] die wir mit J. BLAU als "hyper-archaisch" oder "hyperkorrekt" bezeichnen. Die Tendenz historischer Orthographie auf Kosten der tatsächlichen Aussprache geht aus solchen auf falschen etymologischen Vorstellungen beruhenden archaisierenden Formen deutlich hervor.

Merkwürddigerweise haben die Mandäer, deren Orthographie am wenigsten historisch ist und an Zweckmäßigkeit alle anderen semitischen Schriften übertrifft, sechs Jahrhunderte nach dem Ableben des RA Dubletten *zahbā - dahbā* "Gold", *ziqnā - deqnā* "Bart", ZKR - DKR "erwähnen, sich erinnern" und einige andere, deren *z* auf ursemitisches *d* zurückgeht, in ihre Literatur eingeführt und zu diesen aus falscher Analogie auch *zəmā - dəmā* "Blut" und *zeqlā - deqlā* "Palme" hinzugefügt, die in allen semitischen Sprachen nur das ursprüngliche *d* aufweisen.[4] In der *ābāgādischen* "buchstabengetreuen" traditionellen Lesung wird zwar die schriftliche Form dieser Dubletten phonetisch anerkannt. Die neumandäische Volksprache, in der alle diese Wörter erhalten geblieben sind, kennt aber nur die gemeinaramäischen Formen mit *d*, und es ist ausgeschlossen, daß sie auch auf einer früheren Sprachstufe hätten anders gesprochen werden können. Die schriftliche Wiedergabe des ursemitischen *d* durch *z* sowie der "hyperkorrekte" Gebrauch dieses Buchstabens an Stelle des ursprünglichen *d* in einem jungaramäischen Dialekt, der sich am meisten vom Ballast der historischen Rechtschreibung befreit hat, sind ein erstaunlicher Beweis einer überlangen Nachwirkung der künstlichen Orthographie des RA, nicht seiner Aussprache.

III. Wesentlich komplizierter ist das Problem der Wiedergabe des ursem. stimmhaften emphatischen lateralen Spiranten *d* durch die postvelare Explosiva *q* im AA und älteren RA. Das Problem ist dadurch erschwert, daß uns genaue alte Aussprache keines dieser beiden Laute bekannt und nur aufgrund späterer Aus-

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[3]Siehe R. STIEHL, Kanaanäisch und Aramäisch. In: F. ALTHEIM - R. STIEHL, Die Araber in der alten Welt I (1964) (213-236), S. 233; J. BLAU, On Pseudo-Corrections in Some Semitic Languages. (1970), S. 47.

[4] Th. NÖLDEKE, Mandäische Grammatik (MG), § 46, S.43f.; R. MACUCH, Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic (HCMM), § 38, S. 66 ff.

sprachen postuliert werden kann. Weiterhin wurde dieser ursem. Laut im Akkadischen und Kanaanäischen durch das stimmlose emphatische $ṣ$ dargestellt, was eine Vorverlegung der Artikulationsstelle voraussetzt, während man bei altaram. q mit einer Rückverschiebung rechnen muß.

Die Beurteilung dieses Lautes kann unter den erwähnten Umständen nur hypothetisch sein. Brockelman sagte: "Dies wird wohl als tönende velare Explosiva zu deuten sein... Später ist dann für die Explosiva die Spirans $ġ$ eingetreten, die wie ursemit. $ġ$ zu $ʿ$ verschoben wird."[5] Spätere Forscher definierten dies q ($< ḏ$) einfach als eine postvelare Spirans (H.H. Schaeder[6]), S. Segert,[7] Kl. Beyer[8] u.a.). BROCKELMANNS Annahme, daß es sich dabei ursprünglich um eine Explosiva handeln konnte, wurde dadurch veranlaßt, daß q in allen semitischen Schriften explosiv gelesen wird. Nur wurde aber dieses altertümliche q ($< ḏ$) in allen aram. Dialekten zu $ʿ$ verschoben, und diese Verschiebung war schon um 600 v. Chr. auch im RA vollzogen.[9] Die alte historische Schreibung mit q wird zwar z.T. noch mitgeschleppt, aber die phonetische mit $ʿ$ wird schon häufiger, bis in einer aram. Glosse, Jer. 10_{11}, die beiden Formen des Wortes "Erde", $arqā$ und $arʿā$, nebeneinander stehen.

Das q ($< ḏ$) im AA und RA war kaum mehr als ein Notbehelf für das postvelare spirantische $ġ$, für welches das kanaanäisch-aram. Alphabet keinen geeigneten Buchstaben hatte. Der Umstand, daß die Erfinder der altaram. Orthographie sich nicht damit zufriedengaben, ihn einfach in kanaanäischer Art und Weise mit $ṣ$ wiederzugeben, obwohl die graphische Wiedergabe der ursem. Interdentale durch z und $š$ gegen ihre eigene Artikulation sie nicht störte, mag beweisen, daß sie sich seiner Sonderstellung in ihrem phonetischen System bewußt waren. Nachdem aber schon frühzeitig, spätestens im 6. vorchr. Jh. dieses $ġ$ zu $ʿ$ verschoben wurde, stellt seine weitere Darstellung durch q nur eine historische Orthographie dar.

Ein merkwürdiges Beispiel dieser altertümlichen Orthographie bietet uns wieder das Mandäische, das das ursemitische d in drei Wörtern mit q wiedergibt, nämlich $aqamra$ "Wolle", $aqna$ "Schaff" und $arqa$ "Erde", zu denen man aus falscher Analogie auch $aqapra$ "Staub" hinzugefügt hat, dessen Anlaut auf ursemitisches $ʿ$ zurückgeht.[10] Die traditionelle Lesung anerkennt das q in all diesen

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[5]C. BROCKELMANN, *GVG*, I, S. 134.

[6]H.H. SCAEDER, Iranische Beiträge. I., S. 246f.

[7]S. SEGERT, Altaramäische Grammatik. S. 91 (3.2.6.5.).

[8]K. BEYER, Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer. S. 101

[9]K. BEYER, a.O.

[10]NÖLDEKE, MG § 66; MACUCH, HCMM § 59.

Wörtern außer *ara* "Erde", das zwar immer mit *q* geschrieben, aber konsequent ohne es gelesen wird. Daß die Lesungen mit *q* hyperkorrekt sind, wird durch phonetisch geschriebene Varianten *amra, an(n)a* (urspr. wohl *āna*) und *afra* bewiesen. Während die zwei ersten Wörter ausgestorben sind, sind die zwei weiteren *ara* "Erde" und *afra* "Staub" noch in der heutigen mand. Volkssprache bekannt. Man wird hier wohl mehr Vertrauen der lebendigen Aussprache als dem fraglichen traditionellen Lesen einer toten Sprache schenken.

Das *q* in den genannten mand. Wörtern ist ein Petrefakt, das in der lebenden Sprache keinen phonetischen Wert gehabt haben konnte. Da es in alle jungaram. Sprachen schriftlich und lautlich durch ʿ ersetzt wurde, das aber die Mandäer in ihrer Sprache nicht hatten und dessen Buchstaben von Anfang an zum Ausdruck der vorderen Vokale verwendeten, sahen sich die Urheber der mand. Orthographie gezwungen, die älteren reichsaram. Formen ohne Rücksicht auf ihre eigene Aussprache zu übernehmen. Auffällig ist dabei das überflüssige prosthetische *a* bei den ersten zwei Wörtern. H.H. SCHAEDER neigte dazu, darin eine inverse Schreibung zu sehen: "Wahrscheinlich haben die Mandäer beide Worte ihrer eigenen Aussprache *(amrā, āna)* dadurch angepaßt, daß sie vorn ein *a* einfügten", also ein phonetisches *a* privativum, das andeuten sollte, daß der folgende Buchstabe zu annullieren ist.

Ich muß gestehen, daß ich mich mit dieser geistreichen Theorie lange nicht anfreunden konnte, weil sie allem, was sonst über den überflüssigen prosthetischen Vokal im Babylonischen Aramäisch bekannt ist, widerspricht, vgl. *aqammī* "vor ihm", *aqārī* "bei ihm" usw. Woher sollten einfache spätere Leser wissen, daß das *q* von *aqamra* usw. auf ursem. *ḏ* zurückgeht und deshalb nicht gelesen werden soll, das *q* von *aqammī* usw. aber ursprünglich ist und deshalb ausgesprochen werden muß?[11] Der Irrtum der traditionellen Lesung besteht aber gerade darin, daß sie ein sekundäres, historisch-orthographisches *q* mit dem ursprünglichen phonetischen gleichsetzt.

Obwohl mir SCHAEDERS Theorie einer inversen Schreibung durch Voransetzung eines *a* zwecks Annullierung des folgenden Konsonanten allzu geistreich vorkam, als daß ich eine derartige Erfindung den Urhebern der mandäischen Orthographie hätte zumuten können, erscheint sie mir jetzt auch aus anderen Überlegungen möglich. Die häufigen Personalpronomina der 2. P.Sg. u. Pl. werden im klassischen Mandäisch mit absoluter Konsequent *anat* und *anatun*

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[11]Vgl. schon meine früheren Äußerungen in: Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer (Studia Mandaica, I, 1976). S. 111-114, 142-145, in denen ich noch den mechanischen traditionellen Lesungen der uralten Schriftbilder mehr Vertrauen schenkte, als sie verdienen; deshalb suchte ich in dem einzigen aus der Volkssprache bekannten und richtig gelesenen *ara* "Erde" eher eine Ausnahme als die Regel.

geschrieben, als ob der Einschub des zweiten *a* das etymologische *n*, das in allen aramäischen Dialekten, einschließlich des Neumandäischen, total regressiv assimiliert wurde, hätte phonetisch sichern sollen. Angesichts der neumandäischen Formen *āt* und *atton*, die auf keiner früheren Sprachstufe mit nich assimiliertem etymologischen *n* ausgesprochen werden konnten, bläst uns auch hier die buchstabengetreue traditionelle Lesung dieser Pronomina als *anat* und *anatton* nur Staub in die Augen. Derartige Unformen hätten kaum in einem lebenden aram. Dialekt existieren können. Da die beiden Pronomina mit *a* anlauten, haben die Urheber der mand. Orthographie wohl durch die Hintansetzung des zweiten *a* die phonetische ratio des auf diese merkwürdige Art eingeklammerten etymologischen *n* annullieren wollen.[12]

IV. Das letzte Beispiel führt uns zum Problem des *n*-Infixes, das zwar im RA oft, aber ziemlich inkonsequent, im Syrischen regelmäßig mit der *linea occultans* versehen, im Mandäischen demgegenüber nicht nur äußerst häufig geschrieben, sondern auch von der traditionellen Aussprache völlig anerkannt und darüber hinaus hyperkorrekt in zahlreiche Wörter und Formen eingeschoben wird, in denen es aus sprachgeschichtlichen Gründen sowie der lebenden neumandäischen Aussprache zufolge nie eine phonetische ratio haben konnte.

Die perplexe Lage des *n*-Infixes, die schon beim RA den Forschern Kopfzerbrechen verursacht hatte, hat A. SPITALER bewogen, in seinem Aufsatz "Zur Frage der Geminatendissimilation im Semitischen - Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Orthographie des Reichsaramäischen" (Indogerm. Forschungen, LXI (1954), S. 257-266) zwecks Entlastung der (reichsaram.) Phonetik das Problem als rein historisch-orthographisch darzustellen. Während frühere Forscher bei diesem Infix nicht nur Geminatendissimilation, sondern im Falle des schon früher regressiv assimilierten, später oder vielleich schon gleichzeitig wieder geschriebenen *n* sogar eine wenig ökonomische Redissimilation oder ein unwahrscheinliches Unterbleiben der Assimilation voraussetzten, hat A. SPITALER in seiner logisch aufgebauten Argumentation deutlich zur Geltung gebracht, daß die letzteren völlig ausgeschlossen, die erstere aber nur vor homorganen Lauten nämlich Labialen, Dentalen und Palatalen, möglich ist, vor Zischlauten, besonders aber vor Laryngalen einfach auf Gründen orthographischer Analogie beruhen muß.

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[12]Eine ähnliche inverse Schreibung durch Hintansetzung des *a* sehe ich jetzt auch in der Vergleichspartikel *aiak*, deren eingeschobenes *a* ich früher (HCMM, 121:22) anders beurteilte. Auch diese mußte eher dem syr. *a(y)k̲* (mit Kontraktion des ursprünglichen Diphtongs) entsprechen, als sich von ihm durch Vokaleinschub zu unterscheiden. Eine nicht kontrahierte Form dieser Partikel ist nicht bekannt. Im Neumandäischen wurde sie durch *hemke* ersetzt, weist aber auch in dieser Form die Kontraktion des fallenden Diphtongs der darin enthaltenen Fragepartikel *ay* auf, das eine buchstabengetreue Lesung des klassischen *aiak* ausschließt.

Sein Ausgangspunkt waren die häufigsten Wörter der Sprache, nämlich die schon erwähnten Pronomina der der 2. P. Sg. u. Pl. und einige Nominal- und Verbalformen mit etymologischem *n*, das bekanntlich assimiliert, trotzdem aber uneinheitlich teils unterlassen, teils geschrieben wurde. Die logischen Schlußfolgerungen waren: 1) etymologische Schreibungen des *n* in Wörtern, in denen es assimiliert wurde, die deshalb (neben der phonetischen Schreibungen ohne *n*) einfach die Gemination des folgenden Konsonanten andeuten sollte; 2) graphische Übertragung dieses Buchstabens auf alle anderen Fälle des nicht etymologischen *n*, in denen es nach diesem Vorbild ebenfalls nur Konsonantenverdoppelung angeben sollte und keine phonetische ratio haben konnte. In beiden Fällen handelte es sich um eine inverse Schreibung ohne phonetische Konsequenzen: die erste, etymologische, in der schon die Assimilation des *n* allgemein war, hat Schule gemacht und folgerichtig in allen Fällen, in denen ein etymologisch unberechtigtes *n* auftauchte, hat es einfach zur Bezeichnung der Gemination gedient.

Es muß ausdrücklich bemerkt werden, daß hier RA ausschließlich als eine Hochsprache betrachtet wird, die zur schriftlichen Verständigung auf einem umfangreichen Territorium diente und dialektale Unterschiede nicht berücksichtigen konnte. A. SPITALER bemerkt ausdrücklich: "Es ist natürlich nicht zu leugnen, daß in der lebendigen Sprache Formen mit und ohne Dissimilation nebeneinander denkbar sind und auch wirklich vorkommen, nur erscheint es mir ausgeschlossen, daß sich dergleichen in einem solchem Umfang in der Schrift ausgeprägt haben sollte."[13] Diese Aussage impliziert, daß die aus der historischen Orthographie des RA bekannten *n*-Infixe und die späteren tatsächlich phonetischen jungaramäischen und semitischen insgesamt nicht auf gleiche Ebene zu setzen sind. Das RA war kein Dialekt und keine gesprochene, sondern eine überregionale Sprache, die die dialektalen Unterschiede eher zu eliminieren als zu fördern pflegte. Seine Aussprache, die jedenfalls nur künstlich und den orthographischen Tatsachen nicht entsprechend sein konnte, ist uns unbekannt. Wir wissen auch nicht, ob und wieweit es tatsächlich gelesen, oder direkt in den gesprochenen Lokaldialekt (im Westen) oder in die Landessprache (wie in Persien) übertragen wurde.

Unter solchen Umständen ist es nicht erstaunlich, daß A. SPITALERS Beitrag "zur Kenntnis der Orthographie des Reichsaramäischen" auf zahlreiche Mißverständnisse und ungerechtfertigte Kritik gestoßen ist, denen auch ich selbst zum Opfer gefallen bin. Es ist schon üblich, daß ein Mißverständnis weiteren Mißverständnissen den Weg ebnet. Meine mißverständlichen kritischen Äußerungen aufgrund der Wucherung des *n*-Infixes in dem etwa sechs Jahrhunderte späteren

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[13]L.c. S. 262f.

Mandäischen haben den Eindruck geweckt, daß ich gefürchtet habe SPITALER hätte die Aussprache des Wortes "Mandäisch" beeinträchtigen wollen.[14] Nachdem A. SPITALER die Wucherung des *n*-Infixes in späteren aram. Dialekten ausdrücklich bestätigt, sie aber von der orthographischen Gepflogenheit des RA deutlich getrennt hat, sei es mir erlaubt, einige zusätzliche Bemerkungen zu dem Problem aufgrund der Unterschiede zwischen dem Ost- und Westaramäischen sowie des Alt- und Neumandäischen, die die SPITALER'SCHE Theorie rehabilitieren, anzuführen.

Im kanaanäischen und westaramäischen Sprachbereich war die Assimilation des *n*, im babylonischen die Geminatendissimilation und Nasalierung üblich, die auf einem sumerisch-akkadisch-iranischen Substrat beruhte, in dem die Lautgruppe *n* + Konsonant außergewöhnlich beliebt war, wodurch die Wucherung des *n*-Infixes gefördert wurde. Deshalb meint St. A. KAUFMAN wohl richtig: "A significant feature of several of the Aramaic dialects is the dissimilation by initial nasalisation expressed graphically by *n*. Though occuring elsewhere in Semitic and Indo-European language families, it is a salient feature of the Babylonian dialect of Akkadian..., and it may well be a feature common to a group of languages around Babylonia including Amorite and the early southeastern dialects of Aramaic",[15] und noch deutlicher J.D. WHITEHEAD: "The evidence suggests that foreign langage influence may well lie behind the phenomenon of dialectal preservation of *nun* in the Imperial Aramaic period and that Babylonian Akkadian may be the source of that influence".[16] An diese These möchte ich mich gern anschließen. Das aram. *n*- Infix verbreitete sich eher vom Osten nach Westen als umgekehrt.

Die Rezeption des *n*-Infixes der ostaramäischen Schreiber bei den westaramäischen konnte allerdings nur sehr vorsichtig gewesen sein. Denn das, was in einem Dialekt als euphonisch gilt, kann in einem anderen als kakophonisch betrachtet werden. Die westliche Assimiltaionstendenz und die östliche Geminatendissimilations- sowie Nasalisierungstendenzen schließen sich gegenseitig aus wie Feuer und Wasser. Schon im Hebr. wurde das iranische Lehnwort *ganzbar* "Schatzmeister" (mand. *ganzobra* "Hoherpriester") zu *gizbar*, und dieser hebr. Text (Ezra 1:8) stammt schon aus der Blütezeit des RA. Man kann sich also schwer vorstellen, daß die westaram. Schreiber ihre Aussprache geändert haben, als das nicht etymologische *n* bei ihnen auftauchte, und noch weniger, daß sie

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[14]J. BLAU, *op.cit.*, S. 126 A2; F. ALTHEIM - R. STIEHL, Christentum am Roten Meer. I, S. 564.

[15]St.A. KAUFMAN, The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic. (1974), S. 120.

[16]J.D. WHITEHEAD, Some Distinctive Features of the Language of the Arsames Correspondence. In: JNES 37/1978 (S.119-140), S. 125.

beim Auftauchen des etymologischen, das schon vor langem in allen aram. Dialekten assimiliert war, es redissimiliert hätten. Sie haben es vielmehr als eine Art inverse Schreibung zum Ausdruck der bei ihnen üblichen Gemination betrachten müssen.

Man kann deshalb Klaus BEYERS folgender Aussage ohne Einschränkung zustimmen: "Im späteren Altaramäisch (7.-6. Jh.v.Chr.) wird wurzelhaftes *n* zwar mehrfach geschrieben, aber fast jeder Text bietet auch Beispiele ohne *nun*, die Schreibungen mit *nun* entsprechen also nicht der Aussprache, sondern sind etymologisch (die Wurzel zeigend) oder historisch (d.h. hier: übernommen).[17]

Erhärtet wird diese These durch die Praxis der syr. Masoreten, die auch BEYER in der bezüglichen Anmerkung erwähnt: Daß die Aramäer nicht der Meinung waren, jeder Buchstabe müsse gesprochen werden, zeigt die Tatsache, daß besonders die syrischen Punktatioren oft Buchstaben als nicht auszusprechen kennzeichnen. Bei ihrer Entstehung waren diese Schreibungen in der Regel phonetisch, konnten jedoch auch von Anfang an zur der Verdeutlichung der Form dienen (graphische Analogie) ..."[18] Ein großer Teil der syr. *lineae occultantes* gehört gerade dem etymologischen sowie dem analogischen *n*-Infix. Dadurch wird bewiesen, daß nicht nur in der westaramäischen Welt, sondern auch auf dem syro-mesopotamischen Gebiet die Aussprache dieses sekundären *n* nicht als musterhaft betrachtet wurde, obwohl es in der Volkssprache mehrfach vorhanden war.

Es verbleibt also nur die südbabylonische Ecke, in der die Juden, besonders aber die Mandäer vor diesem Infix keine Scheu hatten, sondern sogar seinen Gebrauch sowohl schriftlich als auch mündlich hyperkorrekt übertrieben haben. Für diese zwei Völker war das *n*-Infix eine phonetische Realität, wobei aber diese Ausnahme die unumgängliche Regel, daß dem im RA nicht so gewesen sein konnte, nur bestätigt.

Zum Abschluß darf ich auf einige schriftliche Übertreibungen dieses volkstümlichen Phänomens aufmerksam machen, die beweisen, daß es trotz seiner Beliebtheit weniger in der Volkssprache als in der Literatur und ihrer fraglichen traditionellen Lesung verbreitet war.

Schon das Wort *manda*, von dem der Name "Mandäer" gebildet wurde, ist offensichtlich *nicht* mandäischen Ursprungs. Denn gerade das Mandäische kennt keine dissimilierten Formen der Wurzel YDA "wissen". Gegenüber dem bibl.-aram. Impf. *inda^c, tinda^c, yində^cūn* lautet das mand. Impf. *nidda, tidda* usw. und für das bibl.-aram. *manda^c* "Verstand, Einsicht" gebrauchten die Mandäer einfaches *madda* für "(profanes) Wissen". Erst für die Begriffe "Gnosis" und "gnosti-

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[17]K. BEYER, *op.cit.*, S. 89.

[18]ebda. A.1.

scher Erlöser" haben die Erfinder der mand. Religion *manda* geprägt oder vielleicht einer jüdischen Quelle entnommen. Solche Begriffe entstehen nicht einfach im Kopfe des Volkes, sondern werden von Gelehrten erfunden, die auch neue Ausdrücke für sie prägen. Man wird freilich diese einfache Erfindung der Gründer des Mandäismus als geistreich betrachten müssen. Das erweiterta *manda* klang wegen der Beliebtheit des *n*-Infixes feierlicher als das einfache *madda*. Es ist eine "hyperkorrekte" Form nicht nur in der Schrift, sondern auch in der Aussprache mit allen Konsequenzen. Mandäisch ist nicht nur eine Sprache, sondern auch eine Religion des *n*-Infixes *par excellence*. Durch dessen Vorhandensein in dem wichtigsten Religionsbegriff wurde dieses Infix quasi geheiligt. Es ist deshalb nicht erstaunlich, daß es in der religiösen Literatur noch mehr als in der Volksprache gewuchert hat.

Die mand. Umgangsprache, die entweder überhaupt nicht oder nur selten und wenig geschrieben wurde, hat freilich zu diesem Problem der altmand. Orthographie, die auf den Trümmern der reichsaramäischen entstanden ist, wenig zu sagen. Das *n*-Infix lebt zwar in zahlreichen altererbten Wörtern aber Neubildungen dieser Art entstehen selten. Darüber hinaus beweisen gerade die häufigsten umgangsprachlichen Wörter, daß das literarische *n*-Infix nicht in allen Fällen phonetische ratio haben konnte, die ihm von der buchstabengetreuen traditionellen Lesung verliehen wird, vgl. besonders die schon erwähnten neumand. Pronomina der 2.P. Sg. u. Pl. *āt* u. *atton* gegenüber der inversen kl. Schreibung und unberechtigten buchstabengetreuen traditionellen Lesung *anat* u. *anatton*; weiter kl. *anfī* "Gesicht" = neumandäisch *appā*; kl. *entā* "Weib" = neumand. *eṭṭā*, das gegenüber dem syr. *attā* die Unmöglichkeit der Geminatendissimilation noch dadurch erhärtet, daß sein geminiertes *t* auch spirantisiert wird; nachkl. *kunza* "Krug", dessen hyperkorrekte graphische Form zwar der Analogie von *genza* "viel", *manza* "Haar" u.ä. folgt, dessen volkstümliche Aussprache aber genau dem persischen *kūze* entspricht, usw. Mindestens in solchen Fällen muß man zugeben, daß es sich um rein orthographisches und kein phonetischen *n* handeln mußte.

Wie leicht hier Verschlimmbesserungen stattfanden, durch die manchmal monströse hyperkorrekte Formen zustande kamen, darf ich an einem phonetisch und morphologisch gegen die Geminatendissimilation gesicherten Beispiel darstellen. In den nomina agentis des Typus *qattāl* wurde im Mandäischen die Gemination seit alters her aufgegeben. Das Alter dieser Vereinfachung wird durch die Spirantisierung des zweiten Radikals in *aḵāla* "Fresser", *nafāqa* "der aus dem Körper Scheidende, der Sterbende" u.ä. bewiesen. Das einzige Nomen dieses Typus, in dem der zweite Radikal nicht spirantiziert wird, ist das noch im Neumandäischen häufige *gabāra* "Held", das aber trotz der Aufhebung der Spirantisierung deutlich mit einfachem, nicht geminiertem *b* gesprochen wird, so daß hier keine Auflösung der Gemination durch Dissimilation möglich ist. Trotzdem

haben sich einige späte Abschreiber einfallen lassen, bei einer Weiterbildung von diesem Nomen das korrekte *gabarwāta* "Heldentaten" durch den Einschub des *n/m* in ein hyperkorrektes *gambarwāṭa* zu verunstalten.

Nach der Heiligung des *n*-Infixes durch den Namen *manda* schien den Mandäern überflüssige Infigerung dieses Lautes nicht nur keine Sünde, sondern sogar eine gute Tat gewesen sein. Dies wird besonders durch die erstaunliche Lesung von *ṭūra d-madai* (Var. *midai*) "medisches Gebirge" (Harān Goweytā, Z. 33f.) als *ṭūra ad-manday* "mandäisches Gebirge" durch meinen Gewährsmann, Scheich ʿAbdollāh von Ahwāz,[19] bestätigt. Obwohl der eigenname auf *māday* "Medien "zurückgeht und deshalb auch kein geminiertes *d* enthalten konnte und auch kein graphisches *n* enthält, wurde er durch dessen Einschub "mandäisiert". Der Scheich hat auch kaum diese Lesung erfunden, sondern sie entweder von seinem Lehrer gehört oder sogar in einer uns unbekannten Hs. gefunden. Jedenfalls gehört sie zu den Mosaikstücken, aus denen die traditionelle Lesung der mandäischen Schriften besteht.

Eine derartige späte Überlastung mit dem *n*-Infix hat freilich zu den ursprünglichen sowohl orthographischen als auch phonetischen Verhältnissen im RA wenig zu sagen. Nachdem die alte Sprache bei den Mandäern zum größten Teil vergessen wurde, darf man bei ihrem Glauben an die verbale Inspiration ihrer Offenbarungsschriften, aus denen fast ihre gesamte Literatur besteht, und in denen kein Iota vergehen soll, nicht darüber staunen, daß sie bei ihrem Lesen immer mehr dem Buchstaben zum Opfer gefallen, als dem ursprünglichen Geist der Sprache gefolgt sind.

Zu meiner früheren Bekämpfung des rein orthographischen Charakters des *n*-Infixes im RA aufgrund der mandäischen und späteren aramäischen Aussprachen darf ich - ähnlich wie Th. NÖLDEKE in einem weniger gravierenden Fall in Nachträgen und Berichtigungen zu seiner Mandäischen Grammatik[20] - bekennen: "Ich habe mich hier gründlich versehen". Das *n*-Infix ist zwar ein allgemein verbreitetes phonetisches Phänomen - dies hat auch A. SPITALER genügend betont -, nicht aber im Kanaanäischen und RA. In der letzteren Sprache konnte deshalb das etymologisch unberechtigte *n* + Konsonant nur eine inverse Schreibung und keine musterhafte Aussprache darstellen.

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[19] MACUCH, HCMM, S. LI, vgl. ders., Neumandäische Chrestomathie (1989), S. 25.

[20] NÖLDEKE, MG, S. 486 (zu 337, 4).

Problems of Gəʿəz philology.

Paolo MARRASSINI

Gəʿəz is one of the most important languages for the study of Semitic, and South Semitic in particular. But, as every dead language, it can be fully utilized by the linguist only as far as philologically reliable texts are offered. This is especially true for the study of those phenomena which lie behind the general and, so to speak, macroscopic knowledge of the language, and which are concerned, above all, with its internal history (loss of accusative, loss of subjunctive, and so on), and its less striking phenomena (e.g. emhasizing particles, compound prepositions, conjunctions, construction of the adjective on the substantive, etc.).

But what is the best method for obtaining philologically reliable texts? The problem is not that, in the field of oriental studies, there is no general agreement about this problem, but exactly the reverse: a fairly uniform criterion is used almost universally, and as a result the linguistic phenomena just mentioned are all too often cast into the shade. Of course, one needs not to take seriously those who publish a text, similar to others already known before, as it were a new one[1], or who think that four testimonia are not enough to justify a critical edition[2]. But even among scholars really concerned with the texts they are studying, the aforementioned theory seems to prevail - that of the "basic manuscript". As an example, we can take into account the opinions of a distinguished editor of Syriac texts, the late René DRAGUET[3], and of a young and very intelligent editor of Ethiopic texts, Manfred KROPP[4]. Their arguments are basically two: a) to reproduce a text which has existed[5], and not an "artificial" one, in order to be really objective, and b) to reproduce a text neutral enough to consent the insertion of variants from mss

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[1] So F.A. DOMBROWSKI, Tānāsee 106: Eine Chronik der Herrscher Äthiopiens. Wiesbaden 1983; see my review in RSE 30 (1984-6), 199-201, D.'s "rejoinder" in RSE 31 (1987), 266-269, and my answer ibid. 269-271.

[2] E. HAMMERSCHMIDT, Or 59 (1990), 93; if this principle was accepted, most editions by Romance philologists would be immediately eliminated.

[3] R. DRAGUET, Une méthode d'édition des textes syriaques. in R.H. FISCHER (ed.), A tribute to Arthur Vööbus. Chicago 1977, 13-18.

[4] M. KROPP, Le réedition des Chroniques éthiopiennes: perspectives et premiers resultats. "Abbāy" 12 (1983-4), 49-72, esp. 57. Cp. also, by the same author, Die äthiopischen Königs-chroniken in der Sammlung des Däǧǧmazmač Haylu ..., Frankfurt am Main 1989, 263.

[5] Even in its mistakes, according to DRAGUET, but not - rather unexpectedly - in its pointing.

which could be found in the future, and which could otherwise "make short-lived" (so both authors) a text edited with eclectic criteria[6].

I think we are faced here with a basic misunderstanding of what a critical edition should be. This is not a mere collection of cards, something external to the editor or to the reader, who can occasionally pick out the reading they prefer from a repertory which is neutral (in the apparatus as well as in the text) in principle. On the contrary, it is a real, original scientific work like any book or any article on any subject. It implies choices and interpretations; it cannot be - it must not be really objective, if not within the reasonable limits of any scientific work. The editor is not a sort of human photocopier, but a professional who *writes* a critical edition instead of a "normal" book or article, and cannot leave the choice of his theories to the reader - if not in the documentation presented in his particular kind of footnotes, i.e. the critical apparatus. True, any new ms can modify his edition; but it is also true that any new finding modifies any previous theory: have we to stop writing our aforesaid books and articles because of that? From this point of view, to indicate some *lege* in the critical apparatus, and not to do the reverse, is only a matter of fetishism for the material product, unless this is the original or the archetype. And finally, how to select this "best manuscript"? It cannot be generically the most correct, because this in many cases would contradict the rule of the *lectio difficilior*; in fact, it can be confidently selected only after a complete edition by the "non-basic ms" (i.e. lachmannian, for simplicity's sake) method. But at that point one can wonder if such reversal is really worth while. Besides, even a meticulous counting on points among some good mss. could give very doubtful results.

For example, for the text of ᶜAmda Seyon's Chronicle, KROPP clearly prefers as a "basic ms" the Bodleian 29 (ex-Bruce 88)[7]. This is certainly the best ms from an aesthetic point of view, and it is also the oldest; this holds also true as far as a general, merely quantitative counting of the variants is made. Out of a little less than 150 different readings in both mss, the B has about 85 readings which are better than those in the other best ms, the d'Abbadie 52[8]. But as far as quality is

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[6]This is quite surprising in KROPP, who speaks of a "basic ms" after having correctly discussed the problem of the stemma.

[7]KROPP, Réedition, cit., 57.

[8]Of course, we cannot quote here the passages in full. For "better reading" we mean here the reading that seems to impose itself at a first examination of the mss, without necessarily being that which will be accepted in the critical text.

concerned, B has only 13 better readings[9] as against 10 in the d'A[10], but, above all, has four passages *which do not exist at all* as compared with the d'A: *wamat-bāḫtahi zawesta ḥaqʷēhu bēto matara* (after *matara* in Perruchon 307: 12-13), *waliqa 'afrāshi yanze' 'aygabā mesla sarāwitu 'ihallawu* (after *'ihallawu* in Perr 382: 8), *meśrāqāwit walatta dambeyā* (after *lanegeśt* in Perr. 406: 11), and *daqiqu laneguśa 'adal zaqatalo neguś* (after *laneguś* in Perr. 426: last but one line). What is the decision we have to take at this point? Have we to give more weight to the quantity, or even to the 13 readings vs. the 10 of the d'A (although many of them correspond to mere omissions in the d'A), or rather to the four passages which are substantially better in the d'A? In fact, the d'A is to be preferred in 14 places against 13. Of course, we can take as our "basic ms" the B, and correct it after the d'A; or we also could choice the d'A, and correct it after B; but in both cases, one ms fading into the other, what really is the sense of the very term of "basic ms" we are making use of?

The dangers of choicing a "basic ms" are even better demonstrated by cases where no immediate possibility of checking is offered by the general meaning of the text. This, especially if joined to the natural tendency to inertia from the part of the reader (it is KROPP himself who speaks of a "lecteur qui veut se servir du texte de l'édition sans entrer dans les détails de la critique textuelle") would give way to desastrous results. Let us take the problem of the place names in the same "Chronicle"[11].

To Perruchon, the "best ms" was L, which appears now to be only a member of the lowest and less important group in the whole tradition, the so-called "Haylu

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[9]They are: *balā'ela dekumān*, om. by d'A in Perr. 388: 5; *bēzā* om. in 394: 9; *baka* om. in 395: 5; *wayebasseḥ* vs. *wayesaffer* of d'A in 402: 1; *qetulān 'allā* om. in 404: 15-16; *baśegā* om. in 405: 5; *was'ā* om. in 405: 11; *wakeśuta* vs. *wakebuta* in 413: 9; *waneguśa 'ityopyā* om. in 412: 14 (after *'ityo yā*); *wa'albo zayekel* om. in 424: 16-17; *'ada* vs. *'aṣada* in 425: 13; *'embezḫa - nakir we'etu* om. in 428: 17-19; *wagab'a* om. in 438: 4.

[10]They are: *mā'akala feṣmu* vs. *mangala feṣmu* of B. in Perr. 307: 5; *'ahatti 'elat* vs. *'ahatti* in 315: 11; *wanabarā* vs. *wanaṣṣarā* in 388: 16; *'emuntu 'āḫzāb 'embezḫa bezḫomu yerawweṣu* om. in 395: 6; *baśebha* vs. *basefha* in 400: 2; *la'emma* vs. *'ella* in 424: 14; *zakama ta'abbaya* vs. *zakama tanabbaya* in 426: last line; *neguśa hagarā* vs. *laneguśa hagarā* in 427: 1; *baḥabl* vs. *baḥayl* in 427: 18; *zengā'ē* vs. *dengāḍē* in 438: 17.

[11]For clarity's sake, we repeat here the *stemma codicum* produced independently by KROPP, Réedition, quoted in fn. 4, 70, and the present writer, Studi sul testo della "Cronaca" di ʿAmda Seyon. II. Lo stemma, EVO 8 (1985), 127-150: branch α: d'Abbadie 52 (here d'A) and Mondon-Vidailhet 27 (here MV); branch ß Bodleian 29(B), and, from a sub-branch γ, the so-called "Haylu redaction", i.e. Bibliothèque Nationale 118 (here A) and 143 (P), British Library 821 (L), Rüppell 38 (R).

group". So, apart from the tremendous mistake made in the translation of the passage on p. 282: 7-9 (text) and 331 (transl.), surely due to his exaggerated loyalty to his "basic ms", but already corrected e.g. by CERULLI[12], he accepted place names like ʿArab (280: 14), Segāḥ (280-1) and 'Agyur (321: 9). They were "objectively" represented in the manuscript tradition; so, the readers and the historians have taken them seriously until today[13], whereas they simply did not exist, and had to be corrected in Warab (so now all the other mss), Seḥgā (id.), and 'Agdor (so now the d'A and the B, as well as the Semitic root *gdr). It is true that the B had been (incompletely) translated by DILLMANN six years before PER-RUCHON's edi-tion, and P. should have been aware of that; but the use of B can be equated, in this case, with the "new findings" DRAGUET and KROPP are speaking of. Is this the way in which the original "objectivity" allows the insertion of sub-sequent - and necessary - corrections?.

Even clearer is the case with the place name in PERR. 432: 2. If one had at his disposal only the HAYLU mss, he would surely have choosen the reading Hažayā, the best because also the only one; but the reading Hagaryā in B clearly demon-strates that the HAYLU reading is wrong, and comes from Hagaryā, ga+r ℋ being read ℋ. So, with B now elevated to the rank of "best ms", we should adopt its reading. But the d'A (and here also the MONDON-VIDAILHET, which belongs to the same branch) has Haragayā; and this is the reading that has probably to be prefer-red, because of Hargāya-Hargaya also in B in PERR. 283: 16 and 321: 14, Har-gāyah in the Futūḥ al-Habašah[14], and Hargāy in the "Catalogue" by CONTI ROSSINI[15] - quite apart from the fact that Hagar- looks like a lectio facilior deri-ved from hagar.

So, if the method of the "basic ms" cannot be followed, only one other me-thod, generally speaking, remains, that of LACHMANN, of course with all the cor-

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[12]Studi etiopici. I. La lingua e la storia di Harar. Roma 1936, 21.

[13]E.g. G.W.B. HUNTINGFORD, The glorious victories of ʿĀmda Ṣeyon, king of Ethiopia. Oxford 1965, 18 ("ʿArab, appears to be an area in Shoa, later called Warab"); id., The historical geography of Ethiopia. Oxford 1989: 73 ("Arab is possibly the same as the province which occurs in the Chronicle of ʿAmda Ṣeyon...") and 80 ("Ṣegāḥ I cannot identify").

[14]R. BASSET, Histoire de la conquête d'Abyssinie (XVI.e siècle) par Chihab ed-Din..., 2 vols., Paris 1897, 98 and 169 (text) - 173 and 262 (translation; inaccurately quoted by HUN-TINGFORD, Glorious victories, cit., 31).

[15]C. CONTI ROSSINI, Catalogo dei nomi propri di luogo dell'Etiopia..., in "Atti del Primo Congresso Geografico Italiano", II, Genova 1894, 416 (dalla Cronaca di Zarʾa Yāʿqob). This place name is also found in the Futūḥ, 37 (text) and 87 (translation).

rections and modifications (mainly against its exaggerated mechanicalness) brought to him in the last century. It has to be borne in mind that very few among the orientalists have really shared, or even ever known, the criticism aroused against the LACHMANN method by BÉDIER[16], QUENTIN[17], FROGER[18], and others, and I think that they should not be called "anti-lachmannians", which would be perfectly justified - but rather "pre-lachmannians" - which is much less so[19].

It would be a little ridiculous to illustrate here in full the advantages of this method, for which the very history of philology speaks. We think that one random example, taken from the same field of the place names, will be enough. In PERR. 294: 13 and 305: 6 we have *Gālā* in the HAYLU mss, and *Gāsā* in B and d'A. This has given birth to a non-existent place name *Gālā*, on which some historical reconstruction has been built[20]. It is the *stemma codicum*, and not B as a "basic ms", which demonstrates that *Gāsā* is the right reading, because it is represented in both branches of the tradition; and this is confirmed by the internal[21] as well the external evidence, where one finds *Gaza, Gaça* in the version by P. PAEZ[22], and e.g. a place name *Gāsā* in the *Gadla Abakerazun*[23].

All the more have we need of a "mechanical" and authomatic (of course, with all the necessary corrections pointed out above) system to be utilized as a guidance when any internal or external mean of weighing the variants is lacking - as it is frequently the case in the field of purely grammatical features. E.g. nothing can tell if the indicative we have before us, instead of a subjunctive, is original or not, except the system of edition itself, always well integrated, of course, with internal

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[16]Already in the Introduction to his edition of the "Lai de l'Ombre" in 1913, but especially in the well known article La tradition manuscrite du "Lai de l'Ombre": réflexions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes, "Romania" 54 (1928) 161-196 and 321-356.

[17]Essai de critique textuelle (Ecdotique), Paris 1926.

[18]La critique du texte et son automatisation. Paris 1968.

[19]This, of course, does not apply to KROPP, who is very attentive to the developments of the discipline; but see fn. 6.

[20]HUNTINGFORD, Glorious victories, cit., p. 36; S. TEDESCHI, Le gesta di ˤAmda-Ṣeyon nella cronologia e nella storia. RSE 27 (1978-9) 139.

[21]In PERR. 318 all the mss have *Gāsā*; in d'A it is always written with the *sa neguś*.

[22]C. BECCARI, Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti..., vol III, P. Petri Paezz S.I. Historia Aethiopica, Liber III et IV, Romae 1906, 4 and 5.

[23]See C. CONTI ROSSINI, Vitae sanctorum indigenarum. I. Acta sancti Abakerazun..., Romae-Parisiis-Lipsiae 1910 = Louvain 1962, 21 (text) and 23 (translation).

criteria like that of the *lectio difficilior* and others. Some examples will suffice here.

We can begin with such trivial phenomena as the lack of concord of number. But where a traditional approach would accept the more correct form as the original one, a stemmatic evaluation can lead to prefer just the reverse situation. So, in PERR. 312: 7 it is undoubtedly *'albas kebur* (extant in the two branches of the tree, mss d'A and B) to be preferred to *'albās keburāt* of the mss PAL (R is wanting here), and to be ascribed to the original text. More or less the same holds true for the indicative in the place of the subjunctive: given the expression *seme͑u 'engerkkemu*, fairly common in our text, we can be sure that *seme͑u 'enaggerakkemu* in PERR. 312: 14 is wrong, but, as it is recorded in d'A, B and part of the HAYLU mss, it surely belongs to the original text. The same holds true, for example, of hesitations like that in PERR. 313: 1-2, where the expression of existence governs a nominative (*͑ark*) and an accusative (*fequra*); the assymetry has been eliminated by the HAYLU mss, with a *fequr* accepted by PERR. (who follows ms L), as it would have been by most editors; but the accusative in d'A and B compels us to take it as the original reading.

In the case of the adjectives, it could be interesting to define more precisely their construction on the substantive to which they refer (and not on a qualifying substantive, a far more common phenomenon in the Semitic languages[24]); this is the same phenomenon as in Amharic *ya-* before the substantive, in turn followed by the adjective[25]. Among many others examples, PERR. 286: 19 has *hassāwi nabiy* in the HAYLU mss, but *hassāwē nabiy* in the d'A and in B, which, accordingly, must belong to the original text.

Also well attested in Gə͑əz is the reverse phenomenon[26], that of the substantive constructed on the adjective; in PERR. 383: 13 *wasarāwit ṣallimān* (only *sarāwit* in L, and in PERR.'s printed text), *sarāwita ṣallimān* in B, which in this case cannot be accepted in the text, because it exists only in a part of the tradition.

Very interesting, in the field of nominal morphology, is also the use of the accusative in *-a* for proper names. CRICHTON pointed out an example in the *Kebra*

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[24]See, e.g., T. MURAOKA, The status constructus of adjectives in Biblical Hebrew. VT 27 (1977), 374-380.

[25]And in many European languages, see M. COHEN, Traité de langue amharique, Paris 1936 (1970³), 80; the explanation given by A. DILLMANN, Ethiopic grammar, London 1907, 461, is wrong.

[26]Cp. DILLMANN, cit., 462, quoting also the many examples in BEZOLD, Kebra Nagast, XVIII, and a short bibliography on his theory of a similar phenomenon in Akkadian.

Nagaśt (acc. *Henda*)[27], but now we can be sure that in PERR. 309: 10 there is the sequence of accusatives of place *tegrēhi wagwažžāmahi wagarāhā wadamothā waḥadyāhā*, where the last three have the regular ending *-hā*, corrected into the emphatic *-hi* of the first two by the HAYLU mss (minus R which omits this passage).

Another example is that found at the beginning, in PERR. 279: 7, where the verb *net'amman* takes a series of three accusatives; in the case of the third, AL have *manfasa qeddusa*, d'AR *manfas qeddus*, and BP *manfas qeddusa*; this is clearly the reading to be preferred, the first being a *lectio facilior*, and the second an over-simplification before an unusual form; this means that in a compound like this it is possible that only the second member can take the case marker.

To be noticed is also the use of pronominal suffixes attached to the perfect I pl., like *qatalnomu* instead of the usual *qatalnāhomu*[28], e.g. in PERR. 291: 18-19, where the usual form exists only in L, and so, although regularly accepted by PERR., is not part of the original text.

Another interesting example is that of the "respect" usage in the verbal forms of the third person plural with a subject in the singular. It is well known that these forms were frequent in the Axumite inscriptions[29], and regular in the Sabaean inscription from Ethiopia[30]. They can also be traced not only in some of the latest Chronicles[31], but already in that of Zar'a Yāʿqob[32]. The stemma help us to identify some cases in ʿAmda Ṣeyon "Chronicle" too. E.g. in PERR. 432:16-17 the printed text was *wahazana ba'enta ḥezbu ... watafaśśeha ba'enta qetlatomu laʿelewān*; but d'A M B have *watafaśśehu*, and this reading, which is present in the two main branches of the tradition (*minus* the very secondary Haylu family), must be accepted. Exactly the same holds true with ... *tanśe'a watamayta ... wabaṣhu* ..., which follows. This shows that it will be possible, in the future, to trace

[27]DILLMANN, cit., 321 fn. 6 (and BEZOLD, Kebra Nagast, 12 fn. 14).

[28]See DILLMANN, cit., 347 fn. 3, who again quotes BEZOLD, Kebra Nagast, XVIII.

[29]Cp. e.g. E. LITTMANN, Sabäische, griechische und altabessinische Inschriften (DAE IV), Berlin 1913, 20, 27, 31.

[30]See R. SCHNEIDER, AE 6 (1965) 222; GLECS 16 (1971-72), 23; BO 30 (1973), 396-8. That the *plurale maiestatis* was known "en Arabie du Sud seulement à l'époque tardive" would be almost desastrous for the linguistic traits of the "Groupe II" inscriptions, were it not that possibly only CIH 541 is meant here, an inscription written by the Ethiopian Abraha.

[31]LITTMANN, cit., 20.

[32]Cp. J. PERRUCHON, Les Chroniques de Zar'a Yâʿeqôb et de Ba'eda Mâryâm, Paris 1893, XXXVIII-IX.

other examples of this kind of agreement in the "classical" Geez texts, and shed more light upon one of the most typical differences between literary Geez and other linguistic traditions (very old as well very recent) in Ethiopia.

As a final example we can consider the case of the punctuation. As a rule, it should not be part of a critical edition, and should be introduced by the editor. But in the case of Gǝʿǝz, too many times do we hear of signs put "mostly... in the wrong place, through the ignorance of copyists"[33], or of a punctuation which is "déconcertante"[34], not to try to fix some general rules. So, in our "Chronicle", apart from very clear cases where the *naqweṭ* corresponds to our full stop, we can point out places where a full stop is quite unexpected, and still to be imagined in the original text because of the agreement of (parts of) the two branches (e.g. d'A and L in PERR. 382: 1, before *warodewo*; or d'A, A and L in PERR 388: 7 after *se'elat*). Or passages where the *naqweṭ* separates two conditional sentences, e.g. PERR. 396: 18-19 (*la'emma motku tekunanni séngeya* [n.] *wa'emma 'akko tekunanni ḫayla*); here the *naqweṭ* occurs in MV and L, and therefore it should be presumed for the whole tradition. Again, cases where an interpunctive mark is put before a *za-* of a relative clause, as in PERR. 279: 12 (*zayehub*), where B has *naqweṭ*, and L *saraz*, so that some interpunction has to be supposed at least in the sub-archetype B-HAYLU.

If we add to all this the possibility of studying the different uses of *wa-, -hi, -ssa, -ni* (and *zero*) in comparing d'A-B-MV with the small, and yet regular, "redactional" differentiation made by the HAYLU mss[35], we can conclude that ʿAmda Seyon's "Chronicle", taken as a general example, offers a lot of cases for a deeper study of some grammatical features - provided that the method of edition, for Gǝʿǝz as for any other language of the world, is refined enough to allow that.

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[33]DILLMANN, cit., 33; cp. id., ZDMG 16 (1861), 123.

[34]A. CAQUOT, Les Actes d'Ezrā de Gunda-Gundē, AE 4 (1961), 71.

[35]See the list in my article, quoted in fn. 11, 144-150 (and comp. 142).

The Nubian language - an African enigma?

Hans G. MUKAROVSKY

The position of Nubian among the languages of Africa is - contrary to common belief - still not clear. This is surprising enough as Nubian was one of the best studied African languages already in the 19th century owing to the publication of grammars by Leo REINISCH and Carl LEPSIUS in 1879, and 1880 respectively, followed by that of Hermann ALMQUIST who had collected his materials about the same time. They were, however, published only posthumously in 1911. By that time REINISCH dealt with the problem in his last book on "Die sprachliche Stellung des Nuba". He saw in it "the nearest connecting link between the Hamito-Semitic and the Nilotic languages" to which latter he imputed "closer or farther relations with various language groups of the Sudan".

In the same year 1911 also Diedrich WESTERMANN published his first comparative study on "Die Sudansprachen", where Nubian served him as one of the eight languages on which he based his investigation, although he admitted that the inclusion of Nubian was the least satisfying one in comparison with all others. The hypothesis of a Pan-Sudanic linguistic family being abandoned Joseph GREENBERG, in 1950, suggested Nubian to be one of the 7 branches of his newly set-up "Eastern Sudanic family", the Nilotic languages forming another part of it which seemed to be in accordance with REINISCH's views. Later GREENBERG lumped Eastern Sudanic together with Central Sudanic and isolated Kunama in a larger Macro-Sudanic (1954) or Chari-Nile languages family (1963). This latter was thought to be entirely disconnected from both the Western Sudanic and Hamito-Semitic (or Niger-Congo and Afroasiatic) language families, but for its part became, on a higher level, for GREENBERG the nucleus of another language family he called Nilo-Saharan.

The case of Saharan.

Nilo-Saharan had its name from its both alleged main components i.e. the Chari-Nile and the Saharan languages families, put together with a number of smaller groups and isolated languages. The late Karel PETRÁČEK who dedicated many investigations to the Saharan languages, in his posthumous work on "Altägyptisch, Hamitosemitisch und ihre Beziehungen zu einigen Sprachfamilien in Afrika und Asien" (Praha 1988: 85) sums up his opinion as follows:

"The concept of Nilo-Saharan, created by GREENBERG is sometimes criticized in various ways, although there exist some positive arguments in its favour, too. Specially problematic are the positions of the Western languages, i.e. Saharan and Songhai. Th.C. SCHADEBERG recently expressed the opinion that the northern smaller families included in Nilo-Saharan may not necessarily form a genetic unity" (my translation - H.M.). PETRÁČEK conti-nues (1988: 87 ff.): "We support M.L. BENDER's opinion that relations of Saharan with Nilo-Saharan cannot be proven with certainty by lexical evidence". On the basis of own investigations on the names of parts of body he further points out that the percentage of common vocabulary of Saharan and Cushitic/Omotic is about 18.9%, already "near a genetic horizon" which he thinks is 20%. Moreover he adds: "As to grammatical elements which J. GREENBERG wishes to present as typical for Nilo-Saharan, the case for Saharan is still worse than that of lexical evidence. We do not find any certain and convincing proof of an eventual genetic relation of both families." Contrary to this "we can provide positive arguments which show rather clearly that relations between Saharan and Hamito-Semitic exist also in the field of morphology." He then says that "his analogies with Hamito-Semitic seem to him doubtless of more value than the resemblances with Nilo-Saharan proposed by GREENBERG." (All translations mine. H.M.). In all Karel PETRÁČEK took a clear position against an inclusion of Saharan in Nilo-Saharan. In my own essay "Wo steht das Saharische" (1981) I had, leaving aside this question, insisted on the great number of similarities of Saharan with Hamito-Semitic, with a conclusion as follows: Should Nilo-Saharan be a valid linguistic unit and Saharan be affiliated to it, this would probably mean that not only Saharan but also Hamito-Semitic as a whole had to be considered as a group affiliated to that old phylum.

The case of Kunama.

It is useful to discuss still another case of an isolated language, namely Kunama spoken in Eritrea, and included in Nilo-Saharan. This language had been described in detail first in the 19th century by Leo REINISCH whom, as to its grammatical structure, it reminded of Nubian (REINISCH 1881: 99). He later classified it as "protohamitic" language which, except for the lack of grammatical gender, for him did not principally differ from Hamitic but only by its different stage of evolution (1911: 171).

In the same year 1911 Diedrich WESTERMANN, presenting for the first time his concept of a fundamental unity of the "Sudanic languages", ranged Kunama among them while maintaining that it had been strongly influenced by the neighbouring Cushitic languages. Similar were the ideas of Carlo CONTI ROSSINI who in 1926/27 ranged Kunama in the northern subgroup of his "Lingue Nilotiche".

Contrary to this Kunama, for Joseph GREENBERG, first figured as an isolated language he mentioned among his "lesser language Families" in 1950. In this year also Sisto VERRI published an article in which he tried to prove by some 225 lexical correspondences, that Kunama was related to the Nilotic languages Bari and Lotuxo. Afterwards GREENBERG abandoned his reserve. He included not only both his "Eastern Sudanic" and "Central-Sudanic" families but also Kunama in one larger "Makrosudanic" family he later renamed the Chari-Nile family that became, in 1963 for its part a member of his newly set up Nilo-Saharan.

GREENBERG's classification underlies also that of Marvin L. BENDER who published a new lexicostatistic classification of "The Languages of Ethiopia" (1971). For this purpose BENDER compares lists of 98 test words of Kunama and of Ilit, another language closely related to Kunama with those of eleven other languages of alleged Nilo-Saharan descent. Now the highest percentages of common roots he obtains in these comparisons are 7% for Kunama and the neighbour Nera (or Barea) language, and for some of the languages of the Surma group in Southwestern Ethiopia, while the Nilotic languages do not reach but 5%. Contrary to this the common percentages of Kunama with Omotic Chara attain 10%, and 8% with Cushitic Arbore and some Ometo dialects. But a reexamination of the said, and some more comparisons with still other Hamito-Semitic languages of Ethiopia which BENDER, in his preoccupation with GREENBERG's classification has not carried out and which I have made (1982/87) yields still higher percentages. I need not go into details here. BENDER himself (1971: 203) admitted "that Kunama remains as isolated within Nilo-Saharan as before", and that "high correspondences with Arbore, Chara and Ometo raise interesting questions with no hint of an answer in sight". Suffice it to say that, as soon as other more important similarities are discovered elsewhere, another hypothesis is at least equally justified, namely that Kunama might be after all a distant relative of the Hamito-Semitic family without properly belonging to it. For this possible conclusion I furthermore refer to Gerhard BÖHM's studies of the morphological and grammatical structure of the Kunama language (1984, 1982/7) which support this view.

Recent views of Nubian.

Inge HOFMANN (1967: 457) informs us of the results of some lexical comparisons with the modern Nubian dialects and the large blocks of African languages which surround them", i.e. in particular: 1. Nilotic 2. the Central Saharan group 3. Kunama 4. Barea (Nera) 5. Cushitic: a) Bedauye b)Kafa. She resumes her findings as follows:

"Predominance of resemblances (sc. of Nubian H.M.) with Nilotic (more than 30 nouns, more than 25 verbs and the numerals two, three, five, ten)."

"Lesser lexical resemblance of the Nubian and the Central Saharan group" (only very few verbs, somewhat less than 30 nouns, thereof some which Nubian and Nilotic have in common which holds good also for the numerals 'one' and 'five')."

"In the Kunama language 15 verbs, more than 10 nouns and the numeral two are related with Nubian (thereof 2 verbs also in Nilotic, 'one' and 'bull' also in Central Saharan)."

"In Barea almost 20 nouns, 10 verbs and the numeral 'two' (thereof 'two' one noun and verb each also in Nilotic, 2 other nouns in Central Saharan)."

"The Cushitic group" - of which HOFMANN had only resorted to the two abovementioned languages - "displayed a bit more than 10 nouns, 5 verbs and the numeral 'ten'; (thereof one noun and one verb were also found in Nilotic, 3 nouns in Central Saharan, 2 in Kunama and 1 in Barea. The numeral 'ten' is also found in Nilotic and in Central Saharan languages)." - (All my translation. H.M.).

Although this compilation made visible far-reaching lexical affinities which are, in part, certainly of areal character, it left the position of Nubian as enigmatic as before.

Now a more recent achievement makes possible a new step of investigation. Marianne BECHHAUS-GERST (1985) in her thesis "Rekonstruktionen im Bereiche des Nubischen" has presented a corpus of 98 reconstructions set up on the basis of all known Nubian dialects, as well as 79 reconstructions based on Nilo-Nubian dialects alone. This valuable treatise enables us to deal anew with the position of Nubian at least for a section of its basic lexicon, and to reexamine its possible relation with the Hamito-Semitic languages. In doing so the comparison will not be confined to one particular Hamito-Semitic group, but parallels from various groups be quoted if possible. This in some cases will prove that a lexeme in question is deeply rooted in Hamito-Semitic just as it seems to be in the heritage of Nubian.

The following abbreviations are used in the following tables:

PN - Proto-Nubian NN - Proto-Nile-Nubian HH - Proto-Hill-Nubian.

PECU - Proto-East Cushitic ECU East Cushitic NCU - North Cushitic

CCU - Central Cushitic (Agaw) PSCU - Proto-South Cushitic SCU - South Cushitic POM - Proto-Omotic NOM - North Omotic SOM - South Omotic.

PCH - Proto-Chadic WCH - West Chadic CCH - Central Chadic (Biu-Mandara) ECH - East Chadic.

SE - Semitic.

Now out of 178 proto-morphemes set up by Mrs. BECHHAUS-GERST not less than 40, i.e. 22.7% have parallels in Hamito-Semitic languages, leaving aside five cases of more dubious kind. Most of them pertain to the basic vocabulary where borrowings are rare. We shall discuss the implications of these findings later.

A. Some PN word-stems found in NCU, ECU and SCU:

1. *bird* PN *kaumbirte* NN *kawirte* HN *kommelti* Birgid *kwarti* PECU *kimbir-* "small bird" (SASSE 1979) e.g. ECU Saho *kimbir-o* Baiso *kimbiri* Dasenech *kimmiḍḍi* Somali *šimbir-* Konso *xambir-ta* Bussa *hambiri-t* Oromo *simbir-a* SCU Ma'a *himeno.*

Ignoring this Cushitic evidence GREENBERG (1963: 79 a.foll.) compares Fadija-Mahas Nubian *kawar-ti* with Barea *karba* and Didinga *ḳibalic*, making it an "Eastern Sudanic" word-stem. EHRET (1974: 93) follows him.

2. *dog* PN *bol* Kenuz-Dongolawi *wɔl* HN *bɔl* (found in 6 HN dialects) Birgid *mɛl* Midob *pool.* ECU Derasa *wɔl-.*

3. *ear* PN *ulgi* Kenuz-Dongolawi *ulug* HN *ulki* Midob *ulgi.* ECU word-stems for "ear" such as Somali *deg-* Rendille *dogo* Boni *'eg-* Burji *dag-a* Saho *'okka* are derived from the verbal root PECU *deg-/dog-* "to hear". ECU Derasa has *lɛki* "to hear".

4. *fire* PN *iik* NN *iig* HN *iik.* Five of six cited HN dialects have bi-syllabic word-stems with a final vowel *-a* or *-e.* ECU Yaaku *iku* Arbore *eg* SCU Dahalo *'eega* Asa *yogo-t* PCH *akwa/aku* (NEWMAN), *-kw* (JUNGRAITHMAYR-SHIMIZU) WCH Ngizim *akà* Miya *okù* CCH Fali Kiria *ùgû* Matakam *wègwa'* Daba *ku* Masa *ku-ta* ECH Jegu *'ɔɔk.*

5. *kill* PN *puri* NN *pai* HN *furi* Birgid *pilaale, filaale* Midob *per.* ECU in the Dullay group a similar root means "to die", eg. Gawwada *feri* Gobeze - *fer-* Werize *aafɛri* Tsamai *fɛr.*

   Not only in "active" languages both meanings "die" and "kill" are connected by causative or factitive formations such as "die"/"bring to death". An equivalent procedure is also employed in "ergative" languages: "you die for me/by me" = "I kill you".

6. *knee* PN *kurti* NN *kurti* HN *kulti* Birgid *kurti-nur.* ECU Dasenech *kurṛ* PSCU *gili-* cf. SCU Burungwe *gurugun-da* et al.

7. *louse* PN *it-* NN *it-si* HN *it-* Midob *iidi* PSCU *'ita, 'itir-* cf. SCU Asa *'ita* Iraqw *itir-mo.*

8. *man, person* PN *it* Old Nubian *it* NN *id* HN *id* Midob *et* NCU Bedauye *t-k*

PSCU *hed-* cf. SCU Burungwe *hedi* Asa -*ido-k* NOM Dorze *ade* Haruro *ede* Malo *adde* SOM Ubamer, Galila *ɛd* Hamar-Banna *edi, eedi* Karo *eedi.*

9. *rain*   PN *are* Kenuz-Dongolawi *aru* HN *are* Birgid *aale* Midob *are* ECU Arbore *iriy* Dasenech *irr* cf. Gawwada et al. *irrawo*, etc. CCU Awngi *iri* NOM Welamo, Dorze, Malo, Basketo, Chara *ira.*

10. *see*   PN *ŋal* NN *nal* HN *ŋel* (Dilling *gel*). The development from *ŋ* to *n* in Nile Nubian is clearly secondary. ECU Rendille *ger* SCU Kw'adza *gal.*

    PCH *gl (a)* according to JUNGRAITHMAYR-SHIMIZU, e.g. WCH Zaar *gali* ECH Kera *gòlé.*

11. *white*   PN *aurori* (an uncertain reconstruction according to BECHHAUS-
    GERST) HN *orri* (but one of the 6 hill dialects has *ari*) Birgid *eele* Midob *adde.* Kenuz-Dogolawi has *adoo.* NCU Bedauye *eera, ela, ɛra, ɛla.* PECU *ʿazz-* is based by SASSE on forms like Afar *ʿado* Saho *ʿadin* Somali *ʿad-* Konso -*'ati* Oromo *aadi, adii* but also Arbore *'ez-* Dasenech *eziy-da.*

This again is one of GREENBERG's examples who lists Barea *er(anko)* Didinga *ora* in favour of his "Eastern Sudanic". In fact, not all forms might have the same origin, and some might result from contact.

B. Some Nile Nubian word stems found in NCU, ECU, SCU.

The following Nubian word stems have been reconstructed only for NN:

12. *all*   NN *mallɛ*

    ECU Afar -*maraa* NOM Anfillo *manno* may also belong here.

13. *alone*   NN *kool* but *kooi* in Nobiin.

    PECU *kaww-* cf. ECU Somali, Rendille, Boni *kow* "one" Konso *xaww-a* Oromo *ko-eesa* "alone" (hereof causative *kof-siis-*)

14. *egg* NN *kumbu*

    NCU Bedauye *kwiip* ECU Derasa, Sidamo *kuup'e* Kembata *kup'.*

15. *heart*   NN *ail*

    ECU Afar *aliili.*

16. *horn*   NN *niššsi* Birgid *ŋisti* Midob *kooci.* As in no. 10 above

    NN *n* results from older *ŋ*, but a PN reconstruction was not set up. But cf. CCU Bilin, Kemant *naš* Xamta *ŋaṣ* Awngi *ŋac* all "bone".

    PECU *gaas-* cf. ECU Afar, Saho *gays-a* Somali *gees-.* (In Konsoid and in Dullay *g* may pass to *k*).

17. *love, want* NN *dol-* (Nobiin *dolli,* Kenuz-Dongolawi *dolar*).

  PECU *door-* "to choose, select" cf. ECU Saho *door-* Afar *dor-* Somali *door-* Sidamo *dor-* Yaaku *door-ta-*.

18. *sand*   NN *siu*

  ECU Kembata, Sidamo *šaafa* Alaba *šiffa-ra* SE Amharic, Gurage *ašəwa* NOM Anfillo *šaapo* Kafa *šawo* Boro *šiiya* Oyda *šaafe* Welamo *šefe* Bambeshi *šaawa.*

  Possibly Oromo *ašewa* is a loan from Amharic.

19. *sleep*   NN *neer* Birgid *neeri* (and not *ŋeeri,* as no. 10 would suggest) NCU Bedauye *nari.* Unless this would be a Nile-Nubian loan in Bedauye one had to separate this NN word-stem from BECHHAUS-GERST's PN-stem *jer, jer* based on HN dialectal forms, and to assume that initial *n* is a primary phoneme in this case.

20. *strike*   NN *tukki*

  PECU *tak-/tuk-* cf. ECU Rendille *tax-* Dasenech *ta'-* Oromo *tuk-* Saho *taq, daq* CCH Logone *tku.*

C. PN and NN word-stems found in Agaw.

21. *back*   NN *jer* cf. HN *many-jir* in Dilling

  CCU Bilin *inger-aa*. see under B. 16 "*horn*".

22. *breast*   PN *ɔk* NN *ɔg* HN *ɔk* Birgid *ogi.*

  CCU Xamir *oq* Xamta *iiqw* Kemant *iŋgu* Awngi *aŋgu* ECU Afar, Saho *aŋgu* SOM Dime *ók*

23. *come*   PN *tar* NN *tar* HN *tar* (Kadaru *tiri* Debri *tore*) CCU Xamta *teeru.*

24. *eye* PN *kalti* HN *kalti* Birgid *kaldi*

  CCU Bilin *qwaal-ɔɔx* Xamta *qaluu* Awngi *kant-* all: "to see".

25. *new* PN *eer* Kenuz-Dongolawi *eer* Birgid *eer*

  CCU Xamir *ayír* Xamta *aayiir.*

26. *rain* under A. 9.

27. *sick* PN *odd-* Kenuz-Dongolawi *oddi* "be sick" Birgid *oddun*

  CCU Xamir *duwii.*

D. Nubian word-stems and Omotic languages.

28. *all*   under B. 12.

29. *die* PN *di* NN *dii* HN *ti* Birgid *ti-jaar* "death" Midob *tii*

  NOM Sezo *ziye* Hozo *zi* SOM Dime *di* Hamar-Banna *di*

Bako *de'*, *dɛ'*, *da'* Ubamer, Galila *dɛ'*
ECU Arbore *ziyɛ* WCH Sura *dɛɛ*.

30. *fish* (NN) Kenuz-Dongolawi *kare* (found only in these dialects: BECHHAUS-GERST 1985: 108) SOM Hamar *kara* Banna *kaara* Karo *kara*

31. *foot* NN *ossi* Nobiin *oiyii* Kenuz-Dongolawi *ossi*
NOM Dizi (Maji) *ašš-u* Shako *aaš-us* Nao *ašo* Janjero *oco, woco*.

32. *hair* PN *dil* (sing. *dil-ti*) Kenuz-Dongolawi *dilti* HN *til* (sing. *tilti*)
Birgid *tilde* NOM Sezo *unsuli* Hozo *untili* Shako *s'iar-u* "hair of beard"
SOM Dime *s'iru* Hamar-Banna *sile* Ubamer *silla* Karo *sila*.

33. *man*   under A. 8.

34. *many*   NN *dig-* Nobiin *diyyi* Kenuz-Dongola *digri*
NOM Kullo *dɛgeta*
ECU cf. Konso - *lɛgi*, Bussa -*lɛka* Alaba *ligibi*.

35. *milk*   PN *ej* Kenuz-Dongolawi *icci* < *ej-ti HN *ej* Birgid *ešši*
NOM Anfillo *eǧǧo* Kafa, Mocha *ejjo*. According to LESLAU this stem is from High Eastern Cushitic where Alaba, Kembata, Quabenna have in common + *azu*, Sidama, Derasa +*adu*.

36. *nearness* PN *oked-* NN *eged-ti* Midob *oggode*
NOM Boro *kateno* Kafa *katin* Mocha *kätinni* "be near" cf. NCU Bedauye *gwad* PCH *k t* cf. ECH Migama *kàtta*.

37. *nose*   NN *sorin*
NOM Kafa *sulliya*; (cf. further Welamo *sireyɛ*, but uncertain

38. *rain* under A. 9.

39. *red*   PN *gɛɛlə* NN *geele* HN *kɛlle* Birgid, Midob *keele*
NOM Kafa *ciɛllo* Mocha *céello* Anfillo *ts'eelo*

40. *ripen*   NN *karji*
NOM Kafa *kac* Mocha *kacci* - "be ripe".

41. *sand*   under B. 18.

42. *snake*   (PN *koŋ/kuaŋ*-?) Dongolawi *kaag* HN *kəŋ*- Birgid *kuŋg* (BECHHAUS-GERST 1985: 41) SOM Dime *gunno* Ari *gunni* Banna *guunno* Karo *guni*.

E. Word-stems of Proto-Semitic origin.

We finally list 3 word-stems reminiscent of Proto-Semitic:

43. *eat*   PN *kaul* Kenuz-Dongolawi *kal* HN *kɔl* Birgid *kire*
SE Akkadian *akālu* Hebrew *'ākhal* Syriac *ekhal* Arabic *'akal*

44. *grease*   PN *des* Kenuz-Dongolawi *des* HN *tej* Gulfan *tess* Midob *tess*
SE Hebrew *dešen* Arabic *dasam-* "fatness".

45. *sun*   NN *maša* Nobiin *maša* Kenuz-Dongolawi *masil*
SE Akkadian *šamšu* Hebrew *šemeš* Syrian *šemšā* Arabic *šams-*.

Of all neighbour language groups only SE possesses an at least partially similar morpheme!

F. Some more problematic correspondences.

Only a few examples are given below.

46. *burn*   NN *jugir* Nobiin *jugi* Kenuz-Dongolawi *jugur*
WCH Ron group: Butura *jokây*. (No PCH stem set up so far).

47. *call* NN *jal* Nobiin *jal* Kenuz-Dongolawi *jaal*
WCH Ron group: Fyer *yal* CCH Banana *ya-mu* (JS 81: 59, E) *y-l* WCH
Miya *a zɛr* CCH Gisiga *zal, zil* ECH Migama *jóoró* PCH (JS 81: 59, C) *z
r(a)*. Both PCH word-stems might be cognates of the NN stem, but our
present state of knowledge does not enable us to decide on it.

48. *claw, fingernail* PN *sun-di (suŋdi)* NN *sunti* HN *šundi* Birgid *sundi*
Midob *suŋudi*.
NOM Welamo *tugun-ta* Male *ts'uŋgo* Chara *tsuŋgaa* Boro *tsuŋgun-tsa*
Anfillo *ts'uŋgi-tso* Mocha *c'uŋgoto* Bencho *ts'uŋg* cf. ECU Burji *ṭuŋga*
(from NOM).

49. *long*   PN *nossi* NN *nossi* Nobiin *nassi* Kenuz-Dongolawi *nosso*
HN *dɔjji* Kadaru *dɔjju* Dair, Dilling *dɔji* Debri *dɔjji*
Birgid *nizze* Midob *tasse* (BECHHAUS-GERST says this etymology is
uncertain). The HN forms, however, resemble closely an Omotic word-
stem: NOM (Ometo) Welamo *adusa* Kullo *adussa* Dache *adu'sé* Dorze
adus Male *ɔdoosi, odusi* Malo *adússá* Kachama *odussa* Zergulla *diico*;
Janjero *dice*.

One tends to believe that the PN reconstruction based on NN and Birgid is probably not valid for a common root.

50. *sit, remain* PN *aak* NN *aag* HN *aak* (all 6 dialects have a final vowel)
Midob *agg*.
NOM Kafa *haak* She *oga* Sheko *wɔɔge* ECU In Dullay Gawwada *akaḍi*
Gobeze *'aakɛɛd-* Werize *a'akɛɛd-* do not seem to be loans from Arabic
qaᶜad-a.

We had not included these last five comparisons in our overall count. But let us underline that out of the full list of 50 items not less than 37 figure among the first

hundred of M. SWADESH's famous lexicostatistic test list. This is by far too much for being explained by borrowing, or sheer coincidence. We underline further that neither pronouns nor numerals had been included in our list.

To present our results succintly these concepts are:

all	B.12/D.28	fire	A.4	many		D.34
bird	A. 1	fish	D.30	new		C.25
bone see horn B.16		foot	D.31	nose		D.37
breast	B.22	grease	E.44	person see man		D.33
burn	F.46	hair	D.32	rain		A.9/C.26,D.38
claw	F.48	heart	B.15	red		D.39
come	C.23					
die	D.29	horn	B.16	sand		B.18/D.41
dog	A.2	kill	A.5	see		A.10
ear	A.3	knee	A.6	sit		F.50
eat	E.43	long	F.49	sleep		B.19
egg	B.14	louse	A.7	sun		E.45
eye	C.24	man	D.33	white		A.11

Of the remaining items 4 are found among the 'second hundred':

alone	A.13	love, want	B.17	sick	C.27
back	C.21	milk	D.35	snake	D.42
call	F.47	nearness	D.36	strike see hit B.20	
hit	B.20	ripen	D.40		

Now in her most recent publication "Nubier und Kuschiten im Niltal" BECH-HAUS-GERST (1989) studied 'linguistic and cultural contacts in the 'No man's land' she calls the Nile Valey according to a word of M.A. BRYAN. Among 83 cases of vocabulary common to Nubian and Cushitic languages the majority of which is cultural she gives 27 cases which she says belong to the basic vocabulary. Among them, however, only one single item of my previous list occurs (BECH-HAUS-GERST 1989: 72, 57), namely "to burn" which she related to ECU Hadiyya-Libido *šokk-* and its putative cognates in some CCU languages. This may be right and would make a more certain correspondence of our case F. 46 I considered as dubious. BECHHAUS-GERST (1989: 78, 78-9) cites two more Nobiin terms for "rain" and "hair" different from our entries A.9 and D. 32. As they do not seem to occur outside of Nobiin in other Nubian languages they might.really be borrowings from Cushitic of that individual Nubian language. Finally she mentions some cases of Kenuz-Dongolawi terms common with those of the ECU Dullay group which were already noted by M.L. BENDER (1971: 201):

fish   NN Kenuz-Dongolawi *kaare*

          ECU Gawwada *xaare* Gobeze *xaar-e* Werize, Tsamai *hare*.

          For SOM Banna *kaara* Karo *kara* cf. D. 30.

meat   NN Kenuz-Dongolawi *kusu* HN *kwaje* Birgid *koosi*

          ECU Gawwada *gurse* Gobeze *kurs-* Werize *kurse*.

There are a few more examples of possible relations of Dullay vocabulary with Nubian worthy to be discussed.

In all BECHHAUS-GERST's study of testimonies of historical contacts of speakers of Nubian and Cushitic languages is thoroughly interesting. It even contributes to solving the question of the position of Nubian as it sets apart these testimonies, separating them clearly from other kinds of evidence susceptible to be interpreted either as accidental or as indicators of old genetic ties.

The abundance of such proofs of former linguistic contacts neither proves nor contradicts a possible hypothesis of primary genetic affiliation of the languages concerned. It rather clears the field for a reassessment of the remaining material which, in our case is of considerable amount and quality. It is obvious that certain conclusions are to be drawn if due consideration is given to the evidence presented.

Generally speaking neighbouring peoples seem to be more often related with each other than quite unrelated, at least at a higher level of relationship, as the neighbourhood of unrelated peoples mostly results from migrations or other kinds of human mass movement which are not the normal but the exceptional events in history.

Bearing this in mind certain conclusions concerning the position of Nubian cannot be avoided. The percentage of fundamental vocabulary in which Nubian and the Hamito-Semitic languages share is too high that it could be considered as accidental. In the present stage of investigation a number of the seeming parallels may indeed be fallacious, but, if this is not true for all of them, we likewise must reckon with other cases where existing relations are still undiscovered because of linguistic change gone beyond perceptibility. Some may find the proposal to relate Nubian *maša* "sun" with the Common SE root *šamš-* (E. 45) unconvincing, but it is not to be regarded in isolation and so far no dissuasive evidence of a language with a more similar term for "sun" is known. Thus the situation is favourable to a new hypothesis, as it had been already advanced by Alexander Yu. MILITARIEV (1984) albeit in connexion with Meroitic the position of which is not the object of this essay. MILITARIEV "postulates a sixth Meroitic-Nubian member of the Afro-Asiatic family, a hypothesis designed to open up...(an)..important area of ancient

historical and African linguistic studies". We shall have to admit that there are facts overlooked for long that distinctly point in the direction of this hypothesis.

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Brief Outline of Linguistic Analysis on an Empirical Basis. ·

Aimo MURTONEN

The old bone of contention of arbitrariness or otherwise of the linguistic sign, which since DE SAUSSURE was regarded as definitively buried for his followers anyway, has in the post-war period surfaced again in the form of the problem of relationship between *linguistic competence* and *performance*. The way the problem has, even purely theoretically[1], been defined indicates that the simple notion of *pure* arbitrariness without reservations is no longer considered seriously; consequently, it is now only a question of *the extent* to which the sign should be considered arbitrary, and by which factors the arbitrariness is limited. It is clear that the latter problem can only be solved on an empirical basis; and it seems to me that the solution of this problem also has decisive influence on the former, which then defines the upper limit of linguistic competence.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

One of the weaknesses of the structural linguistics inherited from the *jung-grammarians* is the remaining *atomistic basis*[2] for structural phonology, presupposed by the theory of phonological oppositions. True, the notion of opposition tends to obscure this, as it does imply the existence of the most elementary, binary system at least; but that is in fact where the systematization ends too, as the 'bundles' of features of which the phonemes are considered to consist are supposed to be arbitrary conglomerates of such distinctive features apart from that one

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[1]cf. E. COSERIU, *Einführung in die Transformationelle Grammatik* (1970) 1.11 to 2.5. As a matter of fact, this is an inevitable consequence of the problem having been defined at all; the notion of *pure* arbitrariness is an extreme dogmatic one which can only be understood as a reaction against earlier historical, partly psychologizing trends. It is indefensible even on purely synchronic level, seeing that the organs of speech production and perception set rather narrow limits to the quality and quantity of primary units available for significant purposes; and that, on the other hand, even of these theoretical possibilities a rather minor part only is used in any single speech community. In this paper, however, anatomical limitations are discussed only as far as they are phonologically relevant.

[2]Not recognized even by COSERIU in his otherwise most thorough and competent criticism of structuralism, *Einführung in die Strukturelle Linguistik* (1969). If he is right in assuming that the definition of phoneme as a 'bundle' of distinctive features derives from Roman JAKOBSON (ib. 12.6), this inconsistent feature is more readily understandable, cf. below. Its presence may have led TRUBETZKOY to the 'morphonological' theory as well, and the concept of 'neutralization' is certainly necessitated by it.

and the same 'bundle' cannot include opposite features. Moreover, the definition of a phoneme as a 'bundle' cannot include opposite features which distinguish it from other phonemes is an unhappy one, as shown by its logically quite consistent sequel, an attempt to construct a complete system of such distinctive features on the basis of binary oppositions[3]. Because of the multiple nature of the basis of articulation for phonological systems, oppositions which are apt to describe relationships between some of the phonemes are less suitable for others, and so between different phonological systems. In practice, this was also admitted by the introduction of the concepts of 'gradual' and 'aequipollent' opposition. In these cases, it would be definitely better to speak about *differences* rather than oppositions, if a general term is deemed desirable; and as an opposition - properly so called - also implies difference, the term, *significant difference*, would seem best suitable to describe relationships between any two phonemes. *Oppositions* could still be used as a more precise term in suitable connections; but in most contexts, oppositions such as 'compact' vs. 'loose'; 'extensive' vs. 'intensive'; and those involving 'zero' as one of the poles are rather superficial or quite artificial.

There is an important aspect of language usage still neglected by most linguists, viz., *the statistical frequency of occurrence* of linguistic units. It is all the more regrettable as taking it into consideration would give structural linguistics more objective basis than any other factor. It would give firm guidance for distinguishing between central and periferal, essential and occasional, often also primary and secondary features. In phonology too, it would destroy the illusion of equality of all the different phonemes, and pave the way to a more natural understanding of the phonetic and phonological nature of human speech.

In the absence of statistical data for most languages of the world, we use the extent of distribution of different phonemes in different languages as a rough rule of thumb to estimate their primary status or otherwise in language structure on the basis of their *quality* only.

In every language, there appears to be a sound produced with the pharyngal and oral cavities extended to their widest, vocal folds vibrating, and tongue close to its rest position; this sound may be phonologically identified as /a/[4]. At the other extreme, there are sounds produced by a characteristic complete closure at

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[3]Cf., e.g., R. JAKOBSON & M. HALLE, *Fundamentals of Language* (1956) p. 27ff. 44ff; and (slightly further elaborated) in *Manual of phonetics* (ed. B. MALMBERG; 1968) p. 428ff.

[4]Where only one vowel phoneme is identified, as in some Caucasian languages (cf., e.g., A.H. KUIPERS, *Phoneme and morpheme in Kabardian (Eastern Adyghe)* (1960) and a reconstruction of proto-Indo-European, it is of course idle to identify it phonetically; but even then, /a/ appears, or may be presupposed as an important allophone.

different points of the vocal tract, in most cases between the dorsum and the soft palate; the apex and the alveolus; or the two lips; as the vocal folds are, more often than not, not vibrating, these may be identified as /k/, /t/, and /p/, respectively. Variants of these, with the nasal passage open and vocal folds vibrating, are just as universal apart from the dorso-velar one which is positionally restricted in many languages and in others entirely absent; we use the symbols /ŋ/, /n/, and /m/, respectively, for them. Finally, two ambivalent sounds are also very common; one of them is produced by raising the dorsum close to the velum and rounding the protruding lips which may lead to their almost complete closure; in such a case, the fundamentally vocalic /u/ creates a semiconsonantal glide /w/ (which may then develop into an independent phoneme); the other, produced by approximating the apex to the hard palate, is identified as /i/ - /y/. Parallel to these, the open vowel /a/ may also create a glide in which the glottal stop /'/ and (more common) fricative /h/ may have their origins. In addition, there may be one more primary phoneme whose phonetic quality is hard to determine; in fact, it may always have had several allophones, including lateral and/or tremulant or flap, apico/lamino-alveolar and/or dorso-velar/uvular ones which may be symbolized as /l-r-R/; in some languages, it occurs as an allophone of /n/. However, as the latter development, as well as the loss of the phonemic status of /ŋ/ seems to presuppose expansions of the phonological system in other respects, we may consider these ten phonemes as the fundamental ones to human speech:

/k/	dorso-velar stop
/t/	apico-alveolar stop
/p/	bilabial stop
/ŋ/	dorso-velar-nasal approximant
/n/	apico-alveolar-nasal approximant
/m/	bilabial-nasal approximant
/l-r-R/	latero/apico-alveolar /dorso-velar/uvular approximant
/u-w/	dorso-velar-bilabial (semi)vowel
/i-y/	apico-prepalatal (semi)vowel
/a-'-h/	(glotto-)pharyngo-oral (semi)vowel

The presence or absence of voice is irrelevant.

Even of these, any one may be lacking in the phonological status; but this is attested very sporadically and in each case, the missing phoneme is replaced by another one whose articulation basis is close to it. Thus, in the Polynesian languages of Samoa and Tahiti, /'/ replaces /k/; in Tahiti, also /ŋ/ and partly /r/; in Marquesas, /k/, /r-l/ and partly /t/, /n/ which suggests former dorso-velar/uvular identity for all these sounds; while in Hawaiian, the apico-alveolar stop has fallen together with the dorso-velar one, whereas the dorso-velar nasal has given way to

the apico-alveolar one[5]. All these languages have otherwise expanded their phonological systems.

All the other phonemes are so much less attested on a global scale that they may be regarded as *extensions* of the basic system, synchronically as well as diachronically. Symptomatic in this respect is the fact that, in most parts of the globe, extensions take place mainly in *limited sections* of the vocal tract. Thus, in Polynesian languages[6], the glottal stop and/or fricative have phonological status; in Maori, also a voiced variety of the latter; in Tuamotu, Tonga, Marquesas and (archaic) Tahiti, this /h/ is partly replaced by /f/; in Samoan, totally by /f/ and /s/; in Rarotonga, by hiatus. Again, /w/ is replaced by /v/ except in Maori and Hawaiian. Extensions and changes are thus concentrated to the two extreme ends of the vocal tract, and the tongue is involved in secondary developments only, if at all.

In some other languages, it is the very activity of the tongue that is tremendously increased. Sometimes, as in most Australian languages[7], this concerns the *frontal* part only, producing lamino-alveolar or apico-dental as well as apico-prepalatal (or -cacuminal, 'retroflex') varieties of /t/, /n/ and (partly) /l/ besides the apico-alveolar ones; *fricatives* are not created. On the other hand, in Eskimo[8] and Lenappe (or Delaware, of the Algonkin family)[9] in North America, it is mainly through the creation of *fricatives* that the phonological inventory is expanded; NB. in Eskimo, as in my native Finnish, the non-sibilant fricatives are voiced. In the Austronesian language of Tagalog[10], the extension takes place mainly by the differentiation of voiced vs. voiceless stops, apart from the appearance of the fricatives /h/ and /s/; in Toba-Batak[11], apico-dental *affricates* are also recorded. In the North American Chipewyan (of the Athabascan family) and Yuma (of the Hoka family)[12], there is a great variety of *lingual stops and affricates*, including

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[5]Cf. J. FAUBLÉE in *Les langues du monde* (ed. A. MEILLET & M. COHEN; 1952) p. 668f. NB on the examples p. 669, Hawaiian /k/ corresponds to Maori /k/ too sometimes at least; cf. also C.C. MARSACK, *Teach yourself Samoan* (1962) p. 11ff.

[6]Cf. FAUBLÉE ib.

[7]Cf., e.g., R.M.W. DIXON, *The languages of Australia* (1980) p. 132ff; also personally observed by the present writer in Pintupi and related Western Desert languages.

[8] Cf. J. PERROT in *Les langues du monde* p. 1168f.

[9] Cf. A. HAUDRICOURT ib. p. 1164f.

[10] Cf. FAUBLÉE ib. p. 656.

[11] ib.

[12] Cf. HAUDRICOURT ib. p. 1179f., 1176f.

(in Chipewyan) interdentally and laterally released apico-alveolar ones, as well as a full range of *voiced oral fricatives; stops and affricates,* however, are all *voiceless,* but include *aspirated* and *glottalized* varieties; there is also a *voiceless /l/.* In Yokuts (of the Penutian family)[13], again, there is no distinction between voice and voicelessness; but *aspiration* is extended to the *affricates,* and *glottalization* to *all consonants* (including semivowels) apart from fricatives. In all such cases, it is more meaningful to speak about the *modification of articulation* in certain ways, rather than about addition of distinctive features to form ever-growing bundles.

There are, however, features of production of certain consonants which may properly be called additional. In the Khoisan (or Hottentot/Nama-Bushman) languages[14], the initial sound of the majority of words always involves dorso-velar closure besides a distinctive articulation in the front part of the mouth characterized by the regressive direction of the air-stream and therefore called *ingressive* (or 'implosive'). This is caused by the rarefaction of the air in the main oral cavity upon its enlargement preparatory to the frontal release while the dorso-velar closure is still maintained; the nature of the dorso-velar closure is therefore *initiatory*[15] rather than articulatory for these particular sounds. As this closure, however, never extends to another successive sound, the air-stream upon which it is imposed must be considered pulmonary in origin and this type of initiation therefore secondary. That the ingressive nature of the frontal articulation is connected with the dorso-velar closure is also indicated by the fact that in those cases, individual as well as comparative between languages[16], where the dorso-velar closure is omitted, the remaining frontal articulation turns egressive. It is true that in some other African languages[17], ingressive articulation is found without initiatory closure at the back of the mouth; but it may be significant that the relevant consonant is usually the voiced bilabial stop; whereas in Khoisan languages, the labial 'click' is of limited distribution and evidently of secondary, regional origin; and presence or absence of voice is not significant in 'clicks'[18].

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[13]ib. p. 1183f.

[14]Cf. D. BEACH, *The phonetics of the Hottentot language* (1938); introduction to D. BLEEK, *A Bushman dictionary* (1956).

[15]In terminology, I roughly follow J.C. CATFORD, see *Manual of Phonetics* p. 309ff.

[16]Cf. BEACH, op.cit. p. 268.

[17]Cf., e.g., L.F. BROSNAHAN & B. MALMBERG, *Introduction to phonetics* (1970) p. 123.

[18]Cf. BEACH, op.cit. p. 73ff; similarly (on Bushman) R. STOPA, *Structure of Bushman and its traces in Indo-European* (1972) p. 86f., although his overall theory appears untenable.

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In the light of the above global parallels, the phonological systems of the Semito-Hamitic languages show several modes of expansion, while few if any primary phonemes appear to be missing. As it is plausible to assume that different branches of the phylum had more or less distinct prehistoric antecedents deriving from different dialects of the common proto-Semito-Hamitic language, if there ever was such a one[19], and the allotted space is much too limited for the discussion of all the available material, we concentrate mainly on the Semitic stock, as it is the one best known diachronically at least, and also most studied by students of languages generally and also by our lamented deceased as well as the present writer.

One of the items of the list above, the dorso-velar nasal /ŋ/, appears to be lacking in the Semitic system. Of course it is possible, indeed probable that the sound has occurred as a positional allophone of /n/ immediately before a dorso-velar or -uvular stop, but there are no indications that the sound ever existed as a phoneme in any prehistoric Semitic phonological system any more than in a historical one. For another, /n/ and /l-r/ are positional allophones of one phoneme in the central (or Western) Gurage languages[20], and in my study of the prehistoric phonology of Hebrew[21], I came to the conclusion that the same was the case in the prehistoric parental of Hebrew until the proto-Semitic period, as also the 'archiphoneme' /U/ until early proto-Semitic, but developed into four separate phonemes during that period; the sixth order vowel of Geez could be related, albeit not directly.

On the other hand, there are remarkable extensions of our primary system in Semitic. First of all, there is distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants, not only in stops, but in fricatives as well, in all the historically attested languages, as far as ascertainable. Again, on the results of my study of the parental of Hebrew[22], the differentiation began in the bilabial stop towards the end of the pre-Semitic, and was completed during the proto-Semitic period for those sounds differentiated by that time. Of a still earlier date is the proliferation of distinct phonemes towards the rearward end of the vocal tract; again, on my results, the glottal stop and fricative were still in allophonic relationship through pre- and

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[19]Cf., e.g., my article *On proto-Semitic reconstructions* in the *Festschrift* for Wolf LESLAU (1991), p. 1119ff.

[20]Cf., e.g., R. HETZRON, *The Gunnän-Gurage languages* (1977) p. 40.

[21]See *Hebrew in its West Semitic setting: Part one, Section Bb* (1989) p. 9ff (preliminary conclusion p. 55) and *Part Two* (on this problem, §§20f).

[22]Cf. ib. (particularly Part I Sec. Bb p. 46ff).

proto-Semitic periods; but the voiced pharyngal /ʕ/ was already differentiated from the voiceless /x/ before the end of the pre-Semitic, and there appears to have been some additional distinctive factor between them[23]; the dorso-uvular stop /q/ too appears as an independent phoneme in pre-Semitic times already, as far backwards as the material allows us to follow. Differentiation of oral fricatives appears to have taken place later; although the antecedent of Hebrew /ʃ/ (= Arabic etc. /s/) appears to have been an independent phoneme in pre-Semitic times already, it was hardly fricative at that time - more probably an additional front oral stop, perhaps lamino-alveolar or apico-dental. Otherwise, there is no positive evidence for the differentiation of oral fricatives until after the Proto-Sem period, although /x/ may have become more or less regular positional allophone of /x/ still during it; the differentiation of /ɣ/ from /ʕ/ which seems to be distinctly later[24]. Finally, there are the so-called emphatic consonants, two to four in early historical languages, with double articulation basis, the frontal one apico/latero-alveolar, the rearward one dorso-velar in modern Aramaic and Arabic dialects, but glottal in modern South Arabic and Ethiopic; what it was in prehistoric Northern Semitic and Arabic is not clear - as long as it was known to be glottal in Ethiopic only, it was commonly attributed to the influence of Cushitic, but after Tom JOHNSTONE discovered it in modern South Arabic[25] where Cushitic influence is not and cannot be present, I am inclined to assume that it was primary everywhere, the dorso-velar location resulting from secondary development; particularly as, on my results, South Arabic is otherwise more closely connected with (Northern) Arabic than with Ethiopic[26]. However, the demarcation line could be inherited from prehistoric dialectal isoglosses already.

The development sketched above, postulating a considerable net increase in the numbers of phonemes in the course of the prehistory and early history of Semitic languages, has parallels elsewhere on the globe and also in the more recent history of Semitic languages still spoken; as the available space does not allow detailed discussion here, I refer the reader to my other publications[27].

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[23]Cf. ib. p. 20ff.

[24]Cf. K. PETRÁČEK in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* XXVII:" p. 133ff. (etc.); and already R. RŮŽIČKA, *Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen (Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 6:4) (etc.; cf. GESENIUS-BUHL *Handwörterbuch* sub ע and עפר; unfortunately, few of their publications are accessible to me at present).

[25]Cf., e.g., his *The modern South Arabian languages (Afroasiatic Linguistics* I;5, 1975) p. 6f.; or *Ḥarsūsi lexicon* (1977) p. xii.

[26]Cf. HIWSS *Part Three: Comprehensive synopsis* c. Conclusions.

[27]e.g., HIWSS Part I Sec. Bb p. 11ff.

However, as the prevalent view is still the contrary one, postulating a proto-Semitic antecedent to practically every phoneme found in ancient Semitic languages down to Classical Arabic and Geez, if not further[28]; and as reduction in the number of phonemes is actually attested in some cases and can be plausibly inferred on comparative grounds in others, these developments call for discussion.

As a matter of fact, the present writer does not assume a steady increase of the phonological inventory either. The development seems to be rather spasmodic in character, and although the material is generally too scanty for us to follow it in detail, the Jakobsonian distinctive features may play important role in it.

As described above, the expansion of the phonological inventory seems to have taken place serially. After a potentially distinctive feature has in fact gained phonological status, making an earlier only allophonic difference between two sounds semantically distinctive, analogous development tends to take place in all the sounds of analogous or comparable phonetic characteristics. Thus, we saw above that after voice alone had become distinctive in the bilabial stop, establishing meaningful contrast between /p/ and /b/, the same distinction was established gradually in other stops, /t/ vs. /d/ and /k/ vs. /g/; on the data from other branches of the phylum[29] perhaps also /q/ vs. /G/; and subsequently in fricatives, too. The development of fricatives likewise may have started from the labials and in the same connection, to judge from the fact that in South Semitic, a twofold significant difference is present in that location[30], voiced stop /b/ vs. voiceless fricative /f/ only, as against single distinctive features in other locations, such as /t/ vs. /d/, vs. /ϑ/ and also vs. /s/ in the apico-alveolar location, with /d/ also related to the voiced fricatives /δ/ and /z/. Such a large expansion of phonological inventory during a relatively short period, however, is more than the language needs under normal conditions to satisfy the requirements of semantic diversification, and so the principle of linguistic economy tends to counteract the analogical spread of the phonetic innovation. The result is a compromise; the spread of the phonetic innovation may be forestalled in the course of its expansion already, as suggested by the fact that the voicing and spirantization of the dorso-uvular stop /q/ is attested only sporadically and never seems to have gained distinctive value by itself; and from the latter history of Hebrew, the spirantization of stops, distinctive sporadically and in modern Hebrew only, never appears to have affected the dorso-velars /k/, /g/ either in Samaritan Hebrew; its effects are also otherwise

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[28]Often, no time limit is specified.

[29]Cf., e.g., Berb. long /q/ vs. short /γ/; but usually, the former is considered secondary, and the additional feature of fricativity is involved.

[30]Cf. n. 21 above.

largely deleted in the present-day pronunciation, just as in modern Israeli Hebrew. This brings us to the other major counteractive phenomenon, the deletion of a distinction already established; this is seen underway taking place in Ugaritic, where the fricative /ð/ has been largely replaced by the stop /d/; it is possible that an analogous development is respondible for the absence of all spirant phonemes in biblical Hebrew, as it evidently is in modern Arabic urban dialects; but it is also possible that the creation of spirant phonemes was forestalled in the Old Canaanite parental of Hebrew, as that of related sibilants may have been in early Aramaic[31].

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Apart from quality, the *quantity* of phonemes varies significantly in many languages. This feature usually accompanies a moderate number of qualitatively different phonemes; e.g., in non-literary Finnish, with 19-20 phonemes, all except the sonorous fricatives (replacing primary semivowels) /v/ and /y/ (spelt /j/) show distinctive length; these exceptions are also compensated for by the semivocalic structures /uv/, /ij/. Some other languages, such as the South American (Tierra del Fuego) Yamana[32] or Melanesian Ponape[33], have distinctive length in vowels (apart from the unstressed /ə/ only.

In Semitic languages, with the number of phonemes round about 25-36, significant length is usually found in certain positions only, such as the middle consonant or second vowel, rarely or secondarily in both, or also in the first vowel or the final consonant, of triradical roots, primarily to express a habitual or otherwise emphasizing (or 'intensive') connotation[34]. In some forms of Hebrew, three distinctive lengths of vowels have been claimed to exist, but each claim is based on a one-sided interpretation of data[35]. Results of phonetic experiments also make

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[31]Cf. my article on *The Semitic sibilants* (*Journal of Semitic Studies* 11, 1966, p. 135ff.) p. 143ff.

[32]Cf. HAUDRICOURT in *Les langues du monde* p. 1196.

[33]Cf. M. LEENHARDT ib. p. 681.

[34]Cf., e.g., C. BROCKELMANN, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* I (1908) p. 508ff and analogous nominal types. In the first syllable vowel, the significant length seems to be largely secondary, cf. my discussion in HIWSS part III §§17f.

[35]Viz., in Tiberian Hebrew, with an *ultra-short vowel* as the third length; see, e.g., S. MORAG in *Janua Linguarum* vol. XIII (1962) p. 25 etc.; this involves an attempt to render ordinary length of *consonants* non-significant and ignores the fact that in the early Middle Ages, e.g., Joseph KIMCHI assigned the 'mobile Shwa' an ordinary short duration. In the case of Samaritan Hebrew, significant *overlength* is attributed to certain vowels by Z. BEN-HAYYIM (see his *The literary and oral tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans* vol. 5 (1977) p. 30ff); on this, cf. HIWSS Part II §13 and Appendix.

it hard to understand, how three different significant lengths could be distinguished by the human ear, as even the ordinary length and shortness may overlap; e.g., an accented 'short' vowel may be longer than an unaccented 'long' one[36].

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In most languages, accentuation serves mainly or exclusively to delimit significant units of speech. As the pitch of the vocalic peak of each syllable appears to be its main ingredient[37], we may regard the *system of accentuation* as the phonological skeleton of the syllabic structure of speech. As a rule, in each unbound - whether simple or composite - morph or *word* there is a main accent which serves to delimit it against other words, particularly if, as the case most often is, it lies on the first syllable. However, even if it is on some other syllable, as usually in historical Semitic languages alternating between different syllables according to generally consistent patterns, its main function may still be considered junctural; but if the distinction in the level of pitch, naturally existing between accented and unaccented syllables[38], is not subject to interference by other kinds of superimposed intonation systems, it may be institutionalized and used as an extension of the phonological inventory of the language. Words may then be distinguished by their pitch pattern only, as e.g. in Chinese, Nama, Hausa, apparently Sumerian etc., and sporadically in other languages, e.g., English and German[39]. In these latter, and the vast majority of others, however, superimposed phrase and sentence intonation patterns tend to delimit these larger units against each other and also to emphasize particular single morphs in the framework of such larger units. On the other hand, intensification of word accent tends to reduce and eliminate unaccented vowels, sometimes also to elide or assimilate certain kinds of consonants in certain positions.

We may thus recapitulate the methods of modification of the basic phonological inventory as follows:

1) Modification of sounds by shifting, and thus usually increasing points of articulation, but also eliminating or amalgamating existing phonemes;

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[36]Cf., e.g., the spectrograms in HIWSS Part II Appendix.

[37]Cf., e.g., HIWSS Part II §1; illustrative spectrograms, e.g., in R.K. POTTER, G. KOPP & H. GREEN, *Visible Speech* (1947).

[38]The quality of the initial (and erhaps final) phoneme may also play a role; cf. H. MASPERO on Tibeto-Burman in *Les langues du monde* p. 532, and on Chinese, ib. p. 591.

[39]According to M. DELAFOSSE & A. CAQUOT, ib. p. 746f. 809, in some Sudanese languages tones have grammatical functions too.

2) Voicing, aspirating, affricating, spirantizing and assibilating stops and (secondarily) affricates and fricatives;

3) Creating secondary points of initiation and other modes of double articulation;

4) Occasionally devoicing approximants, creating glides, spirantizing semivowels and using ingressive articulation;

5) Extending the length of some or all the phonemes significantly;

6) Institutionalizing word accent system consistently or sporadically.

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The term, *word*, was already mentioned and briefly defined in connection with accentuation. As a matter of fact, 'word' is rather a vague concept; in common parlance, a unit written separately from other comparable units is meant, regardless of whether it can occur or even be pronounced apart from another word in certain fixed connections. Thus, in the phrase, a unit, not only /unit/, but /a/ too is regarded as a word; and in French, not only the forms /le/, /la/ of the definite article, but also /l'/ (as in /l'oeuf/ etc.) is considered a word. Inconsistencies also occur; e.g., in the French proper name, La Fayette, /la/ is a word, but in Lafayette, it is not; in German, this is quite common, e.g., in the sentence, Ich gehe aus, /aus/ is a separate word, but when referring to completed action, Ich bin ausgegangen, it is not. Again, in creating orthography for previously unwritten languages, or Latin-based transcription for those with radically different writing systems, it has become customary to identify an accentual unit with a word. The result is that where each morph has a clearly defined accentuation pattern, as in the so-called tone languages (Chinese, Khoisan, Hausa, Sumerian, etc.), 'words' are regularly short; whereas in others in which what we may call *phrase accent* is so dominant that it has reduced word accent to practical insignificance, as in many American and Australian languages[40], what is called word is rather a phrase. The difference between 'isolating' and 'agglutinative' languages lies thus primarily in their patterns of accentuation.

Because of this, I suggest that it is more appropriate to use *morph*, the minimal significant unit of language[41], as a basis for lexica and above all, for statistical calculations of vocabulary, rather than 'word' which, being almost totally

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[40]Cf. ib. p. 1180f, 1195f, 1197f; and DIXON, op.cit. p. 128f.

[41]I prefer this shorter term for the individual significant unit, confining *morpheme* to designate classes of them, as the use of the latter in both senses may occasionally cause confusion; they include the 'grammatical' elements too, as they too have a *modificational* meaning anyway; e.g., the conjunction /and/ has the meaning of connection and juxtaposition in most instances; e.g., 'ink and pen' is evidently different from 'ink pen' in meaning.

unimorph in some languages and highly *multimorph* in others, is apt to give an erroneous impression of the capacity of expression of different languages in relation to each other. Many dictionaries in fact follow this principle partly at least, in so far as pro- and enclitics and sometimes also nominal and verbal pre- and afformatives are listed as separate entries.

In the absence of statistics based on the morph for almost all languages[42], we can nevertheless infer something from existing vocabulary calculations. Above all, the fact that in those, mostly European languages on which calculations have been made[43], the shortest words have the highest frequency of occurrence, and that the vast majority of words are either mono- or disyllabic, implies that the same is true of morphs probably to a significantly higher degree. In fact, even a most cursory sampling of the dictionary of a tone language, where each word usually consists of one single morph only[44], indicates that upwards of ninety per cent. of the morphs may be monosyllabic. Disyllabic and longer morphs may thus be considered secondary extensions of the basic stock, and many of them are indeed demonstrably of composite origin[45].

In Semitic languages, multimorph words are uncommon apart from those formed with pre- and/or afformatives, or when construed with enclitics, such as suffixed pronouns; in nouns, the simultaneous presence of a formational pre- and afformative is also rare.

In many languages[46], there is no formal distinction between morphs with reference to quality and quantity, and it may be significant that where special forms for the expression of plurality are lacking, numerical system is usually

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[42]In my study of *Pintupi* (1969), I compiled a list of morphs rather than an ordinary vocabulary; but statistics on it have not been published. For a paper read at the 29th international congress of orientalists in Paris, July 1973, I also compiled statistics on nominal morphs from several Semitic languages.

[43]Cf., e.g., G. HERDAN, *The advanced theory of language as choice and chance* (1966) p. 96ff. 291ff.; A.H. ROBERTS, *A statistical linguistic analysis of American English* (1965).

[44]Cf., e.g., BLEEK, op.cit.

[45]This raises the question, how far composite morphs can be regarded as single one rather than compounds of two (or more). My guiding principle has been to consider a composite morph single, if its meaning is not simply result of addition of those of its components together; cf., e.g., /blackboard/ vs. /black board/; or in Hebrew, /bet 'ab/ 'family' vs. /bet/ 'house (of)' and /'ab/ 'father'. A number of borderline cases will naturally always remain, but hardly so many as to be statistically significant.

[46].E.g., in Pintupi and other Central Australian languages; also many Malayo-Polynesian and Melanesian ones, see *Les langues du monde* p. 655ff, 675ff.

undeveloped too[47]. In Semitic languages, adjectives are formed on patterns used also for substantive nouns, being thus formally indistinguishable except in some syntactical constructions and certain inflectional forms; and although there are special gender afformatives, they are not always used consistently. There are nouns with collective meaning which do not form plural, e.g., Hebrew /'adam/ 'man, human being, mankind,' or begin to use it at a late period, e.g., /napʃ/ 'soul, living and active being'; in South Semitic, and occasionally elsewhere, an afformative /-(a)t/ is then used to form a *noun of unit* from such a collective noun, while in Hebrew, /ben/ 'son (of)' may be used in a similar function, e.g., /ben 'adam/ 'human individual, man'; in some Ethiopian (Gurage) languages, nouns are not inflected in plural, and verbal inflection is simpler in plural than in singular elsewhere in Ethiopia and occasionally in other Semitic languages[48].

Expressions of plurality seem to originate first with reference to human beings, usually by replacement morphs, cf. the personal pronouns in most languages and also expressions like Engl. 'people' vs. 'man, person', German 'Leute' vs. 'Mensch'. With the idea of plurality becoming generalized, however, it would be too uneconomical to duplicate the entire vocabulary for that purpose; instead, a short morph or other means apt to express the notion is adopted. E.g., in Pintupi, /ya/ 'some' is sometimes used in that function; repetition of the whole or part of the basic morph appears too[49]; and so lengthening of single phoneme of the singular form; this seems to have been the origin of the early Semitic pl. afformatives /-ū/ and /-ā/ (later augmented with the fem. /-t/), cf. also the broken pl. types /qitāl/, /'aqtāl/ based on sg. /qatal/[50]. Often several different methods are used side by side, and quantitatively different sizes of plurality may be distinguished; so particularly in South Semitic again, where so-called broken or inner[51] pl. types occur besides those formed (essentially) with afformatives only,

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[47]E.g., in Pintupi, the word for 'three' means also 'a few', and larger amounts are subsumed under 'many, all'; according to J. BLOCH in *Les langues du monde* p. 519, in Andamanese, even that for 'two' means properly 'several'. It is symptomatic that such languages are spoken in societies which have not developed any kind of 'mass production' culture; therefore it has not become necessary to create expressions for (large) numbers.

[48]Cf., e.g., HIWSS Part III §§39f.

[49]E.g., in Sumerian, cf. E. BENVENISTE in *Les langues du monde* p. 191; also in (mainly South) Semitic languages, cf. BROCKELMANN, op.cit. p. 439ff.

[50]Cf. my *Broken plurals* (1964) p. 19ff.

[51]This term was used by PETRÁČEK in his thorough study of the subject, serialized in *Archív Orientální* from 1960 onwards. Variation occurs in Indo-European too, but reduced to rudiments in English, cf. /oxen/, /children/, /sheep/, /mice/ etc.; in loanwords often taken for singular, e.g., /media/, /bacteria/, /phenomena/.

and 'plurals of plurals (of plurals)' and, on the other hand, 'plurals of paucity' may be distinguished[52]. Most of these, however, may later be discarded again, when the development of the numeral system renders them unnecessary; so mostly in modern Arabic dialects[53]. The basic distinction between singular and plural, once made, however, does not seem to have been given up anywhere[54], although strictly, numerical system renders that too redundant. Even with the admission of that redundancy, we may say that specific *inflection for the expression of plurality replaces the duplication of vocabulary* in the interests of linguistic economy; and the creation of numeral system, its still more extensive multiplication where greater accuracy is required. Following this lead, we may anticipate the result of following discussion and state that *all grammar*, systematic word formation included, *replaces expansion of vocabulary* in the interests of linguistic economy.

In those languages in which no or only rudimentary plural inflecton is present, few if any other regular features with structural significance can be found. Where nouns are inflected in plural, other formal features with certain semantic guidelines are also usually found, according to which different nominal classes, types or genders are distinguished. Richest is the development of nominal classes in Bantu languages, where up to about twenty different classes can be found, differentiated by prefixes; some five to seven of these serve to express the plural of some of the other classes which again classify things in semantic categories[55] like /ki-/ relative instrumental, /mu-/ verbal participle, /fi-/, /ka-/ diminutive, /lu-/ singulative, /bu-/ abstract, /ba-/ collective (for living beings), /ma-/ likewise (for objects), /ku-/, /ma-/ noun of action, /ku-/, /mu-/, /pa-/ locative, /ka-/ depreciative; although the same thing is far from always assigned to the same class in different languages.

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[52]Cf., e.g., BROCKELMANN, op.cit. p. 436ff. In addition separate forms for a dual (and occasionally trial) number are found in many languages all over the globe, even if often in personal pronoun only, e.g., Pintupi and other Australian languages, Munda (see MASPERO, op.cit. p. 626), many early Indo-European languages etc.

[53]Cf. J. BLAU, *The emergence and linguistic background of Judeo-Arabic* (1965) p. 88f; no mention of dual in M.H. BAKALLA, *The morphological and phonological components of the Arabic verb (Meccan Arabic)* (1979), nor in R.S. HARRELL et al., *A basic course in Moroccan Arabic* (1965); however, still preserved in Syria, cf. M.W. COWELL, *A reference grammar of Syrian Arabic* (1964) p. 209ff; etc.

[54]This has been assumed sometimes, e.g., for nouns in some Gurage languages; but there is no positive evidence that they ever developed plural; moreover, their verbal flexion does have it.

[55]Accodring to G. VAN BULCK in *Les langues du monde* p. 866.

Most other systems distinguish between considerably fewer classes, e.g., a) human masculine, b) human feminine, c) other animated beings, d) other things[56]; in still others, as in many Indo-European languages[57], the first two categories are extended to non-human entities to which gender is felt assignable, and the rest united into a neutral class. In still other Indo-European[58], and most Semito-Hamitic languages, only one secondary gender, usually identified as feminine[59], is distinguished from the basic 'masculine' one, as a rule by an afformative; in some others, even this distinction appears optional[60] or rudimentary[61]. In numerous languages, however, no traces of this kind of classification based on the above mentioned criteria, can be found[62].

On the other hand, sometimes another kind of system of nominal *types* is found in its stead or alongside it; e.g., in most Semitic languages[63] a system of up to about 150 distinct types, based mainly on different *vocalic patterns* imposed on two or (mostly) three root consonants, sometimes augmented with a pre- or afformative (very rarely both in early languages) usually of pronominal, inflectional, or phonetic origin. To most of these types, apart from some of the most frequently used ones which are semantically more promiscuous, a relatively limited category of meaning is attached, such as noun of action, of agent, generally adjectival, permanent quality, accidental quality, habitual or professional agent, conspicuousness, relationship (mostly with local or instrumental connotation), abstraction, collectivity and/or adjectival sense, genitival (in particular, gentilic) relationship. abstract verbal noun. The fact that this kind of system has sometimes been secondarily discarded and more often not developed at all indicates that it is

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[56]E.g., in some Caucasian languages (besides 6- and 3-class systems), see G. DUMÉZIL ib. p. 236; and Burushaski, see BLOCH ib. p. 507.

[57]E.g., Greek, Latin, German.

[58]E.g., Scandinavian languages.

[59]In Scandinavia, usually not; in the Semito-Hamitic phylum too, the so-called feminine gender contains numerous items for which gender identification is hardly appropriate (e.g., nouns of unit vs. collective usually likewise considered feminine) so that it would be better to rename the classes, e.g., dominant vs. dominated. Cf. BLOCH, op.cit. p. 493 (on Dravidian).

[60]E.g., in Amharic and other South Ethiopic languages; in Cushitic, it may change with number.

[61]E.g., in English, only the replacing morph for 3.sg.f. of the personal pronoun remains.

[62]E.g., in the Ural-Altaic phylum, apart from those lacking plural too.

[63]Cf., e.g., BROCKELMANN, op.cit. p. 329ff, 429ff.

rather more optional than inflection in number; although it no doubt facilitates recollection of less used words, it may also cause confusion because of less consistent application of principles of formation of different classes or types.

Finally, a system of different nominal *cases* is found in a wide variety of languages, mainly to express various syntactical relationships; but it is often ephemeral, appearing alongside systems of pre- or postpositions, often originated from the latter and strictly redundant beside these, and therefore easily replaced by them again, when phonetic developments lead to the case system being discarded, as in most modern Semito-Hamitic and Indo-European languages. In these phyla, the number of cases has always been relatively few, up to about half a dozen; but elsewhere, larger numbers have been found, e.g., in Finno-Ugric up to about twenty, and there they have also remained more permanent[64].

In those languages which have not developed plural inflection, there are usually few primary adjectives too. The reason may be that most adjectives, to be created, require several objects from which the quality can be abstracted, which is also required for the notion of plurality to become applicable. E.g., in Pintupi[65], only the words for 'light' and 'dark' seem to be primary adjectives; even the word for such a conspicuous quality as 'big' seems to be based on the root /pu-/ 'to hit, put, insert; increase' from which a word for 'man' (as opposed to woman) also comes. For some qualities, the expression is the same as the related substantive, e.g., 'dirty' = /kuna/ = 'dirt, excrement'. For some others, the basic word is repeated; e.g., a winding path is literally 'way boomerang-boomerang'; red = 'blood-blood' or 'red ochre - red ochre'; blue = 'smoke-smoke'; a crawling baby is 'child hand-hand' or 'child leg-leg' etc.

Even in the ancient Semitic languages, although their formation of adjectives is more developed, with several nominal types used mainly for it, their use is relatively infrequent[66], e.g., in nominal phrases, subordinate nominal (or genitival) attribute is used more frequently than the adjectival one, and even among the latter, adjectives proper are in minority. However, there is no doubt that adjectives serve the interests of linguistic economy, as in their absence a different substantive

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[64]In Caucasian too, cf. DUMÉZIL, op.cit. p. 237f.

[65]Cf. my study, *Pintupi*; K.C. & L.E. HANSEN, *The core of Pintupi grammar* (1978), do not have separate adjectival category either.

[66]See the ref. in n. 63 above; statistics compiled by me used to some extent in *Statistical analyses of morphosyntactics* (1978), but not systematically from this point of view.

should be created for every qualitatively different appearance of otherwise essentially the same thing, in theory anyway[67].

On the other hand, there does not seem to be a language which lacks personal pronouns, for the first and second persons at least. Often their etymology is obscure, there being no demonstrable connection with the rest of the vocabulary. In other cases, however, including the Semito-Hamitic phylum[68], connection with demonstrative pronouns and ultimately with deictic elements is more or less evident. The first person is connected with the idea of 'here' and/or of 'presence', the second also as present, but objectified, or 'there'[69]. The 'first person plural' often comes from a totally different stem, without any plural characteristics, and as it exists invariably[70] even in the absence of plural inflecton in other word classes, it is evidently collective in nature. This agrees with its meaning too, as it does not mean 'more than one I', but 'I and these with me'. In many other languages, it has composite structure and often two different forms according to whether the addressee is included or not; where the etymology is conspicuous, the inclusive form is 'I+you' compound[71], the exclusive one, 'I+others' or the like[72]. The 2nd pers.pl., however, usually has plural characteristics, where they exist[73]. The 3rd pers., where found is usually most closely connected with the demonstrative pronoun for the farther or farthest object; e.g., completely identical

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[67]That this is the case in practice too for entities of primary interest, such as human beings themselves, is well known; but I have not been able to verify the assertion of a late teacher of mine (not in language subjects) that in a Central African language there is no general term for 'camel', but a different single noun for each of the concepts of 'old male camel', 'old female camel', 'young camel stallion', 'female camel foal', 'pregnant camel', 'suckling camel', 'lying camel', 'running camel', 'loaded camel' and so forth. The complete lack of a general term for 'camel' would seem to imply lack of adjectives for other expressions too.

[68]Clearest in the 3rd pers., where found; cf. below.

[69]E.g., in Tasmanian languages, cf. W. SCHMIDT in *Les langues du monde* p. 714.

[70]According to SCHMIDT, this is not the case in Tasmanian; but considering the limited quantity and often poor quality of the material at his disposal, one wonders whether the lack of attestation might be accidental, as in many languages in which plural forms demonstrably exist, singular is nevertheless used instead in a collective sense; e.g., in biblical Hebrew, sentences like /'(a)ni mte mispar/ Gn 34:30 ('I am a small number of men').

[71]E.g., some Malayo-Polynesian languages, see FAUBLÉE, op.cit. p. 658.

[72]E.g., Mon-Khmer, see MASPERO ib. p. 615.

[73]Sometimes accumulated, two or even three, as in some Ethiopic languages, presumably after the plural meaning of the previous element(s) fell into oblivion; cf. my *Early Semitic* (1967) p. 16, 20f.

in Hebrew. Dual (and rarely trial) may be formed of personal pronoun even where it does not occur otherwise[74]; sometimes it is based on singular[75], sometimes on plural[76]; in Semitic languages, it is common in some parts of South Semitic.

Of demonstrative pronouns, usually either two or three categories exist, for the near and the farther object, the latter sometimes divided according to whether it is visible or not. All appear to be based on deictic elements[77]. An interrogative pronoun too seems to exist everywhere, often divided into personal and impersonal categories[78]. Relative[79] and particular indefinite etc.[80] pronouns are less widely attested; with the exception of them, the pronouns seem to belong to the most basic vocabulary stock of any language. The need for personal ones too is obvious, as it would be otherwise awkward or cumbersome for the speaker to identify himself and the addressee in many situations. The other pronouns serve mainly the interests of clarification and generalization as well as linguistic economy by shortening expressions.

Many languages do not differentiate between nominal and verbal stems; elements attached to them to specify whether (what we would call) nominal or verbal reference is meant are then better called *pre-* and *postpositions* rather than pre- and afformatives, particularly as they are not always attached at the same element in a phrase. That the *formal* sense implied in the concept of *inflection* is lacking in them is also indicated by the fact that such elements are used independently too and that when attached to such other stems, they retain the same meaning, so that the meaning of the compound is essentially the sum of the meanings of the com-

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[74]E.g., in Pintupi and other Central Australian languages; sometimes even trial (and quartal?), e.g., in Melanesian, see LEENHARDT, op.cit. p. 686, which, to the best of my knowledge, are not found in other word classes anywhere. Gender may be distinguished in the 2nd and 3rd pers.

[75]E.g., in modern South Arabic, cf. JOHNSTONE, *The MSA languages* p. 25f.

[76]E.g., in Pintupi and classical Arabic; and Mon-Khmer, see MASPERO ib. (n. 72 above).

[77]So in Pintupi too, cf. *Pintupi* p. 28.

[78]E.g., in most Semito-Hamitic, Indo-European and Finno-Ugric languages; but variation in the methods of differentiation and sometimes confusion in usage often indicates that it is secondary.

[79]In many languages, including Semitic, the relative correlation is often implied asyndetically; in some cases, e.g., in biblical Hebrew, a particle of nominal origin may be used instead of or alongside true pronouns.

[80]E.g., distributive, determinative and other sporadically attested categories.

ponents, rather than modification of that of a main stem[81]. Moreover, often there are alternative short stems used parallel to them, so that an attempt to account for all of them in the traditional *formal* way leads to the construction of a huge pattern of paradigms and alternative paradigms many of which are based on one or two instances in the genuine, spontaneous material, if not on translations of artificial inducive sentence patterns in *ad hoc* questionnaires[82]. In actual fact, such a language may properly be called *pre-grammatical*,[83] as long as those 'inflectional' elements may be attached to any other stems as far as their meanings permit it, and in that connection follow their individual meanings rather than formal rules. *It is with the development of formal rules that linguistic economy, and with that the grammar, begins;* where 'inflectional elements' retain their original root meanings, there it is idle to construct paradigms or analogous formal structures.

<div align="center">***</div>

In those languages in which distinction between noun and verb stems does not exist, and more or less occasionally in numerous others, the same morph may be used to refer to an object or to an action. E.g., in English, the exclamation, 'Food!' may mean, 'There is food here' or 'Give me food!' etc.; the equivalent early Semitic expression, /'uk(u)l/[84] could also be used as a command (or permission), 'Eat!' Such volitive and interjectional sentences are perfectly natural in

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[81]Cf. my *Pintupi*; although the creation of a secondary nasal or liquid seems to attach the modificational element to the major morph, it still retains its root meaning; e.g., /ka/ 'side' = 'alongside, with', cf. /yapu-ra/ 'stone-being' in the sense of 'hill country', 'west', and as a verb, 'go to the hill country (= west)'. Cf. also A. GOETZE in *Handbuch der Altertums-wissenschaft* III:1 (on Hurrian); and (on American languages) HAUDRICOURT (quoting Fr. BOAS) in *Les langues du monde* p. 116ff, and subsequent sample analyses (most 'suffixes' have manifestly lexical meanings).

[82]I am afraid that I myself fell into this trap in my study of Pintupi in using questionnaires prepared in advance; this may help to understand why I got so widely different translations of the phrases and sentences from my two main informants, although they were brothers: each one gave *ad hoc* renderings of constructions hardly ever used in everyday speech. Cf. J. GUIART in *Les langues du monde* p. 704; also A. SOMMERFELT, *La langue et la societe* (1935), although some of his data are inaccurate.

[83]Cf. W.J. ENTWISTLE, *Pre-grammar?* in *Archivum Linguisticum* 1 (1949) p. 117ff. Of course, there is hardly any *completely* pre-grammatical language in existence today; and on the other, those still approximating that stage (like Pintupi) are not without structural principles either; the difference lies mainly in the nature of the principles, the pre-grammatical ones being *semantic*, the grammatical ones formal.

[84]On the vocalization of the word cf. HIWSS Part III §18.

everyday use, and there is no reason to regard them as 'elliptical' - rather, they represent the simplest structure of the sentence, consisting of what may be called *predicate* only. Another equally simple structure consists of *subject* only, e.g., Hebrew /hammäläk/ 'o king!', with the subject's paying attention implied as the desired action. In most cases, however, utterances are lengthier and both subject and predicate are expressly mentioned; the construction involved may be regarded as *the beginning* (or purely synchronically, basis) of *syntax*. It is here that the distinction between noun and verb begins; once this has taken place, the primitive construction may be called *simple nominal sentence*, its predicate still at this stage consisting of a noun; cf. the Finnish proverb, 'Oppia ikä kaikki' = 'the whole life (is) learning'. In the English rendering, there is an additional element, the *copula* 'is' required in that language because in it - and many other languages - simple nominal sentence does not exist. In many others again, it does exist, e.g., in early Hebrew, /'iʃ xakam/ may mean 'man (is) wise'. Usually, however, where the predicate expressed a quality or an action, its form indicated that it was to be understood in *verbal* sense; and where a personal pronoun (or its equivalent) was used for the subject, it amalgamated with the stem to form different *conjugations*; so in most branches of the Semito-Hamitic phylum and many others. In some of these, however, separate pronouns are used in addition, e.g., in the colloquial and some of literary Finnish, in the 1st and 2nd pers., partly perhaps due to the analogy of the 3rd where subject is of course most often a separate noun. In some again, e.g., in English, the development has led to the omission of the *pronominal afformatives* so that now only the separate pronouns remain in normal usage.

The close attachment of pronominal elements to verbal stems has led to the distinction of the same numbers and persons (and occasionally genders[85]) as in the personal pronoun; and also, on the other hand, to the formation of *secondary stems* in medial (or reflexive-reciprocal) and causative or factitive sense[86]; the medial ones may further develop into forms of *passive voice*; stem internal modifications may also serve these purposes, and also be used to create habitative, frequentative and otherwise 'intensive' secondary stems. Such formations are particularly characteristic of the Semito-Hamitic phylum, but are found elsewhere too, e.g., early Indo-European and Northwest and South Caucasian[87]. Besides or instead, different kinds of *moods* may also be developed, as some kind of counter-

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[85]E.g., in Semitic, cf. BROCKELMANN, op.cit. p. 559ff; an auxiliary 4th pers. may also appear, cf. HAUDRICOURT, op.cit. p. 1167.

[86]Elsewhere, e.g., in South-East Asia, probably non-pronominal prefixes also appear, cf. MASPERO, op.cit. p. 532ff (etc.).

[87]Cf. DUMÉZIL, op.cit. p. 244, 249f.

part to nominal cases[88], and often just as ephemeral; such as jussive and/or optative, sub- and conjunctive of Semitic and Indo-European, or the potential and conditional of Finno-Ugric, besides the more fundamental and well-nigh ubiquitous imperative. Different patterns of conjugation are also assigned different semantic *aspects*, such as whether the action has been completed or still continues, and whether it is merely narrated as a historical fact or has relevance to the present situation[89].

The above quoted Hebrew /īš ḥakam/, however, may also mean 'a wise man'. In that case, /ḥakam/ is no longer predicative, but has become an *attribute*, expression for something already familiar rather than new. The use of attributes may be compared with the creation of the adjective in nature and significance; a close connection between them is also implied by the fact that adjectives are mostly used as attributes. Functionally, a *nominal phrase*[90] consisting of a main word or *regent* and one or more attributes is equal to a single noun, and the composite or 'periphrastic' verbal 'tenses' and other verbal phrases likewise; in this sense, *syntax is an extension of morphology*. A substantive noun may also act as an attribute, either as subordinate (or genitival) or in apposition, a subordinate phrase or sentence ('clause') likewise. The rest of the syntax is structured in an analogous fashion: the *simple verbal sentence* is parallel to the nominal one, if the predicate consists of an intransitive or reflexive verb; a transitive one requires an object to complement it, a causative or factitive two; in addition, any verbal sentence may contain predicative supplements and/or adverbials. Verbal phrases are like verbal sentences, except that the predicate is replaced by a verbal noun functioning as the regent; and the subject, if represented at all, by a subordinate attribute to the regent. Subordinate sentences may be introduced by subordinative conjunctions, relative pronouns and other elements parallel to these, phrases by prepositions, but both also asyndetically; some of these introductory elements are of deictic origin, but most seem to have nominal origin, which makes them parallel to the regent of the nominal phrase, and therefore nominalizing the entire dependent unit[91].

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[88]Cf. I.J. GELB, *Sequential reconstruction of proto-Akkadian* (1969) p. 108ff.

[89]On this last aspect, cf. H. WEINRICH, *Tempus* (1964).

[90]In the technical sense, cf. HIWSS Part III, §23.

[91]In some languages, such as Sumerian and Tibeto-Burman (on this, cf. MASPERO, op.cit. p. 534f), verbs and whole sentences may be expressly nominalized by means of affixes; in Greek, the article is used for that purpose; and the asyndetic relative clause of Semitic and many other languages often functions as a *verbal attribute*; cf. *Handbuch der Orientalistik* II:1-2/2 p. 20f, 39, 45f.

In conclusion, we may thus establish that syntactic structures represent, synchronically speaking[92], an extension of morphological ones; which again, and therefore the entire morphosyntactical system, is a systematic replacement for the unacceptable alternative of ever-growing vocabulary - growing in both number and size of the items. For although it is true that all languages make but rather minor use of the capabilities of expression of the human vocal tract, and hardly much more of the receptive qualities of his auditory organs, it may nevertheless be significant that *all* of the thousands of languages spoken all over this globe, mostly linguistically quite detached from each other, have developed only a few tens at most of all possible distinctive phonological units; further subdivision of the vocal tract is obviously felt undesirable. The length of the significant units may be, and that of the accentual ones certainly is connected with the rhythm of pulmonary and certain muscular functions. When the limits set by these physio- and phonological factors are approached, the expressivity of language can be substantially increased only by systematic means serving the interests of linguistic economy. Moreover, there are limits to human *mental* abilities too, e.g., to people's memory. It is a much more formidable task to remember something over ten thousand items, most of them hardly ever used, with little or no systemization in their form and function[93], than the same amount in languages with well developed grammatical structure - and few of the greatest authors in Western languages have actively used an appreciably larger vocabulary in their literary works, let alone average people in everyday parlance. It is perverse to believe that the more complicated the grammar of a language is and the finer nuances of meaning it systematizes, the better developed the language. The grammar of a language is not a work of art, there to be aesthetically admired; a grammarian who finds such a grammar in a 'primitive' language is largely responsible for it himself. Grammar is a practical tool, meant to serve the speakers of the language; an ideal grammar would distinguish between those features necessary to make it an efficient tool for the users of the language, and no others. In practice, there is not a little redundancy, which leads to what is called *linguistic change*; to discover the trend of that change is to predict the future structure of the language; this can be done, albeit to a limited extent only, with the help of calculations of the frequency of occurrence of significant units.

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[92]Diachronically often contrariwise; e.g., verb afformative originating from a pronoun.

[93]In the formal sense, cf. n. 83 above; the ergative case too is still essentially semantic in nature, as it is construed according to the character of the action performed by the subject, rather than purely formally reflecting the subject-predicate relationship.

Die Graphik der Gesetze Ḫammurabis in einer statistischen Analyse.

Nea NOVÁKOVÁ

Schon vor geraumer Zeit hatten wir uns mit der Graphik der Gesetze Hammurabis beschäftigt,[1] ein Repertoire sämtlicher Grapheme zusammengestellt, ihre Verwendung, die Verteilung einiger Homophone und die Polyphonie untersucht. Unser Interesse hatte auch der Unterschiedlichkeit der Graphik des Prologs und Epilogs einerseits sowie der eigentlichen Gesetze andererseits gegolten.

In vorliegender Studie möchten wir uns auf eine statistische Auswertung der Graphik des Codex Hammurabi (im folgenden CH) konzentrieren, die wir zunächst in traditioneller Weise (Exzerpte) und dann per Computer vorgenommen haben. Wir hoffen, daß diese Statistik - sei es der Frequenz der Grapheme, ihrer phonetischen Realisierungen oder der Logogramme - zu einer Korrektur unserer Kenntnisse hinsichtlich der Graphemverwendungen im CH beiträgt, von denen wir meinen, sie "gründlich" zu kennen.[2] In unserer Analyse indes unterscheiden wir nicht zwischen der Graphemverwendung im Prolog und Epilog und den Gesetzen; der CH ist als ein Ganzes betrachtet.

Grundlage unserer Analyse ist die Umschrift von R.Borger in den Babylonisch-assyrischen Lesestücken (BAL, Analecta Orientalia 54, 2. neubearbeitete Auflage 1979), und zwar nur der Text der eigentlichen Stele. Borgers Umschrift haben wir strikt eingehalten, mit Ausnahme der Eigennamen, die er "phonetisch" liest (z.B. *Nin-tu, É-ud-gal-maš*, u.ä. - vgl. weiter das Verzeichnis phonetisch geschriebener Eigennamen) und die wir den Logogrammen zugeordnet haben, und zwar auch dann, wenn es sich mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit um eine tatsächliche phonetische Schreibung handelte (beispielsweise *Ì-si-in*, ferner *Šu-me-rí-im, Ak-ka-di-im usw.*).[3]

Logogramme, die durch Verbindung zweier oder mehrerer Zeichen entstanden und in Borgers Zeichenliste[4] keine eigene Nummer tragen, haben wir wie folgt zerlegt : z.B. *KURUN* = *KAŠ.TIN, ÍD* = *A.ENGUR, ZABAR* = *UD.KA.BAR*, usw.[5]

Um die komplette Graphik des CH zu erfassen, haben wir - trotz den angedeuten Schwierigkeiten - Eigennamen und Zahlausdrücke mit in unsere statistische Analyse einbezogen. Kam ein Graphem jedoch nur in diesen Fällen vor, ist es mit einem Asterix bezeichnet worden.[6]

Die zahlenmäßigen Angaben der Grapheme und phonetischen Realisationen berücksichtigen auch Schreibfehler in jener Form, in der sie im CH tatsächlich vorkommen, also beispielsweise *da!-ni-a-tim* beim Graphem *DA*, und nicht *Á*; *il-te-di!* bei *DI*, nicht aber bei *KI (=qé)*.[7]

Verderbtere Grapheme (in BAL durch ganze eckige Klammern kenntlich gemacht) sind hingegen nur in der Tabelle "Frequenz der Grapheme" aufgeführt, ansonsten aber nicht mitgezählt. Daß wir stark beschädigte Zeichen in unserer Analyse unberücksichtigt ließen, beeinflußt die Abfolge der Graphemfrequenz zumeist nicht. Doch gibt es auch Ausnahmen : Die Frequenz des Graphems *IG* wäre höher als die von *RU*, wenn auch verderbte Zeichen mitgezählt worden wären. Auch wäre das Logogramm *KUG* auf eine Frequenz 102 gekommen, hätten wir nicht zuvor 6 verderbte Grapheme abgezogen.[8] Ergänzte Zeichen (in spitzen Klammern) sind in der Analyse überhaupt nicht berücksichtigt worden.

Tabelle I: Frequenz der Grapheme.

Die höchste Frequenz weist das Graphem *A* auf, das als einziges 1000 übersteigt. Es folgen fünf Grapheme, deren Frequenz höher als 500 ist. Weitere 16 Grapheme liegen in ihrer Frequenz zwischen 200 und 407. Die Frequenzzahl 100-199 betrifft bereits 39 Grapheme, während 21 Grapheme eine Frequenz von 50 bis 100 aufweisen. Eine hohe Anzahl von Graphemen kommt im CH nur einmal (32) und zweimal (17) vor. Wie aus der Tabelle

ersichtlich, handelt es sich bei der Frequenz, die einen Wert niedriger als 8 hat, fast ausschließlich um Logogramme.[9] Die durchschnittliche Frequenz liegt bei 78,48.

Erläuterungen:

I. Spalte: Reihenfolge; II. Spalte: Graphembezeichnung; III. Spalte: Gesamtfrequenz des Graphems; IV. Spalte: Frequenz der phonetischen Realisation des Graphems; V. Spalte: Frequenz des Graphems als Logogramm bzw. Teil eines Logogramms; VI. Spalte: Anzahl der in Logogrammen einbezogenen Eigennamen.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.
1.	A	1035 + 8	863 + 4	172 + 4	10
2.	MA	878 + 5	863 + 4	15 + 1	3
3.	NA	874 + 3	840 + 3	34	5
4.	I	831 + 8	826 + 8	5	1
5.	ŠU	690 + 2	672 + 2	18	2
6.	ŠA	580 + 2	580 + 2		
7.	IGI	407 + 1	397 + 1	10	
8.	Ú	367	366	1	
9.	IM	356 + 4	346 + 4	10	10
10.	TAG	349 + 10	349 + 10		
11.	PI	318 + 1	318 + 1		
12.	Á	280 + 7	263 + 1	17 + 6	
13.	UD	280 + 2	135	145 + 2	30
14.	BI	275 + 1	263 + 1	12	
15.	TA	269 + 1	269 + 1		
16.	LI	261 + 1	261 + 1		

17.	DI	259 + 2	257 + 2	2	2
18.	AD	252 + 5	251 + 5	1	
19.	Ù	240	240		
20.	KI	239 + 1	200 + 1	39	6
21.	TI	212 + 1	212 + 1		
22.	RI	201 + 2	201 + 2		
23.	NI	199	177	22	4
24.	LA	197 + 1	194 + 1	3	1
25.	DIM	192	192		
26.	NU	189 + 2	168 + 2	21	2
27.	MU	186 + 1	175 + 1	11	
28.	IŠ	180 + 1	180 + 1		
29.	LU	178 + 3	162	16 + 3	
30.	LUM	169 + 2	168 + 2	1	
31.	AN	169	62	107	14
32.	IN	168 + 1	167 + 1	1	1
33.	BA	161	143	18	1
34.	É ·	154		154	23
35.	IR	150 + 1	150 + 1		
36.	BU	149	147	2	
37.	GIŠ	148 + 1	54	94 + 1	
38.	ŠE	143 + 6	67	76 + 6	1
39.	RU	141	127	14	
40.	IG	140 + 4	122 + 4	18	1
41.	TUR	140		140	

42.	IB	140 + 2	139 + 2	1	1
43.	RA	138	127	11	10
44.	ZU	137	122	15	5
45.	MI	136	132	4	
46.	AM	131 + 2	131 + 2		
47.	UM	130 + 1	123	7 + 1	
48.	KA	122 + 2	106 + 2	16	2
49.	AR	120 + 2	120 + 2		
50.	AG	120	115	5	3
51.	ZA	114 + 2	107 + 2	7	4
52.	UŠ	111 + 1	86	25 + 1	
53.	E	111	104	7	
54.	BAD	110	109	1	1
55.	DA	109	105	4	2
56.	ḪA	107	94	13	
57.	UL	105 + 1	103 + 1	2	2
58.	SAR	105	56	49	1
59.	TE	105	103	2	1
60.	AŠ	103 + 3	99 + 3	4	4
61.	EL	100	100		
62.	KUG	96 + 6		96 + 6	
63.	KU	94 + 1	90	4 + 1	
64.	DU	92	56	36	
65.	ŠÀ	87 + 3		87 + 3	
66.	ḪI	87 + 2	62	25 + 2	

67.	MUNUS	87		87	
68.	AB	85 + 1	82 + 1	3	2
69.	ZI	85	77	8	2
70.	GA	83 + 2	62 + 2	21	1
71.	IL	83 + 1	83 + 1		
72.	TU	79	73	6	6
73.	AḪ	79	79		
74.	PA	78	61	17	3
75.	AL	70 + 2	67 + 1	3 + 1	2
76.	ZÍ	60	60		
77.	ME	60	40	20	4
78.	MEŠ	57		57	
79.	GAL	56	28	28	5
80.	ḪU	55	55		
81.	LAM	55	51	4	2
82.	ARAD	54		54	1
83.	AZ	49	49		
84.	GÀR　　-	47 + 1	11 + 1	36	
85.	EN	46	8	38	18
86.	DAM	46	12	34	1
87.	GU₄	43 + 3		43 + 3	
88.	UB	43	43		
89.	IA	40	40		
90.	GUR	35 + 3	22 + 1	`13 + 2	
91.	TUM　　.	35	33	2	2

92.	UG	34	34		
93.	KAM	33 + 1	16 + 1	17	
94.	MÁ	33		33	
95.	URU	32	8	24	2
96.	GÉME	31 + 1		31 + 1	
97.	UZ	30	30		
98.	NAM	28 + 1	27 + 1	1	
99.	MAŠ	27		27	2
100.	ḪAR	25	24	1	1
101.	TAB	25	25		
102.	ÚḪ	24	24		
103.	NE	24	23	1	1
104.	NIM	23 + 1	23 + 1		
105.	UN	23	13	10	1
106.	GAG	22		22	
107.	SA	21	19	2	
108.	SU	20 + 1	14 + 1	6	1
109.	LAL	20		20	
110.	LUGAL	19	11	8	
111.	MIR	19		19	
112.	GU	18	16	2	
113.	NÍG	18		18	
114.	GI	16	12	4	
115.	GI₄	16	10	6	
116.	ḪAL	16	16		

117.	ŠAGAN	16		16	
118.	KAL	15 + 1	12 + 1	3	1
119.	ÚR	15 + 1	15 + 1		
120.	AMAR	15	2	13	13
121.	GÍN*	15		15	
122.	KAB	15	15		
123.	EŠ	14	13	1	
124.	U*	14		14	
125.	ÁB	13		13	
126.	KID	13		13	12
127.	MAḪ	13	9	4	2
128.	U_8	13		13	
129.	BAR	12	4	8	1
130.	GÁ	12		12	7
131.	NIN	12	1	11	5
132.	SAG	11		11	7
133.	ÁŠ	10	10		
134.	SIPA	10		10	
135.	DIN	10	3	7	
136.	GÌR	10		10	1
137.	KAR	10	5	5	1
138.	TIR	10	9	1	1
139.	UR	10	6	4	1
140.	ANŠE	9		9	
141.	ENGUR	9		9	

142.	NUN	9		9	7
143.	TÁR	9	9		
144.	SI	9	6	3	1
145.	DAR	8 + 1	5 + 1	3	3
146.	DUB	8	8		
147.	DUR	8	7	1	1
148.	GÁN	8		8	1
149.	KÁ	8		8	5
150.	MES	8		8	4
151.	BÍL	7	7		
152.	GIM	7		7	
153.	GÍR	7		7	1
154.	ITI	7		7	
155.	MAR	7	5	2	
156.	MÙŠ*	7		7	7
157.	ŠÁM	7		7	
158.	GIR	6	6		
159.	GUN	6		6	
160.	KUM	6	6		
161.	LÚ	6		6	
162.	NUMUN	6		6	
163.	ZUM	6	6		
164.	BURU$_{14}$	5		5	
165.	GUL	5	4	1	
166.	ÍL*	5		5	5

167.	PAD	5		5	
168.	SÍK	5		5	
169.	TÙR	5		5	
170.	ŠIM	4 + 1	4 + 1		
171.	APIN	4		4	
172.	BAL	4		4	
173.	KUR*	4		4	4
174.	SIG₄	4		4	
175.	ŠEN	4		4	
176.	UNUG*	4		4	4
177.	ERIM	3		3	
178.	GAN	3		3	1
179.	KIŠ	3		3	2
180.	SUM	3		3	
181.	SUḪUŠ	3		3	
182.	ŠÈ	3		3	
183.	ALAM	2		2	
184.	AMA	2		2	
185.	BUR	2		2	1
186.	DUḪ	2		2	1
187.	GAD	2		2	
188.	GÚ	2	1	1	1
189.	GUR₇	2		2	
190.	KIB*	2		2	2
191.	NA₄	2		2	
192.	SA₆	2	2		

193.	SIG	2	2		
194.	SÌLA*	2	.	2	
195.	TÚG	2		2	
196.	UDUG	2		2	
197.	ÙR	2		2	
198.	UZU	2		2	
199.	ZAR*	2		2	2
200.	AŠGAB	1		1	
201.	BÁN*	1		1	
202.	BANIA*	1		1	
203.	BANLIMMU*	1		1	
204.	BÚR	1		1	
205.	DAG	1	1		
206.	DÉ	1		1	
207.	DU₆	1		1	
208.	DÙL	1		1	
209.	EME	1		1	
210.	GIG	1		1	
211.	KASKAL	1		1	
212.	KÈŠ*	1		1	1
213.	KIN	1		1	
214.	KISAL	1	1		
215.	KUN	1		1	
216.	LAGAB	1		1	
217.	LÁL*	1		1	1
218.	LUḪ	1	1		
219.	MÁŠ	1		1	

220.	MÚRU	1		1	
221.	MÚŠ*	1		1	1
222.	NAG*	1		1	1
223.	NAGAR	1		1	
224.	NIEŠ*	1		1	
225.	NINNU*	1		1	1
226	ŠEŠ*	1		1	1
227.	ŠIR*	1		1	1
228.	ŠUBUR	1		1	
229.	UBUR	1		1	
230.	USÀN	1		1	
231.	ZADIM	1		1	

Tabelle II: Frequenz phonetischer Graphem-Realisation.

Im CH gibt es 233 phonetische Graphem-Realisationen, davon 26 nur einmal und 12 lediglich zweimal (10 Realisationen dreimal, 10 Realisationen viermal).Die häufigsten phonetischen Realisationen sind a und ma (863mal).

Aus der Tabelle geht hervor, daß die Frequenz an den ersten zehn Stellen relativ rasch abfällt (von Rang 7 auf Rang 400 und darunter). An 15.Stelle ist die Frequenz bereits niedriger als 200, und die 42.Stelle weist eine schon unter dem Wert von 100 liegende Frequenz auf. Die durchschnittliche Frequenz der Phonetischen Realisationen beträgt 66,30.

Erläuterungen:

I. und IV. Spalte: Reihenfolge; II. und V. Spalte: Phonetische Realisation;
III. und VI. Spalte: Frequenz.

1.	ma	863	26.	ri	155
2.	a	863	27.	it	150
3.	na	840	28.	ba	143
4.	i	826	29.	ni	142
5.	šu	672	30.	ad	136
6.	ša	580	31.	mi	132
7.	ú	366	32.	am	131
8.	šum	349	33.	ra	127
9.	im	326	34.	ru	127
10.	ši	305	35.	um	123
11.	ta	269	36.	ar	120
12.	ù	240	37.	ki	119
13.	wi	229	38.	bu	109
14.	di	227	39.	be	108
15.	li	207	40.	ka	106
16.	ti	206	41.	e	104
17.	la	194	42.	ul	103
18.	tim	192	43.	at	102
19.	bi	191	44.	el	100
20.	iš	180	45.	aš	99
21.	in	167	46.	ir	96
22.	mu	175	47.	ḫa	94
23.	nu	168	48.	lim	91
24.	lum	165	49.	te	90
25.	lu	162	50.	id	89

51.	tam	88	76.	qá	48
52.	ak	88	77.	re	46
53.	wa	85	78.	ip	45
54.	uš	84	79.	iq	45
55.	il	83	80.	qé	40
56.	da	79	81.	qí	40
57.	sú	75	82.	qú	40
58.	ib	74	83.	aḫ	39
59.	ik	69	84.	me	39
60.	al	67	85.	ia	38
61.	še	67	86.	pu	38
62.	pa	61	87.	zu	38
63.	ab	59	88.	ṣa	35
64.	an	59	89.	ub	35
65.	tu	59	90.	tum	32
66.	šar	56	91.	ṣe	31
67.	du	56	92.	ut	31
68.	ḫu	55	93.	zi	29,
69.	ḫi	55	94.	nam	27
70.	sà	55	95.	uz	27
71.	er	54	96.	lí	26
72.	le	54	97.	ṭa	26
73.	pí	53	98.	uk	26
74.	lam	51	99.	aṣ	24
75.	ku	50	100.	iṣ	24

101.	sí	24	126.	aṭ	13
102.	úḫ	24	127.	de	13
103.	nim	23	128.	eḫ	13
104.	ap	23	129.	eš	13
105.	gur	22	130.	iz	13
106.	ḫar	22	131.	kab	13
107.	qal	21	132.	pé	13
108.	em	20	133.	ṭe₄	13
109.	iḫ	20	134.	un	13
110.	sa	19	135.	eb	12
111.	ṣi	19	136.	dan	11
112.	ṭi	17	137.	ag	11
113.	za	17	138.	gi	11
114.	tab	17	139.	is	11
115.	kam	16	140.	šàr	11
116.	aq	16	141.	as	10
117.	gu	16	142.	dam	10
118.	ḫal	16	143.	gi₄	10
119.	ne	16	144.	et	9
120.	ṣí	16	145.	ì	9
121.	úr	15	146.	maḫ	9
122.	az	15	147.	ṣú	9
123.	ga	14	148.	tar	9
124.	su	14	149.	ter	9
125.	ṭú	14	150.	ás	8

151.	en	8	176.	qer	4
152.	ep	8	177.	qum	4
153.	iṭ	8	178.	sé	4
154.	qar	8	179.	šim	4
155.	rí	8	180.	ud	4
156.	tap	8	181.	uṭ	4
157.	ṭup	8	182.	ze	4
158.	u₄	8	183.	zé	4
159.	up	8	184.	zí	4
160.	aʾ	7	185.	gàr	3
161.	bí	7	186.	din	3
162.	bíl	7	187.	eṣ	3
163.	ḫe	7	188.	ez	3
164.	uq	7	189.	ìl	3
165.	bé	6	190.	kál	3
166.	ig	6	191.	núm	3
167.	si	6	192.	qúl	3
168.	súm	6	193.	pár	3
169.	ṭì	6	194.	ṭár	3
170.	ṭur	6	195.	uṣ	3
171.	ur	6	196.	dar	2
172.	ed	5	197.	iu	2
173.	kar	5	198.	áš	2
174.	mar	5	199.	kap	2
175.	gal	4	200.	kum	2

201.	mur	2	218.	kal	1
202.	pe	2	219.	ke	1
203.	sa$_6$	2	220.	kir	1
204.	si$_{20}$	2	221.	kúl	1
205.	ṣur	2	222.	lem	1
206.	šì	2	223.	luḫ	1
207.	ús	2	224.	mì	1
208.	á	1	225.	nin	1
209.	bat	1	226.	par$_4$	1
210.	bar	1	227.	piš	1
211.	dum	1	228.	ták	1
212.	dur	1	229.	tám	1
213.	ek	1	230.	ṭam	1
214.	eq	1	231.	ug	1
215.	eṭ	1	232.	we	1
216.	ge	1	233.	wu	1
217.	gú	1			

Tabelle III: Frequenz der Logogramme.

Von insgesammt 189 Graphemen, die wir als Logogramme bzw. als Teile von Logogrammen lesen[10],kommt ein Großteil (44 Grapheme) nur einmal, zweimal (23) oder dreimal (12) vor:

44 Grapheme haben die Frequenz 1,   22 Grapheme haben die Frequenz 2,
12   "   "   "   "   3,   14   "   "   "   "   4,
8   "   "   "   "   5 und 7,   7 "   "   "   ."   6,

| 6 | " | " | " | " | 8, | 5 | " | " | " | " | 10 und 13, |
| 4 | " | " | " | " | 9, 11, 16 und 18, | 3 | " | " | " | " | 15. |

Logogramme, die im CH nur in Eigennamen vorkommen, tragen einen Asterix. Bei einigen Graphemen ist offenkundig, daß sie nicht zu den Logogrammen zählen, siehe z.B. *IN, ME, NAM* usw. Vgl.ferner das Eigennamen-Verzeichnis.

Die höchste Frequenz erreicht auch hier das Graphem A, das Teil von zehn verschiedenen Logogrammen, ferner der sumerischen Pluralbezeichnung ḪI.A sowie des Multiplikationsnumerale x *(A.RÁ)* ist.[11] Es folgt das Graphem UD mit einer Frequenz von 146, das selbständig verwendet wird, und zwar als Teil von Logogrammen (96mal im Logogramm *KÙ.BABBAR*) und in Eigennamen[12]. Auch das Graphem *TUR* (Frequenz 140) wird selbstständig als *DUMU* (45mal) sowie als Bestandteil von Logogrammen verwendet.

Nur 6 Logogramme weisen eine höhere Frequenz als 100 auf, bei 7 Logogrammen liegt die Häufigkeit zwischen 50 und 100 und 18 Logogramme erscheinen mit einer Frequenz zwischen 20 und 50. Frequenz zwischen 10 und 20 lassen sich bei 35 Graphemen, und eine Frequenz von 1 bis 9 sogar bei 124 Graphemen feststellen. Die durchschnittliche Logogramm-Frequenz beträgt 14,46.

Erläuterungen:
I. und IV. Spalte: Reihenfolge; II. und V. Spalte: Logogramm; III. und VI. Spalte: Frequenz.

1.	A	172	8.	ŠÀ	87
2.	É	154	9.	MUNUS	87
3.	UD	145	10.	ŠE	76
4.	TUR	140	11.	MEŠ	57
5.	AN	107	12.	ARAD	54
6.	KUG	96	13.	SAR	49
7.	GIŠ	94	14.	GU$_4$	43

15.	KI	39	40.	KAM	17
16.	EN	38	41.	PA	17
17.	DU	36	42.	KA	16
18.	GÀR	36	43.	LU	16
19.	DAM	34	44.	ŠAGAN	16
20.	NA	34	45.	GÍN	15
21.	MÁ	33	46.	MA	15
22.	GÉME	31	47.	ZU	15
23.	GAL	28	48.	KID	13
24.	MAŠ	27	49.	RU	14
25.	UŠ	25	50.	U	14
26.	ḪI	25	51.	ÁB	13
27.	URU	24	52.	AMAR*	13
28.	GAG	22 .	53.	GUR	13
29.	NI	22	54.	ḪA	13
30.	GA	21	55.	U_8	13
31.	NU	21	56.	BI	12
32.	LAL	20	57.	GÁ	12
33.	ME	20	58.	MU	11
34.	MIR	19	59.	NIN	11
35.	BA	18	60.	RA	11
36.	IG	18	61.	SAG	11
37.	NÍG	18	62.	SIPA	10
38.	ŠU	18	63.	GÌR	10
39.	Á	17	64.	IGI	10

65.	IM*	10	90.	TU*	6
66.	UN	10	91.	AG	5
67.	ANŠE	9	92.	BURU$_{14}$	5
68.	ENGUR	9	93.	I	5
69.	NUN	9	94.	ÍL*	5
70.	BAR	8	95.	KAR	5
71.	GÁN	8	96.	PAD	5
72.	KÁ	8	97.	SÍK	5
73.	LUGAL	8	98.	TÙR	5
74.	MES	8	99.	APIN	4
75.	ZI	8	100.	AŠ	4
76.	DIN	7	101.	BAL	4
77.	E	7	102.	DA	4
78.	GIM	7	103.	GI	4
79.	GÍR	7	104.	KU	4
80.	ITI	7	105.	KUR*	4
81.	MÙŠ*	7	106.	LAM	4
82.	ŠÁM	7	107.	MAḪ	4
83.	UM	7	108.	MI	4
84.	ZA	7	109.	SIG$_4$	4
85.	GI$_4$	6	110.	ŠEN	4
86.	GUN	6	111.	UNUG*	4
87.	LÚ	6	112.	UR	4
88.	NUMUN	6	113.	AB	3
89.	SU	6	114.	AL	3

115.	DAR*	3	140.	TÚG	2
116.	ERIM	3	141.	TUM	2
117.	GAN	3	142.	UDUG	2
118.	KAL	3	143.	UL	2
119.	KIŠ	3	144.	ÙR	2
120.	LA	3	145.	UZU	2
121.	SI	3	146.	ZAR*	2
122.	SUḪUŠ	3	147.	AD	1
123.	SUM	3	148.	AŠGAB	1
124.	ŠÈ	3	149.	BAD*	1
125.	ALAM	2	150.	BÁN	1
126.	AMA	2	151.	BANIA	1
127.	BU	2	152.	BANLIMMU	1
128.	BUR	2	153.	BÚR	1
129.	DI*	2	154.	DÉ	1
130.	DUḪ	2	155.	DU$_6$	1
131.	GAD	2	156.	DÙL	1
132.	GU	2	157.	DUR*	1
133.	GUR$_7$	2	158.	EME	1
134.	KIB*	2	159.	EŠ	1
135.	MAR	2	160.	GIG	1
136.	NA$_4$	2	161.	GÚ*	1
137.	SA	2	162.	GUL	1
138.	SÌLA	2	163.	ḪAR*	1
139.	TE	2	164.	IB*	1

165.	IN*	1	178.	NAM	1
166.	KASKAL	1	179.	NE*	1
167.	KÈŠ*	1	180.	NIEŠ	1
168.	KIN	1	181.	NINNU*	1
169.	KUN	1	182.	ŠEŠ*	1
170.	LAGAB	1	183.	ŠIR*	1
171.	LÁL*	1	184.	ŠUBUR	1
172.	LUM	1	185.	TIR*	1
173.	MÁŠ	1	186.	Ú	1
174.	MÚRU	1	187.	UBUR	1
175.	MÚŠ*	1	188.	USÀN	1
176.	NAG*	1	189.	ZADIM	1
177.	NAGAR	1			

Verzeichnis der Eigennamen

A) Die Eigennamen die bei R.Borger wie Logogramme gelesen sind

a) Götternamen

1.	D:A.NUN.NA	1	LI 73
2.	D:AMAR.UTU	13	I 8; II 8; V 15; XXXVIII 78,93; XLVII 14,29,90; XLVIII 26,28,32,42,55
3.	AN	6	I 1,45; II 46; XLVII 64; XLIX 45; LI 51
4.	D:EN.KI	4	I 10; IV 17; XLVII 27; XLIX 98

5. D:EN.LÍL (-ut)	10	I 3,11,46,53; XLVII 12,64; XLIX 53,89,95; LI 86
6. D:EZINÁ (=ŠE.TIR)	1	L 11
7. D:INNIN (=MÙŠ)	6	II 47,63,65; V 13; XLVII 24; L 92
8. D:IŠKUR (=IM)	5	III 57,59; XIII 42; XIV 3; L 64
9. D:LAMMA	1	IV 56
10. D:MÚŠ	1	IV 35
11. D:NÈ.ERI₁₁.GAL	1	LI 24
12. D:URAŠ	1	II 22
13. D:UTU	9	I 40; II 23,35; V 4; XLVII 84; XLVIII 97; XLIX 14; L 14,32
14. D:ZUEN (=EN.ZU)	3	II 14; IV 70; L 41

b) Lokalitäten

1. ARARMA (=UD.UNUG):KI	1	II 33
2. ÍD:BURANUN(=UD.KIB.NUN).NA	1	IV 26
3. DUR.AN.KI	1	I 59
4. URU:ERIDU(=NUN):KI	1	I 64
5. GÍR.SU:KI	1	II 42
6. URU:GÚ.DU₈.A	1	III 3
7. URU:IM:KI	1	I 61
8. KÁ.DINGIR.RA:KI	6	I 16; II 6; IV 43; V 5; XXXVIII 79*; XLVII 63
9. MÀ.AL.GU₇:KI**	1	IV 12
10. NIBRU(=EN.LÍL):KI	1	I 59
11. ŠIR.BUR.LA:KI	1	II 41
12. UD.NUN:KI	1	III 67
13. UNUG:KI	1	II 38
14. URU:URI₅(=ŠEŠ.AB):KI	1	II 17

15. ZABALÁ(=ZA.MÙŠ.UNUG):KI   1   II 52
16. ZIMBIR(=UD:KIB:NUN):KI   1   II 25
17. Maš-kán-ŠAPRA(=PA.AL):KI   1   IV 3

* É.DINGIR.RA
**MÀ.AL.NAG!.A:KI

B) Eigennamen die bei R.Borger "phonetisch" gelesen sind

a)Götternamen

1. D:A-a	1	II 28
2. D:A-nun-na-ki	1	I 2
3. D:Da-gan	1	IV 27
4. D:Dam-gal-nun-na	1	IV 18
5. I-gi$_4$-gi$_4$	1	I 14
6. Ìr-ra	1	II 69
7. Iš$_8$-tár	3	III 54; IV 47,48
8. D:Ma-ma	1	III 29
9. D:Nin-a-zu	1	IV 37
10. D:Nin-kar-ra-ak	1	LI 50
11. D:Nin-líl	1	XLIX 81
12. D:Nin-tu	2	III 35; LI 40
13. Tu-tu	1	III 10
14. D:Za-ba$_4$-ba$_4$	3	II 57; XLVII 23; L˙81
15. D:Zar-pa-ni-tum	2	XLVIII 43,56

b)Lokalitäten

1. A-kà-dé:KI	1	IV 50
2. URU:A-šur$_4$(=LAL.SAR):KI	1	IV 58
3. Ak-ka-di-im	2	V 9; XLVII 51
4. URU:Bar-sí-pá:KI	1	III 12
5. Dil-bad:KI	1	III 20
6. É-abzu(=ZU.AB)	1	II 1

7. É-an-na	1	II 43
8. É-babbar(=UD)-(ra)	3	II 30,34; LI 76
9. É-gal-maḫ	1	II 54
10. É-kiš-nu-gál	1	II 21
11. É-kur	4	I 62; XLIX 84; L 84; LI 54
12. É-maḫ	1	III 69
13. É-me-te-ur-sag	1	II 62
14. É-miš-miš	1	IV 61
15. É-ninnu	1	III 46
16. É-sag-íl(a)	5	II 12; XLVII 67,93; XLVIII 50,51
17. É-ud-gal-gal	1	III 64
18. É-ul-maš	1	IV 49
19. É-zi-da	1	III 15
20. Ḫur-sag-kalam(=UN)-ma	1	II 67
21. Ì-si-in:KI	1	II 51
22. Kèš:KI	1	III 32
23. URU:Kiš:KI	1	II 59
24. URU:Maš-kán-ŠAPRA(=PA.AL):KI	1	IV 3
25. Me-ra:KI	1	IV 30
26. Miš-lam	2	II 6; IV 6
27. Ni-nu-a:KI	1	IV 60
28. Šu-me-rí-im	2	V 8; XLVII 50
29. Tu-tu-ul:KI	1	VI 31

Tabelle IV: CH-Grapheme in alphabetischer Reihenfolge.

Die Tabelle enthält 241 Grapheme - einschließlich jener, die als Numerale und Mengenausdrücke verwendet werden sowie in Eigennamen Verwendung finden. Die entsprechenden Zahlenabgaben zum Vorkommen finden

sich jeweils unter den Bezeichnungen des Graphems, der phonetischen Realisation bzw. des Logogramms.[13]

Erläuterungen:
I.Spalte: Reihenfolge des Graphems; II. Spalte: Graphem nach Standardbe-zeichnung; III.Spalte: Nummer nach Borgers Zeichenliste; IV. Spalte: phone-tische Graphem-Realisation; V. Spalte: Verwendungs des Graphems in Logo-grammen.

1.	A 1035	579	a 863	A.ŠÀ A.BA A.GÀR A.ENGUR A.ZU(SU) É.GI$_4$.A GÁ.GI$_4$.A AL.DÙ.A UM.MI.A LÚ:TÚG.DU$_8$.A	85 11 3 9 11 2 2 2 2 1
2.	Á 280	334	á,id,it, iṭ,ed,et,eṭ 1,89,150,8,5, 9, 1	Á Á.ZÁG GU$_4$.Á.ÙR.RA	15 1 1
3.	AB 85	128	ab, ap 59, 23	AB.SÍN	1
4.	ÁB 13	420		ÁB.GU$_4$.ḪI.A GU$_4$.ÁB.MÚRU.SAG	12 1
5.	AD 252	145	ad, at, aṭ 136,102,13	AD.KID	1
6.	AG 120	97	ag, ak, aq 11, 88, 16	ME$_6$	2
7.	AḪ 79	398	aḫ, eḫ, iḫ, aʾ 39, 13, 20, 7		
8.	AL 70	298	al 67	AL.DÙ.A	1

9.	ALAM 2	358		ALAM	2
10.	AM 131	170	am 131		
11.	AMA 2	237	.	AMA	2
12.	AMAR 15	437	ṣur 2	.	
13.	AN 169	13	an, ìl 59, 3	DINGIR NIN.DINGIR AN.DÙL AN	93 4 1 1
14.	ANŠE 9	208		ANŠE	9
15.	APIN 4	56		GIŠ:APIN LÚ:ENGAR GIŠ:APIN.TÚK.KIN	2 1 1
16.	AR 120	451	ar 120		
17.	ARAD 54	50		ARAD	53
18.	AŠ 103	1	aš 99		
19.	ÁŠ 11	339	ás, áš 8, 2	BANEŠ	1
20.	AŠGAB 1	104		AŠGAB	1
21.	AZ 49	131	az, as, aṣ 15, 10, 24		
22.	BA 161	5	ba 143	A.BA Ì.BA SÍG.BA ŠE.BA	11 2 2 2

23.	BAD 110	69	be, bat 108, 1		
24.	BAL 4	9		BALA	4
25.	BÁN* 1	74, 100		BÁN	1
26.	BANIA* 1	341		BANIA	1
27.	BANLIM-MU* 1	340		BANLIMMU	1
28.	BAR 12	74 (48)	bar, pár 1, 3	NU.BAR UD.KA.BAR	1 6
29.	BI 275	214	bi, bé, pí, pé 191, 6, 53, 13	KAŠ MÍ:KAŠ.TIN.NA É.KAŠ.TIN.NA KAŠ.Ú.SA.KA.GAG ÁB.BI!.ḪI.A	3 5 2 1 1
30.	BÍL 7	173	bíl 7		
31.	BU 149	371	bu, pu 109,38	GIŠ:MAR.GÍD.DA	2
32.	BUR 2	349		BUR.GUL	1
33.	BÚR 1	11 ·		GAL.BÚR(UŠUM)	1
34.	BURU$_{14}$ 5	54		BURU$_{14}$	5
35.	DA 109	335	da, ṭa 79, 26	GIŠ:MAR.GÍD.DA	2
36.	DAG 1	280	ták 1		
37.	DAM 46	557	dam, tám, ṭam 10, 1, 1	DAM DAM.GÀR	1 32

38.	DAR 8	114	dar, ṭár 2, 3		
39.	DÉ 1	338		SIMUG	1
40.	DI 259	457	de, di, ṭi 13, 227,17		
41.	DIM 192	94	tim 192		
42.	DIN 10	465	din 3	É.KAŠ.TIN.NA MÍ.KAŠ.TIN.NA	2 5
43.	DU 92	206	du 56	MÁ.DU.DU GÌR.PAD.DU A.RÁ	11 5 9
44.	DU$_6$ 1	459a		DU$_6$	1
45.	DUB 8	138	ṭup 8		
46.	DUḪ 2	167		LÚ:TÚG.DU$_8$.A	1
47.	DÙL 1	329		AN.DÙL	1
48.	DUR 8	108	dur, ṭur 1, 6		
49.	E 111	308	e 104	BÙR:IKU.E GUR.E	6 1
50.	É 154	324		É.GAL É.GI$_4$.A É.GAR$_8$ É.KAŠ.TIN.NA É	13 2 2 2 112
51.	EL 100	564	el 100		

52.	EME 1	32		EME	1
53.	EN 46	99	en 8	EN MAŠ.EN.GAG(NI)	1 19
54.	ENGUR 9	484		A.ENGUR	9
55.	ERIM 3	393		ERIM	3
56.	EŠ 14	472	eš 13	30	1
57.	GA 83	319	ga, qá 14, 48	GÌR.SÌ.GA NÍG.GA	3 17
58.	GÁ 12	233		GÁ.GI₄.A LÚ:ḪUN.GÁ	2 3
59.	GAD 2	90		LÚ:GADA NA.GADA	1 1
60.	GAG 22	230		AL.DÙ.A GÍR.GAG.UD.KA.BAR MAŠ.EN.GAG KAŠ.Ú.SA.KA.GAG	2 1 18 1
61.	GAL 56	343	gal, kál, qal 4, 3, 21	É.GAL KÁ.GAL GAL.BÚR ŠÀ.GAL GAL	13 2 1 1 6
62.	GAN 3	143		ḪÉ.GÁL	2
63.	GÁN 8	105		IKU GIŠ:GÁN.ÙR	6 1
64.	GÀR 47	333	gàr, qar 3, 8	A.GÀR DUMU.A.GAR.MEŠ1 DAM.GÀR	3 32
65.	GÉME 31	558		GÉME	31

66.	GI 16	85	ge, gi 1, 11	KÙ.GI	4
67.	GI₄ 16	326	gi₄ 10	É.GI₄.A GÁ.GI₄.A	2 2
68.	GIG 1	446		NU.GIG	1
69.	GIM 7	440		ŠITIM	7
70.	GÍN* 15	596		GÍN	15
71.	GIR 6	346 ·	kir, qer, piš 1, 4, 1		
72.	GÍR 7	10		GÍR.GAG(NI).UD.KA.- BAR	6
73.	GÌR 10	444		GÌR.PAD.DU GÌR.SÍ.GA GÌR	5 3 1
74.	GIŠ 148	296	ez, iz, is, eṣ, iṣ 3, 13, 11, 3, 24	GIŠ Ì.GIŠ ŠE.GIŠ.Ì	84 2 8
75.	GU 18	559	gu 16	GIŠ:GU.ZA	2
76.	GÚ 2	106	gú 1		
77.	GU₄ 43	297		GU₄ GU₄.Á.ÙR.RA GU₄.ÁB.MÚRU.SAG ÁB.GU₄.ḪI.A ŠÀ.GU₄	30 1 1 11 1
78.	GUL 5	429	kúl, qúl 1, 3	BUR.GUL	1
79.	GUN 6	108*		GUN	6

80.	GUR 35	111	gur 22	GUR GIŠ:MÁ.60.GUR	11 2
81.	GUR₇ 2	542		GUR₇.GUR₇	1
82.	H̬A 107	529	h̬a 94	H̬A.LA ŠU.H̬A	2 11
83.	H̬AL 16	2	h̬al 16		
84.	H̬AR 25	401	h̬ar, mur 22, 2		
85.	HI 87	396	h̬e, h̬i 7, 55	H̬I.A	25
86.	H̬U 55	78	h̬u 55		
87.	I 831	142	i 826	ŠU.I	4
88.	IA 40	142 a	ia, iu 38, 2		
89.	IB 140	535	eb, ib, ep, ip 12, 74, 8, 45		
90.	IG 140	80	ig, ek, ik, eq, iq 6, 1, 69, 1, 45	HÉ.GÁL ĬGI.GÁL MÍ:ZI.IK.RU.UM IGI.x.GÁL	2 2 6 7
91.	IGI 407	449	ši, lem, lim 305, 1, 91	IGI IGI.GÁL IGI.x.GÁL	1 2 7
92.	IL 83	205	il 83		
93.	ÍL* 5	320			
94.	IM 356	399	em, im 20, 326		

95.	IN 168	148	in 167		
96.	IR 150	232	er, ir 54, 96		
97.	IŠ 180	212	iš 180		
98.	ITI 7	52		ITU	7
99.	KA 122	15	ka 106	UD.KA.BAR KAŠ.Ú.SA.KA.GAG ZÚ.LUM KA	6 1 1 6
100.	KÁ 8	133		KÁ KÁ.GAL	1 2
101.	KAB 15	88	kab, kap 13, 2		
102.	KAL 15	322	dan, kal 11, 1	KI.KAL	2
103.	KAM 33	406	kam 16	KAM	17
104.	KAR 10	376	kar 5	KAR	4
105.	KASKAL 1	166		KASKAL	1
106.	KÈŠ* 1	546			
107.	KI 239	461	ke, ki, qé, qí 1, 119, 40,40	KI KI.KAL KI.LAM KI.UD	28 2 2 1
108.	KIB* 2	228			

109.	KID 13	313		AD.KID	1
110.	KIN 1	538		GIŠ:APIN.TÚG.KIN	1
111.	KISAL 1	249	par₄ 1		
112.	KIŠ 3	425		KIŠ	1
113.	KU 94	536	ku, qú 50, 40	TUKUL	4
114.	KUG 96	468		KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI	92 4
115.	KUM 6	191	kum, qum 2, 4		
116.	KUN 1	77		KUN	1
117.	KUR* 4	366			
118.	LA 197	55	la 194	ḪA.LA	2
119.	LAGAB 1	483		ŠU.NÍGIN	1
120.	LAL 20	481		KIŠIB.LÁ ŠÁMAN.LÁ	4 16
121.	LÁL* 1	482			
122.	LAM 55	435	lam 51	KI.LAM	2
123.	LI 261	59	le, li 54, 207		
124.	LU 178	537	lu 162	UDU U₈.LU.ḪI.A	4 12

125.	LÚ 6	330			LÚ	6
126.	LUGAL 19	151	šàr 11		LUGAL	8
127.	LUḪ 1	321	luḫ 1			
128.	LUM 169	565	lum, núm 165, 3		ZÚ.LUM	1
129.	MA 878	342	ma 863		MA.NA	12
130.	MÁ 33	122			GIŠ:MÁ GIŠ:MÁ.60.GUR MÁ.DU.DU	20 2 11
131.	MAḪ 13	57	maḫ 9		UR.MAḪ	2
132.	MAR 7	307	mar 5		GIŠ:MAR.GÍD.DA	2
133.	MAŠ 27	74			ˈMAŠ.EN.GAG MAŠ.EN.NI! 1/2	18 1 6
134.	MÁŠ 1	76			MÁŠ	1
135.	ME 60	532	me, mì 39, 1		ME.LÁM NUN.ME MUNUS.ME	1 1 14
136.	MES 8	314			KIŠIB.LÁ	4
137.	MEŠ 57	533			MEŠ	57
138.	MI 136	427	mi 132		UM.MI.A SAG.GI$_6$	2 2
139.	MIR 19	347			AGA AGA.UŠ	1 18

140.	MU 186	61	mu 175	MU NU.MU.SU	8 3
141.	MUNUS 87	554		MÍ SAL MUNUS.ME	72 1 14
142.	MÚRU 1	337		GU₄.ÁB.MÚRU.SAG	1
143.	MÚŠ* 1	102			
144.	MÙŠ* 7	103	.		
145.	NA 874	70 ˙	na 840	NA.GADA NA.RU MA.NA É.KAŠ.TIN.NA MÍ.KAŠ.TIN.NA	1 8 13 2 5
146.	NA₄ 2	229		NA₄	2
147.	NAG* 1	35		.	
148.	NAGAR 1			NAGAR	1
149.	NAM 28	79	nam 27	AB.SÍN	1
150.	NE 24	172	ne, bí 16, 7		
151.	NI 199	231	ì, ni, lí 9,142, 26	Ì.BA Ì.GIŠ ŠE.GIŠ.Ì GÍR.NI!.ZABAR MAŠ.EN.NI!	2 2 8 5 1
152.	NIEŠ* 1	585c		3 PI	1
153.	NÍG 18	597		NÍG.GA GÌR.NÍG!.DU	17 1

154.	NIM 23	433	nim 23.		
155.	NIN 12	556	nin 1	NIN NIN.DINGIR	2 4
156.	NINNU* 1	475			
157.	NU 189	75	nu 168	NU.BAR NU.GIG NU.GIŠ.KIRI₆ NU.BÀNDA NU.MU.SU NU.SÍG	1 1 9 4 3 1
158.	NUMUN 6	72		NUMUN ŠE.NUMUN	4 2
159.	NUN 9	87		NUN NUN.ME	1 1
160.	PA 78	295	pa 61	GIDRU BANMIN PA.PA PA.TE.SI Á.ZÁG	3 1 4 1 1
161.	PAD 5	469		GÌR.PAD.DU	5
162.	PI 318	383	wa, we, wi, wu,pe 85, 1, 229, 1, 2		
163.	RA 138	328	ra 127	GU₄.Á.ÙR.RA	1
164.	RI 201	86	re, ri 46, 155		
165.	RU 141	68	ru 127	NA.RU MÍ:ZI.IK.RU.UM	8 6
166.	SA 21	104	sa 19	SA.SAL KAŠ.Ú.SA.KA.GAG	1 1

167.	SA$_6$ 2	356	sa$_6$ 2		
168.	SAG 11	115		SAG.GI$_6$ UR.SAG GU$_4$.ÁB.MÚRU.SAG	2 1 1
169.	SAR 105	331e	šar 56	SAR NU.GIŠ.KIRI$_6$ GIŠ.KIRI$_6$	1 9 38
170.	SI 9	112	si 6	SI PA.TE.SI	1 1
171.	SIG 2	592	šì 2		
172.	SIG$_4$ 4	567		SIG$_4$ É.GAR$_8$	2 2
173.	SÍK 5	539		SÍG NU.SÍG SÍG.BA	2 1 2
174.	SÌLA* 2	62		SÌLA	2
175.	SIPA 10	295 m		SIPA	10
176.	SU 20	7	su 14	KUŠ A.SU! NU.MU.SU	1 1 3
177.	SUḪUŠ 3	201		SUḪUŠ	3
178.	SUM 3	164		GÌR.SÌ.GA	3
179.	ŠA 580	353	ša 580		
180.	ŠÀ 87	384		A.ŠÀ ŠÀ.GAL ŠÀ.GU$_4$	85 1 1

181.	ŠÁM 7	187		ŠÁM	7
182.	ŠAGAN 16	428		ŠÁMAN.LÁ	16
183.	ŠE 143	367	še 67	ŠE.BA ŠE.NUMUN ŠE.GIŠ.Ì ŠE	2 2 8 63
184.	ŠÈ 3	536		LÚ:ḪUN.GÁ	3
185.	ŠEN 4	8		ŠEN	4
186.	ŠEŠ* 1				
187.	ŠIM 4	215	šim 4		
188.	ŠIR* 1	71			
189.	ŠU 690	354	šu 672	ŠU.ḪA ŠU.I ŠU.NÍGIN	11 4 1
190.	ŠUBUR 1	53		ŠAḪ	1
191.	TA 269	139	ta 269		
192.	TAB 25	124	tab, tap 17, 8		
193.	TAG 349	126	šum 349		
194.	TAR 9	12	tar 9		
195.	TE 105	376	te, te₄ 90, 13	PA.TE.SI	1

196.	TI 212	73	ti, ṭì 206, 6		
197.	TIR 10	375	ter 9		
198.	TU 79	58	tu, ṭú 59, 14		
199.	TÚG 2	536		LÚ:TÚG.DU₈.A GIŠ:APIN.TÚK.KIN	1 1
200.	TUM 35	207	dum, tum 1, 32		
201.	TUR 140	144		DUMU DUMU.MEŠ DUMU.MÍ DUMU.A.GÀR.MEŠ TUR.UŠ NU.BÀNDA	45 55 23 1 8 4
202.	TÙR 5	87		TÙR	5
203.	U* 14	411		BÙR 10	6 8
204.	Ú 367	318	ú 366	KAŠ.Ú.SA.KA.GAG	1
205.	Ù 240	455	ù 240		
206.	U₈ 13	494		U₈.LU.ḪI.A	13
207.	UB 43	306	ub, up 35, 8		
208.	UBUR 1	291		UBUR	1
209.	UD 280	381	ud, ut, uṭ, tam, u₄ 4, 31, 4, 88, 8	UD UD.KA.BAR KI.UD KÙ.BABBAR	8 6 1 102

210.	UDUG 2	577		GIDIM₄.GIDIM₄	1
211.	UG 34	130	ug, uk, uq 1, 26, 7		
212.	ÚH 24	392	úh 24		
213.	UL 105	441	ul 103		
214.	UM 130	134	um 123	UM.MI.A MÍ:ZI.IK.RU.UM	2 5
215.	UN 23	312	un 13	KALAM	9
216.	UNUG* 4	195			
217.	UR 10	575	ur 6	UR.MAH UR.SAG	2 1
218.	ÚR 15	203	úr 15		
219.	ÙR 2	255		GU₄.Á.ÙR.RA GÁN.ÙR	1 1
220.	URU 32	38	rí 8	URU	22
221.	ÙSAN 1	394c		KUŠ:ÙSAN	1
222.	UŠ 111	211	ús, uš 2, 84	AGA.UŠ TUR.UŠ	18 7
223.	UZ 30	372	uz, uṣ 27, 3		
224.	UZU 2	171		UZU UZU:SA.SAL	1 1
225.	ZA 114	586	za, sà, ṣa 17, 55, 35	GIŠ:GU.ZA LIMMU (4)	2 1

226.	ZADIM 1	4		ZADIM	1
227.	ZAR* 2	491			
228.	ZI 85	84	ze, zi, sé, sí, și 4, 29, 4, 24, 16	MÍ:ZI.IK.RU.UM	6
229.	ZÍ 60	147	zé, zí, si$_{20}$, șe, și 4, 4, 2, 31, 19		
230.	ZU 137	6	zu, sú, șú 38, 75, 9	A.ZU	10
231.	ZUM 6	555	súm 6		
232.	DIŠ 24	480		DIŠ (1) GÉŠ (60) GIŠ:MÁ.60.GUR	22 2 2
233.	MIN 10	570		MIN (2) 12 2 1/2	7 2 1
234.	EŠ$_5$ 10	593		EŠ$_5$ (3)	10
235.	EŠ$_6$ 1	2 a		EŠ$_6$ (3)	1
236.	LÍMMU 1	597 9		LÍMMU (4)	1
237.	IÁ 10	598 a		IÁ (5)	10
238.	ÀŠ 7	298 b		ÀŠ (6)	7
239.	USSU 2	598 d		USSU (8)	2
240.	NIŠ 1	471		NIŠ (20)	1
241.	1/3 8	571		ŠUŠANA (1/3)	8

Kommentar

1. Die sumerische Pluralbezeichnung *ḪÁ* wird in *ḪI.A* zerlegt und kommt 25mal vor. Der sumerische Ausdruck *A.RÁ* bei Multiplikationszahlen erscheint in 9 Fällen. Das Graphem *A* ist in folgenden Eigennamen vorhanden: *D:A-a* (1mal), *D:A.NUN.NA* (1mal), *D:A-nun-na-ki* (1mal), *D:Nin-a-zu* (1mal), *A-kà-dè:KI* (1mal), *URU:A-šur4(=LÁL.SAR):KI* (1mal), *URU:GÚ.DU₈.A:KI* (1mal), *MÀ.AL.NAG(=GU₇).A:KI* (1mal) und *Ni-nu-a:KI* (1mal).

2. Im Eigennamen *D:ZUEN-mu-ba-lí-iṭ* ist *iṭ* als phonetische Realisation gezählt. *Á = idum* "Lohn" kommt 21mal vor, davon 6mal sehr beschädigt.

3. In den Eigennamen: *É-abzu(=ZU.AB)* 1 mal und *URU:URI₅(=ŠEŠ.AB):KI* auch 1mal.

6. In den Eigennamen: *D:Nin-kar-ra-ak* (1mal) und *Ak-ka-di-im* (2mal).

8. In den Eigennamen: *URU:Maš-kán-ŠAPRA(=PA.AL):KI* (1mal)und *MÀ.AL.NAG (=GU₇).A* (1mal). Der Logogramm *AL.DÙ.A* ist 2mal belegt, aber 1mal ist das Graphem *AL* beschädigt.

10. Im Eigennamen *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí* (6mal) ist *am* als phonetische Realisation gezählt.

12. Im Eigennamen *D:AMAR.UTU* 13mal.

13. In den Eigennamen: *AN* (6mal), *DUR.AN.KI* (1mal), *É-an-na* (1mal), *É.DINGIR.RA* (1mal), *KÁ.DINGIR.RA* (5mal). *il* im Eigennamen *Su-mu-la-il* ist als phonetische Realisation gezählt.

   Die phonetische Lesung *il* im Fall *É il URU-šu* (XI 27,30) ist sehr problematisch, uns scheint die Transkription *É DINGIR URU-šu* vorziehbarer.

17. Außerhalb der Bedeutung "Sklave" kommt das Logogramm im Gottes-namen *Ìr-ra* vor.

18. In den Namen: *Dil-bad:KI* (1mal) und *Iš₈-tár* (3mal). Die Göttin *Ištar* ist außerdem durch das Graphem *MÙŠ* 6mal geschrieben.

22. Im Eigennamen *URU:Bar-sí-pá:KI* (1mal). Zu Zahl von 143 phonetischen Realisationen wurde *ba* aus dem Namen *ZUEN-mu-ba-lí-iṭ* hinzugezählt.

23. Im Eigennamen *Dil-bat:KI* (1mal).

25. *BÁN = sūtu* ist hier als selbständiges Graphem - nicht mit *BAR* oder *MAŠ* - zusammengezählt. Vgl. *BANLIMMU = 4 sūtu* (Nr.27) und *BANIA = 5 sūtu* (Nr.26).

28. Im Eigennamen *URU:Bar-sí-pá:KI* (1mal). Das Logogramm *ZABAR* ist in *UD.KA.-BAR* zerlegt und erscheint 6mal in *GÍR.GAG/NI.ZABAR*.

29. Im Logogramm *ÁB.BI.ḪI.A* ist *BI* (anstatt *GU₄*) falsch geschrieben. Siehe unten das Fehlerverzeichnis.

32. Im Ortsnamen: *ŠIR.BUR.LA:KI* (1mal).

35. In den Eigennamen: *D:Da-gan* (1mal) und *É-zi-da* (1mal).

37. Im Eigennamen *D:Dam-gal-nun-na* (1mal).

38. Der phonetisch gelesene Name der Göttin *Ištar* $Iš_8$-*tár* wechselt mit dem öfters verwendeten Graphem *MÙŠ*.

40. *DI* kommt im Namen *Ak-ka-di-im* 2mal vor.

43. *MÁ.LAH₅* ist in *MÁ.DU.DU* zerlegt.

46. Im Eigennamen *Kutâ* = *URU:GÚ.DU₈.A:KI* (1mal).

48. Im Eigennamen *DUR.AN.KI* (1mal).

50. 23mal in 14 Tempelnamen: *É-abzu(ZUAB)*, *É-an-na*, *É-babbar*, usw., siehe oben das Verzeichnis der Eigennamen, und 1mal in *É.DINGIR.RA* wahrscheinlich statt *KÁ.DIN-GIR.RA*.

53. Im Götternamen: *D:EN.KI* (4mal), *D:EN.LÍL* (9mal) und *D:EN.ZU* (3mal). Weiter in der Lokalität *NIBRU(=EN.LÍL):KI* (1mal) und im Abstraktum *D:EN.LÍL-ut* (1mal).

54. Das Graphem *ÍD* ist in *A.ENGUR* zerlegt.

56. 1mal als Zahlwort 30.

57. Im Ortsnamen *A-kà-dè:KI* (1mal).

58. In den Eigennamen: *Za-ba₄.ba₄* (3mal) und *MÀ.AL.GU₇.A:KI* (1mal).

60. *GÍR.GAG.ZABAR(=UD.KA.BAR)* ist 5mal fehlerhaft geschrieben als *GÍR.NI!.ZABAR*; auch *MAŠ.EN.GAG* ist mit einem *NI* anstelle *GAG* geschrieben, siehe unten das Fehlerverzeichnis.

61. In den Eigennamen: *D:Dam-gal-nun-na*, *É-gal-maḫ*, *É-ud-gal-gal* und *D:Nergal* = *D:NÈ.ERI₁₁.GAL*.

62. 1mal im Gottesnamen *D:Da-gan*.

63. Im Ortsnamen *URU:Maš-kán-ŠAPRA(=PA.AL):KI* 1mal.

67. Im Götternamen *I-gi₄-gi₄* (1mal).

72. 1mal im Ortsnamen *GÍR.SU:KI*. Zu *GÍR.GAG/NI.ZABAR* siehe Kommentar zu Nr.60.

73. Im Gottesnamen *Nergal* = *D:NÈ.ERI₁₁.GAL* (1mal).

76. 1mal im Ortsnamen *Kutâ* = *URU:GÚ.DU₈.A*. Das sumerische Lehnwort *gú-gal* (L 65) ist nach R.Borger phonetisch gelesen.

82. Im Eigennamen *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí* (6mal).Siehe oben Kommentar zu Nr.10.

84. 1mal im Ortsnamen *Ḫur-sag-kalam-ma*.

85. Der sumerische Plural *ḪÁ* ist in *ḪI.A* zerlegt.

87. 1mal im Götternamen *I-gi₄-gi₄*.

89. 1mal im Gottesnamen *D:Uraš*.

90. 1mal im Eigennamen *É-kiš-nu-gál*. Die Bezeichnung der Priesterin *ZI.IK.RU.UM* kann man phonetisch *sé-ek-ru-um* lesen.

93. 5mal im Eigennamen *É-sag-íla*.

94. In den Eigennamen: *D:IŠKUR(5mal)*, *Karkara* = *URU:IM:KI* (1mal), *Ak-ka-di-im* (2mal) und *Šu-me-rí-im* (2mal).

95. Im Eigennamen *Ì-si-in* (1mal).

99. Im Eigennamen *Ak-ka-di-im* (2mal).

100. Im Eigennamen *KÁ.DINGIR.RA* (5mal). Im Fall *É.DINGIR.RA* kann man die Lesung *bīt ilim* annehmen oder den Schreibfehler voraussetzen.

102. 1mal im Gottesnamen *D:LAMMA*. Das Logogramm *KANKAL* ist in *KI.KAL* zerlegt.

104. 1mal im Gottesnamen *D:Nin-kar-ra-ak*.

106. In dem Eigennamen *Kèš:KI* 1 mal.

107. In den Eigennamen: *D:EN.KI* (4mal), *D:A-nun-na-ki* (1mal) und *DUR. AN.KI* (1mal). Das Logogramm *KANKAL* ist zu *KI.KAL* zerlegt.

108. In den Eigennamen *ZIMBIR(=UD.KIB.NUN):KI* (1mal) und *ÍD:BURANUN(=UD.-KIB.NUN).NA* (1mal).

109. In den Götternamen *D:EN.LÍL(-ut)* 10mal und *D:Nin-líl* 1mal, im Ortsnamen *NIBRU(=EN.LÍL):KI* 1mal.

112. Im Ortsnamen *URU:Kiš:KI* (1mal) und *É-kiš-nu-gál* (1mal).

114. Das Logogramm *GUŠKIN* ist in *KUG.GI* zerlegt.

117. Im Eigennamen *É-kur* (4mal).

118. Im Ortsnamen *ŠIR.BUR.LA:KI* (1mal) und Personennamen *Su-mu-la-il*, wo *la* zur phonetischen Realisationen gezählt wird.

121. R.Borgers phonetische Lesung *A-šur₄* ist in *A.LÁL.SAR* zerlegt.

122. 2mal im Ortsnamen *Miš-lam*.

126. Die Lesung *šàr* ist fraglich, man kann auch das Graphem *LUGAL* annehmen.

129. In den Eigennamen *D:Ma-ma* (1mal) und *Hur-sag-kalam-ma* (1mal). R.Borger hat 4mal *mana* phonetisch gelesen (IX 48; XXX 27; XL 58,86).Es handelt sich um eine Sequenz *1 ma-na kaspam (KÙ.BABBAR)*, wo wir die Lesung des Status constructus sicher identifizieren können. In anderen Fällen ist *MA.NA* transkribiert. Das Graphem *MA* ist aber nur 12mal erhalten, während *NA* 13mal.

131. In den Eigennamen *É-mah* (1mal) und *É-gal-mah* (1mal).

133. In den Eigennamen *É-ul-maš* (1mal) und *Maš-kán-ŠAPRA(PA.AL):KI* (1mal) . Hier auch die Bruchzahl 1/2 (6mal) gezählt.

135. In den Ortsnamen: *É-me-te-ur-sag* (1mal), *Me-ra:KI* (1mal) und *Šu-me-rí-im* (2mal).

136. In den Ortsnamen: *É-miš-miš* (1mal) und *Miš-lam* (2mal).

140. Das Graphem *MU* ist 8mal als phonetische Realisation in diesen Eigennamen gezählt: *Ha-am-mu-ra-pí* (6mal), *Su-mu-la-il* (1mal) und *ZUEN-mu-ba-lí-iṭ* (1mal).

143. 1mal im Gottesnamen *D:Tišpak = D:MÚŠ*.

144. In den Eigennamen: *D:INNIN* (6mal) und *ZABALÁ (=ZA.MÙŠ. UNUG):KI* (1mal).

145. In den Eigennamen: *D:A.NUN.NA* (1mal), *D:A-nun-na-ki* (1mal), *D:Dam-gal-nun-na* (1mal), *É-an-na* (1mal) und *ÍD:BURANUN (=UD. KIB.NUN).NA* (1mal). Zu *MA.NA* und *ma-na* siehe Kommentar zu Nr.129.

147. Nur 1mal im Eigennamen *MÀ.AL.NAG.A*, wo *NAG* fehlerhaft anstelle des *GU₇* geschrieben ist.

150. Der Ortsname *A-kà-dè:KI* ist in dieser Form 1mal im Prolog verwendet, vgl.aber die Schreibung *Ak-ka-di-im* (2mal), siehe das Eigennamenverzeichnis.

151. In den Eigennamen: *Ì-si-in:KI* (1mal), *Ni-nu-a:KI* (1mal), *D:Zar-pa-ni-tum* (2mal) und *D:ZUEN-mu-ba-lí-iṭ* (1mal). Die Silbe *lí* des Namens *ZUEN-muballiṭ* ist als phonetische Realisation gezählt. 5mal ist das Graphem *NI* falsch im Logogramm *GÍR.GAG.ZABAR* und 1mal in *MAŠ.EN.GAG* anstelle des *GAG* verwendet. Siehe das Fehlerverzeichnis.

153. Das Graphem *NÍG* wird falsch im Logogramm *GÌR.PAD.DU* 1mal (XVII 56) verwendet, siehe Fehlerverzeichnis.

155. In den Eigennamen: *D:Nin-a-zu* (1mal), *D:Nin-kar-ra-ak* (1mal), *D:Nin-líl* (1mal) und *D:Nin-tu* (2mal).

156. 1mal im Ortsnamen *É-ninnu*.

157. In den Ortsnamen *Ni-nu-a:KI* (1mal) und *É-kiš-nu-gál* (1mal).

159. In den Eigennamen: *D:A.NUN.NA* (1mal), *D:A-nun-na-ki* (1mal), *D:Dam-gal-nun-na* (1mal), *URU:ERIDU(=NUN):KI* (1mal), *Adab = UD.NUN:KI* (1mal), *ZIM-BIR(=UD.KIB.NUN):KI* (1mal) und *ÍD:BU-RANUN(=UD.KIB.NUN).NA*.

160. In den Eigennamen: *D:Zar-pa-ni-tum* (2mal) und *Maš-kán-ŠAPRA (=PA.AL):KI* (1mal).

161. Siehe oben Nr.153.

163. In den Eigennamen: *KÁ.DINGIR.RA:KI* (6mal), *Ìr-ra* (1mal), *D:Nin-kar-ra-ak* (1mal), *É-babbar-ra* (1mal), *Me-ra:KI* (1mal) und *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí* (6mal). Der letzte Eigenname ist als phonetisch geschriebener Name gezählt.

168. In den Eigennamen: *É-me-te-ur-sag* (1mal), *É-sag-íla* (5mal) und *Ḫur-sag-kalam-ma* (1mal).

169. *A-šur₄* zu *A.LÁL.SAR* zerlegt vorkommt einmal.

170. Im Ortsnamen *Ì-si-in:KI* (1mal). *ÉNSI* zerlegt in *PA.TE.SI* (1mal).

175. Das Graphem *SIPA* ist hier nicht in zwei Graphemen *PA* (Nr.295) und *LU* (Nr.178) zerlegt.

176. In den Eigennamen: *GÍR.SU:KI* (1mal) und *Su-mu-la-il* (1mal), siehe Kommentar zu Nr.13, 118 und 140.

183. Im Gottesnamen *D:EZINÁ(=ŠE.TIR)* 1mal.
    ŠE im Sinne von "Getreide" ist 55mal verwendet, im Sinne *uṭṭetu* von von "Korn" 8mal.

186. Nur im Ortsnamen *Urim = URU:URI₅(=ŠEŠ.AB):KI* 1mal.

188. Nur 1mal im Ortsnamen *ŠIR.BUR.LA:KI*.

189. 2mal im Eigennamen *Šu-me-rí-im*.

195. Im Ortsnamen *É-me-te-ur-sag* (1mal). *ÈNSI* zerlegt in *PA.TE.SI* (1mal).
197. Im Gottesnamen *D:EZINÁ(=ŠE.TIR)* 1mal.
198. In den Eigennamen: *D:Nin-tu* (2mal), *Tu-tu* (1mal) und *Tu-tu-ul:KI* (1mal).
200. Im Gottesnamen *D:Zar-pa-ni-tum* 2mal.
206. Das Logogramm *USDUḪA* zerlegt in *Uₓ.LU.ḪI.A.*
209. In den Eigennamen: *D:AMAR.UTU* (13mal), *D:UTU* (9mal), *É-babbar-(ra)* (3mal), *É-ud-gal-gal* (1mal), *ÍD:BURANUN* (*=UD.KIB.NUN).NA* (1mal), *ARAR-MA(=UD.UNUG):KI* (1mal), *UD.NUN.KI* (1mal) und *ZIMBIR(=UD.KIB.NUN):KI* (1mal). Zum Logogramm *KÙ.BABBAR* siehe oben Nr.114.
213. In den Ortsnamen: *É-ul-maš* (1mal) und *Tu-tu-ul* (1mal).
214. *ZI.IK.RU.UM* ist als Logogramm problematisch, weil wir sehr gut die Lesung *sé-ek-ru-um* annehmen können.
215. 1mal im Eigennamen *Ḫur-sag-kalam-ma*.
216. Nur in den Eigennamen: *Larsa = ARARMA(=UD.UNUG):KI* (1mal), *Uruk = UNUG:KI* (1mal), *Sugal = ZABALÁ(=ZA.MÙŠ.UNUG):KI* (1mal) und *Nergal = D:NÈ.ERI₁₁.GAL* (1mal).
217. 1mal im Eigennamen *É-me-te-ur-sag*.
220. 2mal im Eigennamen *Šu-me-rí-im*.
222. Das Logogramm *TUR.UŠ* ist 8mal belegt, *UŠ* aber 1mal beschädigt (und demnach nicht gezählt), cf.Nr.201.
225. In den Eigennamen: *ZABALÁ(=ZA.MÙŠ.UNUG):KI* (1mal) und *D:Za-ba₄-ba₄* (3mal). Die Zahl 4 ist nur zweimal sicher belegt und zwar einmal mit dem Graphem ZA und einmal mit dem Graphem LÍMMU geschrieben, s. unten Nr.236.
227. Nur im Eigennamen *D:Zar-pa-ni-tum* (2mal).
228. In den Eigennamen: *URU:Bar-sí-pá:KI* (1mal) und *É-zi-da* (1mal).
230. In den Eigennamen: *D:ZUEN(=EN.ZU)* (3mal), *ZUEN-mu-ba-lí-iṭ* (1mal), *D:Nin-a-zu* (1mal) und *É-abzu(=ZU.AB)* (1mal).

Fehlerverzeichnis

A. Fehler verursacht durch Ähnlichkeit der Zeichen

1. durch Ausbleiben einiger Teile des Zeichens
a) innerhalb des Zeichens:

DA	anstelle Á	á:	da!-ni-a-tim (LI 85)	
		id:	úḫ-tap-<pí>-da! (XLI 92),	
			li-da!-dam-ma-am (LI 69)	
		it:	ta-aq-ti-da! ša-at-tim (XLVI 16)	
DI	anstelle KI	qé:	il-te-di! (IX 62; XI 61)	
ḪI	anstelle ḪAR	ḫar:	ma-ḫi! (XLV 78)	
GAG	anstelle NI	ni:	ú-te-en-gag!-iš (XLIV 85),	
			ši-in-gag! (XL 71)	
DU	anstelle SUḪUŠ	SUḪUŠ:	DU! um-ma-ni-šu (L 24)	

b) ausserhalb des Zeichens

É	anstelle GA	KÁ:	É!.DINGIR.RA:KI (XXXVIII 79)
TA	anstelle ŠA	ša:	iš-ta!ak-ka-an (XXXV 73)
ŠÀ	anstelle NA	na:	a-šà! (XVI 51)
NÍG	anstelle PAD	PAD:	GÌR.NÍG!.DU (L 56)
BA	anstelle ZU	sú:	É-ba! (XXXIX 80)
BI	anstelle GA	qá:	i-bi!-ab-bi-ma (XLVI 92)

2. durch Anschluss der Keile

GÉME	anstelle GU	gu:	i-GÉME!-ma (XLV 82)
LU	anstelle KU	qú:	iš-lu!-lu (XLVI 91)
RI	anstelle ḪU	ḫu:	im-ri!-ru (XLIV 86)
É	anstelle GÁ	GÁ:	LUKUR É!.GI₄.A (XXXVIII 45)
NI	anstelle GAG	GAG:	MAŠ.EN.NI! (XXX 30)
			GÍR.NI!.ZABAR (XLI
			57,76,80,86,90)
BI	anstelle GU₄	GU₄:	ÁB.BI!.ḪÁ (XI 66)

3. durch Umdrehen des Zeichenteiles usw.

Á	anstelle KAB	kap:	na-á!-ti (XLI 79)
TAG	anstelle DIM	šum:	er-re-šum! (XLIX 36)
AG	anstelle DAR	ṭár:	i-pa-ag! (XLVI 96)

B. Einige Fehler sind wahrscheinlich als Hörfehler entstanden

AG	anstelle AḪ	aḫ:	it-ta-sa-ag! (XLIV 33)
IN	anstelle IM	im:	nu-úḫ-ši-in! (IV 16)
I	anstelle IN	in:	i!-na-ad-di-in (XII 9)
NU	anstelle NA	na:	in-na-ad-nu!-šum (XII 61)
MA	anstelle UM	um:	ša-a-a-ma-nu-ma! (LI 17)
IGI	anstelle ŠU	šu:	i-na-ad-du-ú-ši! (XXXIII 1)

C. Unklar

TA	anstelle BI	bi:	a-ta!-ša (XXXIV 31) - von obere Zeile abgeschrieben?

Anmerkungen

1. N.Nováková, V.Souček: Zur Graphik der Gesetze Hammurabis, Acta Universitatis Carolinae - Philologica 4, Orientalia Pragensia XI (1985), S.7-44.
Leider hat V.Souček, Mitverfasser unseres ersten Aufsatzes, den Abschluß vorliegender Studie, die wir seiner Initiative verdanken und zu der er noch einiges hatte beisteuern können, nicht mehr erleben dürfen.

2. Den Keilschriftstudenten J.Lepková, L.Pecha und F.Rahman danke ich für ihre Mitarbeit beim Klassifizieren und Auszählen der Exzerpte. Herrn F.Rahman gilt mein besonderer Dank für die aufopferungsvolle Hilfe bei der computergestützten Textverarbeitung.

3. In statistischen Analysen werden Eigennamen und Numeralien aus dem Text gewöhnlich ausgeklammert, da sie ihre Spezifika haben und Einordnung sowie Auswertung schweren. Im akkadischen Text gar sind Numeralien und numerische Ausdrücke entweder durch "Ziffern" oder durch sumerische Logogramme wiedergegeben, z.B. zur Bezeichnung von Multiplikationsnumeralien. Götter- und Orstnamen sind, wenngleich phonetisch geschrieben, zumeist sumerisch; ihre Schreibung ist traditionell und entspricht weder der Graphik des Akkadischen noch der altbabylonischen Zeit. Der Vollständigkeit halber haben wir uns aber dennoch zur Aufnahme von Namen und numerischen Ausdrücken in unsere Analyse entschlossen. Bei drei Personennamen im CH haben wir phonetische Lesung angenommen, und zwar bei Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí (6mal), ZUEN-mu-ba-lí-iṭ (1mal) und Su-mu-la-ìl (1mal). Die in diesen Namen enthaltenen Grapheme (außer (ZU.EN) werden also zu den phonetischen Realisationen gezählt.

4. R.Borger, Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste, AOAT 33 (1978).

5. Das gilt auch bei den Namen Maš-kán-ŠAPRA (=PA.AL) und A-šur₄(A.-LAL.SAR), vgl. ferner das Verzeichnis der Eigennamen. Zusammenfassung der zerlegten Logogramme: ABUL - KÁ.GAL, ḪÁ - HI.A, ENTUM - NIN.DINGIR, IBILA - TUR.UŠ, ENSÍ - PA.TE.SI, LUKUR - MUNUS.ME, GUŠKIN - KÙ.GI, KURUN - KAŠ.TIN, KANKAL - KI.KAL, ÍD - A.ENGUR, LAḪ - DU.DU, UŠUM - GAL.BÚR, USDUḪA - U₈.LU-.ḪI.A, ZABAR - UD.KA.BAR.......

6. CH verwendet 87 Grapheme in Eigennamen und in Zahlenausdrücken, davon 15 Grapheme ausschließlich in Zahlenausdrücken und 13 nur in Eigen-

namen.(Nicht gezählt sind 9 Grapheme, die nur "Ziffern" bezeichnen und sind 54mal in CH verwendet - siehe das Ende der Tabelle IV.)

7. Siehe ferner das Fehlerverzeichnis.

8. Die Zahl der nicht gezählten verderbteren Graphemen beträgt insgesamt 140.

9. 96 Grapheme (von 231 Graphemen) sind nur als Logogramme (oder als deren Teil) verwendet (=41,55%) und 40 Grapheme nur als phonetische Graphemrealisationen (=17,13%). 95 Grapheme sind gleichzeitig als Logogramme und phonetische Realisationen benützt (41,12%). Die Frequenz der Logogramme ist aber relativ niedrig - durschnittlich 8,98, wogegen die Frequenz der phonetischen Realisationen im Durchschnitt 101,75 erreicht.

10. Siehe oben Anm. 3.

11. Siehe den Kommentar zum alphabetischen Verzeichnis der Grapheme, Nr.1.

12. Siehe Anm. zum alphabetischen Verzeichnis der Grapheme, Nr.201.

13. Die Numeralien (die in CH keine andere Verwendung haben) sind nur am Ende von Tabelle IV. eingefügt (Nr. 232-241). In der Tabelle I und III sind diese zehn Grapheme nicht betrachtet.

Die koptische Literatur in tschechischer Übersetzung

Wolf B. OERTER

Neben grundlegenden Arbeiten auf linguistischem Gebiet hat sich Karel PETRÁČEK auch um Übersetzungen arabischer und afrikanischer Literatur ins Tschechische verdient gemacht. Dem Übersetzer PETRÁČEK seien die folgenden Zeilen gewidmet, die sich als anfänglicher Beitrag zu einer Geschichte tschechischer Übersetzungen der koptischen Literatur verstehen.

Übersetzungen haben in der tschechischen Literatur seit jeher eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt, sei es bei der Herausbildung einer eigenständigen, nationalen Literatur - ein Faktum, das auch aus anderen Sprach- und Kulturbereichen hinlänglich bekannt ist[1] -, sei es als Instrument aktiven kulturellen Ringens in der Zeit der sog. Nationalen Wiedergeburt.[2] Seitdem sind Übersetzungen anderssprachiger literarischer Werke ein fester Bestandteil des tschechischen Schrifttums. Gilt dies ohne Einschränkung von den Literaturen in den Weltsprachen, so kann man dies für die klassische Literatur des Orients nur bedingt behaupten. Letzteres trifft nun ganz besonders auf das Koptische und das in ihm erhaltene Schrifttum zu, dessen tschechische Übersetzungen nur ein schwacher Abglanz seines Reichtums sind.

Die koptische Literatur, die in Übersetzungs- und in Originalliteratur geschieden werden kann, enthält die mannigfaltigsten literarischen Genres.[3] Da sind zunächst die Übersetzungen des Alten Testaments, der Apokryphen, der Pseudepigraphen sowie von Teilen jüdischer Literatur, ferner Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments einschließlich seiner apokryphen Schriften. Eine weitere Gruppe koptischer Übersetzungsliteratur bilden die Auszüge aus den Werken der Kirchenväter. Allen hier genannten Gattungen ist gemeinsam, daß ihre koptischen Über-

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[1] Man denke etwa ans Deutsche, aber auch an die koptische Literatur, vgl. dazu unten S. 2.

[2] Vgl. V. MACURA, Funkce překladu v české obrozenské kultuře [Die Funktion der Übersetzung in der tschechischen Kultur zur Zeit der Nationalen Wiedergeburt]. In: Slavica Pragensia XXIII. Problémy překladu a tlumočení. Hrsg. von M. HRALA und J. VESELÝ, Praha 1983 (= Acta Universitatis Carolinae - Philologica 4-5, 1980), 181-184.

[3] Ich folge der Darstellung von M(artin) K(RAUSE), Koptische Literatur. In: Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Band III, Wiesbaden 1980, Sp. 694-728. Vgl. jetzt auch T. ORLANDI, s.v. Literature, Coptic. In: The Coptic Encyclopaedia, ed. by A.S. ATIYA, vol. 5, New York 1991, 1450-1460.

setzungen eine Überlieferung unter vielen darstellen, d. h., unsere Kenntnis von den entsprechenden Texten verdanken wir nicht erst deren jeweiliger koptischer Übersetzung. Grundlegend anders hingegen verhält es sich schon bei einem weiteren Korpus koptischer Texte: dem gnostischen Schrifttum, das 1945 in Nag Hammadi in Ägypten entdeckt wurde. Obgleich ebenfalls Übersetzungsliteratur, zumeist aus dem Griechischen, haben wir mit den Nag-Hammadi-Codices seitdem erstmals gnostische Originalliteratur in den Händen, da wir zuvor - von wenigen griechischen Fragmenten und zwei koptischen Kodizes einmal abgesehen - nur auf die tendenziös-polemischen Berichte der Kirchenväter über die Gnosis, also auf Sekundärquellen, angewiesen waren. Ähnlich liegen die Dinge bei einem weiteren, 1948 gleichfalls in Ägypten auf uns gekommenen Textfund: den koptisch-manichäischen Handschriften aus Medinet Madi. Auch sie sind Übersetzungsliteratur und als originäre, wenn auch nicht einzige manichäische Quellen von hohem Wert für unsere Kenntnis von dieser einstigen Weltreligion. Von der sog. koptischen Originalliteratur, also den von Anfang an koptisch konzipierten Werken, verdient die monastische Literatur hervorgehoben zu werden. Hierher gehören die Vita Antonii aus der Feder des alexandrinischen Erzbischofs Alexander (311-328) ebenso wie Reste der Mönchsregel des Pachomius (4. Jh.), des Begründers des koinobitischen Mönchtums, oder die Briefe und theologischen Schriften Schenutes (4./5. Jh.), der Abt des Weißen Klosters bei Sohag war. Hinzu kommen Lebensbeschreibungen koptischer Mönche sowie die auch aus anderen Sprachzeugnissen bekannten Apophthegmata patrum Aegyptiorum, die das mönchische Milieu (Eremitentum) der Scetis schildern. Weitere originalsprachliche Literaturgattungen sind Legende und Roman (Teile davon sind freilich auch erst aus dem Griechischen übersetzt worden), ferner die koptische Poesie mit einem reichen Bestand vor allem an liturgischen Texten, und last but not least wissenschaftliche Literatur aus den Gebieten Mathematik und Medizin. In unserer Übersicht unerwähnt bleibt all das an schriftlich Fixiertem, was nach herkömmlichem Sprachgebrauch nicht unter "Literatur" fällt und dem Alltäglichen zuzuordnen ist: koptische Urkunden, Steuerquittungen, Briefe, Schreib- und Schülerübungen und vieles andere mehr.[4]

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[4] Eine gute Übersicht darüber findet sich bei W. KOSACK, Lehrbuch des Koptischen, Graz 1974.

Um die Popularisierung koptischer Literatur unter der tschechischsprachigen Leserschaft hat sich vor allem František LEXA (1876-1960) verdient gemacht.[5] 1912 veröffentlichte er seine erste tschechische Übersetzung eines koptischen Textes unter dem Titel "Gabriel syn Meny P ... Vypravování o životě a příběžích našeho osvíceného a svatého otce apy Wennofra, poustevníka, jenž skonal dne 16tého měsíce paoni v míru Božím. Amen" ('Gabriel, Sohn des Mena P ... Erzählung vom Leben und den Begebenheiten unseres erlauchten und heiligen Vaters Apa Onnophrios, des Eremiten, der am 16. des Monats Paone in Gottes Frieden verschied. Amen').[6] Bei diesem Text, dessen Handschrift aus dem 10. Jh. stammt, handelt es sich um die Vita des Anachoreten Onnophrios, deren Verfasserschaft dem Mönch Paphnute (4. Jh.) zugeschrieben wird.[7] Knapp zehn Jahre später, im Jahre 1921, legte LEXA in seinem Textband zur altägyptischen Religion[8] drei weitere koptische Texte in tschechischer Übersetzung vor, die nicht nur verschiedenen Literaturgattungen, sondern auch unterschiedlichen und für das christliche Ägypten typischen religiösen Bereichen: dem Gnostizismus und dem Mönchtum, entnommen waren. Zu ersterem gehört die von LEXA auszugsweise gebotene spätgnostische Schrift Pistis Sophia ("Víra - Moudrost", S. 412-420). Sie ist eines jener wenigen koptisch-gnostischen Originalwerke, die bereits vor dem Fund der Nag-Hammadi-Texte bekannt waren. LEXA griff auf die Textedition von M.G. Schwartze, die nach dessen Tod J.H. PETERMANN besorgte (1851), und die lange Zeit maßgebliche deutsche Übersetzung von C. SCHMIDT (1905) zurück.[9] Von den insgesamt 148 Kapiteln übersetzte LEXA die Kapitel 30 (S. 412f.), 31 (S. 413f.), 35 (S. 414ff.), 58 (S. 416f.) und 81 (S. 418ff.).[10] Als

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[5] LEXA war von 1927 bis zu seiner Emeritierung ordentlicher Professor für Ägyptologie an der Karlsuniversität Prag. Eine kritische Würdigung seiner Person liegt jetzt in dem tschechisch-deutschen Sammelband vor: František LEXA. Zakladatel české egyptologie, Praha 1989 (Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Philosophica et Historica 4 - 1984).

[6] In: 1000 nejkrásnějších novel, Bd. 44, Praha 1912, S. 69-88.

[7] Vgl. M. KRAUSE, in: Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Bd. III, Sp. 713.

[8] Náboženská literatura staroegyptská, Band 2, Kladno 1921.

[9] Pistis Sophia, opus gnosticum Valentino adiudicatum e codice manuscripto coptico Londinensi descripsit et latine vertit M.G. SCHWARTZE, edidit J.H. PETERMANN, Berlin 1851; C. SCHMIDT, Koptisch-gnostische Schriften. Band 1: Die Pistis Sophia. Die beiden Bücher des Jeu. Unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk, Leipzig 1905.

[10] Kap. 30 = Pistis Sophia. Text edited by C. SCHMIDT. Translation and Notes by V. MACDERMOT, Leiden 1978 (Nag Hammadi Studies, Vol. IX = NHS IX), S.43/Z.13-S.45/Z.13; Kap. 31 = NHS IX, 45/14-46/22; Kap. 35 = NHS IX, 56/14-58/8; Kap. 58 = NHS IX, 112/6-114/4; Kap. 81 = NHS IX, 178/1/181/6.

Zeugnis für das ägyptische Mönchtum, das nicht nur eine entscheidende Rolle in den theologischen und kirchengeschichtlichen Auseinandersetzungen des früh-byzantinischen Reiches spielte, sondern bekanntlich auch Vorbildwirkung auf die Herausbildung und Organisation des europäischen Mönchtums hatte, brachte LEXA eine bescheidene Auswahl aus den Apophthegmata patrum Aegyptiorum (S. 401-411), deren koptische Fassung auf einer Papyrushandschrift in der Sammlung Borgia erhalten ist, von der G. ZOEGA 1810 einen umfangreichen Handschrif-tenkatalog[11] vorgelegt hatte.[12] Von den Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Christen und Heiden in Ägypten legt der dritte Text: 'Die Zerstörung eines heidni-schen Tempels' ("Zničení pohanského chrámu", S.369-401)[13], Zeugnis ab; in ihm, einem Enkomium des alexandrinischen Erzbischofs Dioskur (5. Jh.), wird von der Zerstörung eines heidnischen Tempels durch das energische Vorgehen des Bischofs Makarius von Tkow berichtet.

1923 veröffentlichte LEXA ein zweibändiges Werk zur altägyptischen Magie, in dem er aber auch koptische Zaubertexte sowie Proben aus koptischer Prosa und Poesie in tschechischer Übersetzung vorlegte.[14] Alle hier gebotenen koptischen Texte dokumentieren auf eindrucksvolle Weise, welche Ausstrahlungskraft auch nach der Christianisierung des Landes heidnisch-magische Vorstellungen und Praktiken noch hatten. Die erste Gruppe von Texten besteht aus einer Auswahl aus dem sog. Großen Pariser Zauberpapyrus (Papyrus Anastasi 574 der Bibliothèque Nationale Paris), der neben griechischen auch altkoptische magische Sprüche enthält. Seiner Auswahl legte Lexa die Edition und Bearbeitung des Textes von A. ERMAN aus dem Jahre 1883 zugrunde.[15] LEXAS Auswahl enthält zwei Sonnen-beschwörungen ("Říkadlo pro vyptávání se slunce", S. 170, und "Řecky: Jiné

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[11] Catalogus codicum copticorum manu scriptorum qui in museo Borgiano Velitris adser-vantur, Romae.

[12] Im einzelnen übersetzte Lexa die folgenden Passagen: S. 401-406 = G. ZOEGA, op. cit., Codex Nr. CLXIX, S.327/Z.21-S.331/Z.15; S. 406 = ZOEGA, 304/22-28; S. 407 = ZOEGA, 337/7-18; S. 407f. = ZOEGA, 341/19-34; S. 408 = ZOEGA, 341/11-18; S. 408f. = ZOEGA, 343/3-8; S. 409 = ZOEGA, 342/19-26 und 342/9-12; S. 409f. = ZOEGA, 340/10-22; S. 410 = ZOEGA, 341/35-342/8; S. 411 = ZOEGA, 348/3-26.

[13] G. ZOEGA, op. cit., Codex Nr. LIV, S.100/Z.2-S.101/Z.43; vgl. auch A. MALLON, Gram-maire Copte, Beyrouth 1904, S. 25-31: II. Destruction d'un temple paien.

[14] Staroegyptské čarodějnictví, Praha.

[15] Die ägyptischen Beschwörungen des großen Pariser Zauberpapyrus, Zeitschrift für Ägyp-tische Sprache und Altertumskunde (= ZÄS) 39 (1883) 89-109.

[vyptávání se] slunce", S. 170f.)[16], drei Liebeszauber ("Říkadlo pro vzbuzení lásky v srdci ženy", S. 171f.; "Říkadlo pro poznání citů nepřítomné ženy", S. 172f.; "Říkadlo pro vzbuzení lásky v srdci ženy", S. 173)[17] sowie einen "Spruch zum Vertreiben eines bösen Geistes" ("Říkadlo pro vypuzení zlého ducha", S. 174, Z.39-47)[18]. Die zweite Gruppe koptischer Zaubertexte stellt vor allem Proben aus den zahlreichen Berliner Papyri dar. LEXA griff hier auf die Textveröffent-lichungen der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin[19] sowie die einschlägigen Bear-beitungen und Übersetzungen von A. ERMAN[20] zurück. Im einzelnen bietet er die Übersetzung folgender Berliner Papyri: P. 8313: 'Spruch zur Erleichterung der Geburt' (A. "Říkadlo pro ulehčení porodu", S. 175f.)[21] und 'Gegen Leibschmer-zen eines Kindes' (B. "Říkadlo proti bolení břicha", S. 176f. = Aegypt. Urkunden, Nr.1, S. 2; A. ERMAN, Heidnisches bei den Kopten, 48ff.; ders., Aus den Papyrus, 257f.); P. 8322: 'Stark zu werden' ("Říkadlo pro zjednání síly", S. 177f. = Ae-gypt. Urkunden, Nr.7, S. 8; A. ERMAN, Ein koptischer Zauberer, 44; ders., Aus den Papyrus, 260.); P. 8318: 'Segen für einen Zaubertrank, der Beredsamkeit, Wohlstand u.a.m. verleiht' ("Říkadlo pro zjednání duševní síly a vymluvnosti", S. 178ff. = Aegypt. Urkunden, Nr.8, S. 9f.; A. ERMAN, Ein koptischer Zauberer, 44f., 46; ders., Aus den Papyrus, 261f.); P. 8320: 'Ein Liebeszauber' ("Říkadlo pro pokrm a nápoj lásky", S. 180 = Aegypt. Urk., Nr.2, S. 3; A. ERMAN, Ein kopti-scher Zauberer, 44, 46; ders., Aus den Papyrus, 259.); P. 8325: 'Liebeszauber' ("Říkadlo pro nápoj a pokrm lásky", S. 180 = Aegypt. Urkunden, Nr.4, S.5; A. ERMAN, Aus den Papyrus, 259f.); P. 8314: 'Liebeszauber' ("Říkadlo pro vzbuzení lásky ženy", S. 181 = Aegypt. Urkunden, Nr.3, S. 4; A. ERMAN, Ein koptischer Zauberer, 45; ders., Aus den Papyrus, 259.); P. 8321: 'Um die Fesseln eines Gefangenen zu lösen' ("Říkadlo pro rozvázání pout", S. 184f. = Aegypt. Urkun-

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[16] = A. ERMAN, op. cit., S. 94, C Z.7-21, und S. 99, K Z.27-32.

[17] = A. ERMAN, op. cit., S. 100-104, L Z.33 - III,7; S. 104f., M Z.8-16, N Z.17-20; S. 105f., O Z.23-28, P Z.29-31, Q Z.32-38.

[18] Welcher Textausgabe bzw. -veröffentlichung die bei LEXA angegebene Zeilenzählung folgt, konnte ich nicht ausmachen.

[19] Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin: Koptische Urkunden, Band 1, Berlin 1904.

[20] Ein koptischer Zauberer, ZÄS 33 (1895) 43-46; Heidnisches bei den Kopten, ZÄS 33 (1895) 47-51; Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen, Berlin 1899 (Handbücher der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin).

[21] Aegypt. Urkunden, Nr.1, S. 1f.; A. ERMAN, Ein koptischer Zauberer, 46; ders., Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen, 257.

den, Nr. 5, S. 6; A. ERMAN, Aus den Papyrus, 262.); P. 8327: 'Um die Fesseln eines Gefangenen zu lösen' ("Říkadlo pro rozvázání pout", S. 185 = Aegypt. Urkunden, Nr.6, S. 7; A. ERMAN, Ein koptischer Zauberer, 44; ders., Aus den Papyrus, 262.); P. 8116 und 8117: 'Allerlei Wundermittel' (S. 187)[22] sowie P. 8328 (S. 187) und P. 8330 (S. 187f.), beides Amulette[23]. Neben diesen Zauber-sprüchen aus Berliner Bestand finden sich noch zwei Texte aus britischem Besitz übersetzt: eine 'Verfluchung' ("Kletba", S. 181-184) aus der koptischen Hand-schrift c. 4 in der Bodleian Library Oxford, die W.E. CRUM erstmals veröffentlicht hatte,[24] und der 'Zauberspruch für einen Hund' ("Říkadlo pro vázání psa", S. 185ff.) auf einem kleinen Papyrus des British Museums (M.S. Or 1013 A), dessen Abschrift und Übersetzung A. ERMAN besorgt hatte.[25]

"Z koptských lékařských knih": 'Aus koptischen medizinischen Büchern' überschrieb LEXA (S. 188ff.) die nächste Gruppe von Texten, die vor allem die enge Verbindung von Magie und Medizin illustrieren sollten. In seiner Auswahl beschränkte er sich auf drei Handschriften: den koptisch-medizinischen Papyrus aus der Bibliothek des Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, der 1921 von E. CHASSINAT veröffentlicht wurde,[26] die Handschrift Nr.278 aus der Sammlung Borgia, dessen Text G. ZOEGA in seinem Handschriftenkatalog von 1810 abgedruckt hatte,[27] und das Berliner Pergamentblatt P. 8109[28], zu dem A. ERMAN 1899 die deutsche Übersetzung geliefert hatte.[29] Die von LEXA über-setzten Texte sind kleine Rezepte bzw. Sprüche, deren Anwendung bestimmte Krankheiten heilen sollen: ein Rezept gegen eine Ohrenkrankheit ("Proti chorobě ucha", S. 189)[30], ein Heilungszauber gegen die Hautkrankheit Paiše ("Proti

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[22] Beide Papyri übersetzte LEXA auszugsweise, und zwar von P. 8116 die Zeilen 12-14, 24-25, 25-28 und 33-35, und von P. 8117 Zeile 15f. Vgl. Aegypt. Urkunden, Nr.26, S. 26, 27, 28, 29; A. ERMAN, Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen, 254 und 255.

[23] P. 8328: Aegypt. Urkunden, Nr.12, S. 14; P. 8330: Aegypt. Urkunden, Nr.17, S. 16.

[24] In: ZÄS 34 (1896) 85-89.

[25] In: ZÄS 33 (1895) 132 ff.

[26] Un papyrus médical copte (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, vol. 32), Le Caire 1921.

[27] Catalogus codicum copticorum ..., Romae 1810, S. 626-630.

[28] Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin: Koptische Urkunden, Bd. 1, Berlin 1904, Nr.25, S. 24f.

[29] Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen, Berlin 1899, S. 253.

[30] E. CHASSINAT, op. cit., Nr.106, S. 301, Z.373.

kožní nemoci zvané paiše", S. 189)[31] samt einem kurzen Rezept ("Proti téže nemoci paiše", S.189)[32], ein Rezept gegen die Hautkrankheit Psōra ("Proti kožní nemoci zvané psora", S. 189)[33] sowie Anweisungen für eine an Blutungen leidende Frau ("Pro ženu trpící krvotokem", S. 189f.), 'Gegen den bösen Schleim' ("Proti zlému hnisu", S. 190) und ein Zauber, der eine nicht näher bezeichnete Augenerkrankung heilen soll ("Pro oči, které..., S. 190).[34]

Breiten Raum nehmen in seinem Textband wieder Übersetzungsproben aus den Apophthegmata patrum ein. Inhaltlich, so möchte man meinen, gehörten sie eher in den Bereich christlicher Wundererzählungen; was sie freilich dennoch mit dem Generalthema Magie, unter das LEXAS Anthologie gestellt ist, verbindet, ist, daß vermöge christlicher Tugenden dämonenbesessene Eremiten geheilt werden. Bei knapp der Hälfte der gebotenen Auszüge greift LEXA auf seine bereits 1921 veröffentlichten Übersetzungen dieses Textkorpus zurück,[35] während die restlichen elf Auszüge hier erstmals in tschechischer Übersetzung geboten werden, und zwar die Nr.I (S. 222f.), II und III (S. 223), VI [sic!] (S. 223f.), VI (S. 224), VIII (S. 225f.), IX (S. 226f.), XI (S. 228f.), XVI (S. 231), XVIII (S. 232) und XX (S. 232f.).[36]

Die Dämonen überwindende Kraft des christlichen Glaubens ist Gegenstand des folgenden Textes, den LEXA hier (S. 233f.) zum erstenmal übersetzte und unter die Überschrift "Zápas apy Moisesa s demonem Besem" ('Der Kampf des Apa Moises gegen den Dämonen Bes') stellte. Der Text, der auf nur einem Blatt erhalten ist, stammt aus der Sammlung Borgia und ist von ZOEGA unter der

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[31] G. ZOEGA, op. cit., S. 626 letzte Zeile bis S. 627, Z.4 von oben.

[32] G. ZOEGA, op. cit., S.628/Z.18f.

[33] G. ZOEGA, loc. cit., Z.11f.

[34] Die drei zuletzt genannten Rezepte bzw. Zaubermittel sind dem Berliner Pergamentblatt entnommen, und zwar den Zeilen 13-15 und 16-25 auf S. 25 in den Aegypt. Urkunden (= A. ERMAN, Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen, 253) und den Zeilen 8-16, ebd., S. 25.

[35] Es handelt sich um die Nummern V (S. 224) = G. ZOEGA, Catalogus codicum copticorum, S.304/Z.22-28; VII (S. 224f.) = ZOEGA, 337/7-18; X (S. 227f.) = ZOEGA, 340/10-22; XII (S. 229) = ZOEGA, 341/11-18; XIII (S. 229f.) = ZOEGA, 341/19-32; XIV (S. 230f.) = ZOEGA, 341/35-342/8; XV (S. 231) = ZOEGA, 342/9-12; XVII (S. 231) = ZOEGA, 342/19-26 und XIX (S. 232) = ZOEGA, 343/3-8.

[36] Der Reihe nach entsprechen sie folgenden Seiten und Zeilen bei G. ZOEGA, op. cit.: 295/8 bis 18; 297/4-13; 302/16-19; 303/15ff.; 309/15-22; 337/26-338/15; 338/27-339/12; 340/23-341/10; 342/13-18; 342/27-343/2; 348/43-349/4.

Nummer 214 veröffentlicht worden.[37] Mit der 'Zerstörung eines heidnischen Tempels' ("Zničení pohanského chrámu") druckt LEXA auf den Seiten 234-239 die Übersetzung des Enkomiums des Dioskur, die er bereits 1921[38] veröffentlicht hatte, unverändert ab. Ebenfalls aus der Sammlung Borgia stammt der sich anschließende Text (S. 239-242), der von den Taten der Apostel Andreas und Paulus berichtet ("Ze skutků apoštolů Ondřeje a Paula"). Erstveröffentlicht ist er in Zoegas Handschriftenkatalog unter der Nummer 132 und LEXA sehr wahrscheinlich durch die Steindorffsche Grammatik des Koptischen [39] bekannt geworden. LEXA übersetzte nicht den vollständigen Text, sondern nur Auszüge[40] daraus. Auf den folgenden acht Seiten (S. 242-249) machte Lexa den tschechischsprachigen Leser mit der Vita Schenutes, des großartigen Organisators der christlichen Kirche in Ägypten, bekannt. Zugrunde legte er seiner auszugsweisen Übersetzung die (vollständigere) bohairische Fassung, die J. LEIPOLDT 1906 veröffentlicht hatte.[41] Von den damals bekannten 190 Kapiteln übersetzte LEXA 16, und zwar die Kapitel 6 (S. 243), 18-19 (S. 243f.), 22-23 (S. 244f.), 76-79 (S. 245f.), 83-84 (S. 246f.), 85-86 (S. 247f.) und 106-108 (S. 248f.).[42] Seine Auswahl koptischer Texte in tschechischer Übersetzung beschloß er mit dem Berliner Papyrus 8774, einem lückenhaften Fragment koptischer Volksdichtung, das die Erzählung von Salomo und der Königin von Saba enthält ("Z vypravování o králi Šelomovi a sábské královně", S. 249f.). Es war 1897 von A. ERMAN herausgegeben worden und fand vierzehn Jahre später durch H. JUNKER eine eingehende Neubearbeitung.[43] LEXA beschränkte sich hier nur auf einen kurzen

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[37] G. ZOEGA, Catalogus codicum copticorum ..., S. 533f.

[38] In: Náboženská literatura staroegyptská, S.396-401.

[39] G. STEINDORFF, Koptische Grammatik, Berlin 1894, S. 47*-59*.

[40] Und zwar die Seiten 50*f. bei STEINDORFF, op. cit. = G. ZOEGA, op. cit., S. 231/vorletzte Zeile - S. 232/Z.12; S. 56*f. = ZOEGA, 234/5-234/21; S. 57*ff. = ZOEGA, 234/28-235/7.

[41] Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera omnia I (Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, Scriptores Coptici, ser. II, tom. 2), Paris.

[42] Vgl. J. LEIPOLDT, op. cit., S.10/Z.14-23; 16/6-27; 18/3-24; 38/11-39/21; 41/1-24; 41/25 bis 42/24; 51/12-52/9.

[43] A. ERMAN, Bruchstücke koptischer Volkslitteratur (Abhandlungen der Koenigl. Preuß. Akad. d. Wiss.), Berlin 1897; H. JUNKER, Koptische Poesie des 10. Jahrhunderts, 2 Teile, Berlin 1911.

Ausschnitt aus jener Episode, die - nach JUNKER - vom Zauberbecher und der Wundersäule handelt.[44]

Fast fünfundzwanzig Jahre sollten vergehen, ehe sich LEXA mit weiteren Übersetzungen koptischer Texte zu Wort meldete. Sie standen diesmal ganz im Zeichen der altägyptischen Literatur, um deren Kontinuitätsnachweis, besonders hinsichtlich des Fortlebens einzelner altägyptischer Elemente in der koptischen Literatur, es ihm zu tun war, weshalb er sie auch in seine 1947 erschienene Anthologie jüngerer ägyptischer Texte[45] aufnahm. In der Mehrzahl der Fälle handelte es sich um koptische Texte, die er bereits früher - 1921 und 1923 - übersetzt hatte und die er nun entweder unverändert oder leicht gekürzt oder aber in erweiterter Fassung abdruckte. Zu den bereits früher herausgegebenen Übersetzungen gehören der Zauberspruch gegen Leibschmerzen eines Kindes aus dem Papyrus Berlin P. 8313 (Nr.42, S. 124f.), die Apophthegmata patrum (Nr.43, S. 126-130)[46], 3 Kapitel aus der Schenute-Vita (Nr.45, S. 142f.)[47], das Enkomium des Dioskur (Nr.46, S. 144-147), die Lebensbeschreibung des Eremiten Onnophrios (Nr.47, S. 148-164), das Salomomärchen von dem Zauberbecher und der Wundersäule (Nr.49, S. 182f.)[48] sowie die Auswahl aus der Pistis Sophia (Nr.50, S. 189-195). Die Taten der Apostel Andreas und Paulus (Nr.44, S. 134-141) übersetzte LEXA in diesem Band erstmals vollständig.[49] Eine tschechische Erstübersetzung stellt das Martyrium des Apa Makarius von Antiochien (Nr.48: "Mučednictví apy Makaria antiochejského", S.1 65-179) dar, die dem bei A. MALLON (Grammaire copte, Beyrouth 1904, S. 54-80) veröffentlichten Text folgt. Überwiegend Erstübersetzungen sind auch jene Textproben[50], die LEXA zu einer Auswahl koptischer Gedichte zusammenfaßte (Nr.49: "Výbor z koptských básní", S. 180-188). Sie entstammen den Papyri Berlin P. 9287 und British Museum 972 und lagen LEXA in den Veröffentlichungen der Berliner Museen von 1904 (Aegyptische

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[44] H. JUNKER, op. cit., Teil 2, S.24f./Z.15-19; 26f./Z.1-16 und Z.18ff. - Ermans Ausgabe war mir nicht zugänglich, weshalb ich auf H. Junker verweise.

[45] Výbor z mladší literatury egyptské, Praha.

[46] = G. ZOEGA, op. cit., S.338/Z.27-S.339/Z.12; 327/21-331/15 - eine alles in allem bescheidene Auswahl. Neu hingegen ist die Übersetzung der Stelle ZOEGA, 334/8-335/11.

[47] Und zwar die Kap. 6, 85 und 86 - s. oben Anm. 42.

[48] Gegenüber 1923 leicht erweiterte und somit fast vollständige Fassung: H. JUNKER, Kopt. Poesie II, S.24f./Z.15-21; 26f./1-21.

[49] = G. ZOEGA, op. cit., 230/1-235/9; 1923 von LEXA nur auszugsweise übersetzt worden.

[50] Eine Ausnahme bildet das bereits erwähnte Salomonmärchen von dem Zauberbecher und der Wundersäule, s. dazu oben Anm. 44.

Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin: Koptische Urkunden, Bd. 1, Berlin) bzw. in der Bearbeitung und deutschen Übersetzung von H. JUNKER aus dem Jahre 1911 (Koptische Poesie des 10. Jahrhunderts, 2. Teil, Berlin) vor. Im einzelnen enthalten sie: 'Salomo und die Königin von Saba' ("Solomon a královna ze Sáby", S. 180-182)[51], Sprüche ("Pomíjejícnost zemského života", S. 183ff.)[52], das sog. Marienlied über die weibliche Verführbarkeit ("Ženské svůdnictví", S.185f.)[53], sowie 'Einige Ratschläge' ("Některé z rad", S. 186ff.)[54].

1968 veröffentlichte Zbyněk ŽÁBA (1917-1971)[55] ein populärwissenschaftliches Buch über das altägyptische Schrifttum.[56] Im letzten Kapitel (S. 179f.) bot er einen knappen Überblick über die koptische Literatur mit Übersetzungsproben koptischer Texte: zwei Sprüche aus koptischer Volkspoesie (S. 179f.),[57] die dem tschechischsprachigen Leser bereits durch Lexas Übersetzungen bekannt waren,[58] sowie einen Auszug aus der Vita des Bischofs Pesyntheus von Koptos (568-632)[59]. ŽÁBAS Übersetzungen sind freilich nur ein Intermezzo in der Geschichte tschechischer Übersetzungen koptischer Literatur, und es sollten vierzehn Jahre verstreichen, ehe mit Otakar KLÍMA (1908-1988) nicht nur ein weiterer Übersetzer in unser Blickfeld tritt, sondern auch ein neues Kapitel der Übersetzungsgeschichte aufgeschlagen werden konnte.

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[51] Pap. Berlin P. 9287: Aegypt. Urk., Nr.32, S.64/Z.18-S.65/Z.2; 47/15-25; 63/8-64/2; JUNKER, Kopt. Poesie II, S.14f./Z.10-17; 14f./20-16f./14; 20f./22-22f./25.

[52] Pap. Berlin P. 9287: Aegypt. Urk., Nr.32, S.65/Z.10-23; 59/26f.; 53/2-6 und Z.18-22; 59/27f.; JUNKER, op. cit., S.102f./Z.11-S.104f./Z.12; 102f./11-14; 98f./11-27; 102f./15-18.

[53] Brit. Mus. 972: JUNKER, op. cit., S.190f./Z.22-25; 192f./5-12; 192f./14-194f./8; 192f./1-4.

[54] Pap. Berlin P. 9287: Aegypt. Urk., Nr.32, S.48/Z.25-S.49/Z.3; 61/20-23; 52/26ff.; 49/19ff.; 50/1-19; 46/20ff.; 52/4-8; JUNKER, op. cit., S.110f./Z.11-18; 112f./2-9; 108f./1-8; 114f./2-5.11-19; 80f./3-6; 82f./6-13.

[55] Von 1959 bis zu seinem Tode ordentlicher Professor für Ägyptologie an der Karlsuniversität Prag.

[56] Tesáno do kamene, psáno na papyrus. Praha.

[57] Pap. Berlin P. 9287: Aegypt. Urk., Nr.32, S.52/Z.27f. und Z.4-8; H. JUNKER, Kopt. Poesie, 2. Teil, S. 108f./Z.5-8 und S. 82f./Z.6-13.

[58] F. LEXA, Výbor z mladší literatury egyptské, Praha 1947, S. 187 u. 188; vgl. oben Anm. 54.

[59] Welche Texteditionen ŽÁBA zugrundelegte, teilt er nicht mit.

1982 erschien auf dem tschechischen Büchermarkt eine Anthologie altorientalischer (einschließlich fernöstlicher und indianischer) Literatur,[60] an deren Zustandekommen führende Orientalisten des Landes beteiligt waren. Das literarische Erbe Irans wurde von Otakar KLÍMA bearbeitet, der in einem Unterabschnitt (S. 159-181) auch die Lehre Manis vorstellt und zahlreiche manichäische Textzeugnisse zu Wort kommen läßt. Von den koptisch erhaltenen Manichaica übersetzte er Abschnitte aus den sogenannten Kephalaia[61] - und zwar Kap. 38 (S. 161f.)[62], Kap. 64 (S. 170f.)[63] und 65 (S. 171)[64], die Einleitung und Kap. 76 (beide S. 172),[65] sowie Kap. 49 (S. 180)[66] -, aus den Homilien[67] - Auszüge aus dem "Preis Manis" (S. 169)[68] sowie den eschatologischen Schilderungen des "Sermons vom großen Krieg" (S. 179[69] und S. 178f.[70]) - und eine Passage aus dem 12. Thomaspsalm des manichäischen Psalters (S.178)[71]. Mit KLÍMAS Übersetzungen der koptisch-manichäischen Originalliteratur aus Medinet Madi kamen somit erstmals bedeutende Handschriften zu Wort, deren Auffindung bereits ein halbes Jahrhundert zurücklag und die bislang nur dem Fachmann, nicht aber einem größeren tschechischsprachigen Leserkreis zur Verfügung standen. Daran ändert auch der Umstand nichts, daß seine Übersetzungen nur einen Bruchteil des insgesamt erhaltenen und aufgearbeiten Textkorpus der koptischen Manichaica darstellen.

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[60] Prameny života. Obraz člověka a světa ve starých kulturách, Praha [Quellen des Lebens. Das Menschen- und Weltbild in den alten Kulturen].

[61] H.J. POLOTSKY, A. BÖHLIG (Hrsg.), Kephalaia, 1. Hälfte. Stuttgart 1940 (Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Bd. I) = Keph.

[62] Keph. S.100/Z.23f.27.29-S.103/Z.3.

[63] Keph. S.164/Z.11ff.24-S.165/Z.15.

[64] Keph. S.165/Z.28-S.166/Z.16.

[65] Keph. S.8/Z.31-S.9/Z.7 und S.187/Z.17-20.

[66] Keph. S.125/Z.8-17.

[67] H.J. POLOTSKY (Hrsg.), Manichäische Homilien, Stuttgart 1934 (Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, Bd. I) = Hom.

[68] Hom. S.2/Z.22f.30f., 3/24f.27, 4/6ff.17, 5/14ff.17f.

[69] Hom. S.8/Z.11-23.28ff., 9/7-19, 10/7-14.20-23.

[70] Hom S.12/Z.3.5-30.

[71] C.R.C. ALLBERRY (Hrsg.), A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II. Stuttgart 1938 (Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection, Vol. II), S.218/Z.2-8.

Das vorläufig letzte Kapitel unserer Betrachtungen schrieb Petr POKOR-NÝ[72], dessen Buch über das Lied von der Perle, 1986 in Prag erschienen,[73] in die Welt der alten Gnostiker einführt und eine breitere tschechischsprachige Leserschaft mit der koptisch-gnostischen Bibliothek von Nag Hammadi vertraut macht. Bereits 1981 hatte er das Thomasevangelium - eine innerhalb und außerhalb der christlichen Kirche weit verbreitete Schrift - aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex II zur Grundlage seiner gleichnamigen Übersetzung mit Kommentar gemacht[74] und damit die erste authentische, weil direkt aus dem Koptischen erfolgte tschechische Übersetzung geliefert, nachdem dieses Evangelium von Jindřich MÁNEK (1912-1977) zwar schon 1962, aber indirekt, vor allem aus englischen und deutschen Übertragungen ins Tschechische übersetzt worden war.[75] POKORNÝ griff bei seiner Übersetzung (S. 41-143) neben älteren Textausgaben - wie die von A. GUILLAUMONT et al. (1959)[76] und J. LEIPOLDT (1967)[77] - vor allem auf die unter der Schirmherrschaft der UNESCO herausgegebene Faksimileausgabe von Nag-Hammadi-Codex II zurück.[78] Die tschechische Übersetzung eines weiteren koptisch-gnostischen Textes legte POKORNÝ 1982 vor. Es handelt sich um die "Taten des Petrus und der Zwölf Apostel", eines in Nag-Hammadi-Codex VI überlieferten Traktats.[79] Seiner Übersetzung (S. 174ff.) liegt abermals eine Faksimileausgabe[80], vor allem aber die 1979 herausgegebene textkritische Ausgabe von R.McL. WILSON und D.M. PARROTT zugrunde.[81] Die tschechischen Über-

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[72] Er ist Professor für Neues Testament an der Evangelisch-Theologischen Comenius-Fakultät der Karlsuniversität Prag.

[73] Píseň o perle. Tajné knihy starověkých gnostiků, Praha 1986 [Das Lied von der Perle. Die Geheimbücher der alten Gnostiker].

[74] Tomášovo evangelium, překlad s výkladem, Praha 1981; 2. Auflage Praha 1982.

[75] Koptické Tomášovo evangelium, in: Náboženská revue 38 (1967) 182-192. - J. MÁNEK war Professor für Neues Testament an der Tschechoslowakischen Theologischen Hus-Fakultät

[76] A. GUILLAUMONT, H.-Ch. PUECH, G. QUISPEL, W. TILL, Yassah ABD AL MASIH (Hrsg.), Evangelium nach Thomas, Leiden 1959.

[77] Das Evangelium nach Thomas, Berlin 1967 (Texte und Untersuchungen, 101).

[78] The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices. Codex II, Leiden 1974.

[79] Skutky Petra a dvanácti apoštolů, in: Křesťanská revue 49 (1982) 171-176.

[80] The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices. Codex VI, Leiden 1972.

[81] The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostels. In: D.M. PARROTT (Hrsg.), Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4, Leiden 1979 (Nag Hammadi Studies XI), 197-229.

setzungen des Thomasevangeliums und der Taten des Petrus druckte POKORNÝ dann in dem eingangs erwähnten 'Lied von der Perle' teils gekürzt, teils ungekürzt ab (S. 225-228[82] bzw. 236-240). Außer diesen Texten übersetzte er 'Das Wesen der Archonten' ("Podstata Archontů", S. 212-218) aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex (=NHC) II/4 (86,20-97,23) nach der kritischen Ausgabe von P. NAGEL (Das Wesen der Archonten, Halle 1970.); die 'Drei Stelen des Seth' ("Tři Setovy stély", S. 220-223) aus NHC VII/5, und zwar die erste (S. 221ff.: 118,10-121,17) und den Beginn der dritten Stele (S. 223: 124,16-33), nach der Faksimileausgabe von J.M. ROBINSON (The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices. Codex VII, Leiden 1972); sowie eine Passage (18,11-38) aus dem bereits 1956 von M. MA-LININE u.a. publizierten 'Evangelium Veritatis'[83] ("Z Evangelia Pravdy", S. 231), wobei er sich an die besser erhaltene Handschrift des NHC I/3 hielt. Darüber hinaus übernahm POKORNÝ in Auszügen die Lexasche Übersetzung der Pistis Sophia ("Ze spisu Pistis Sofia", S. 232-235)[84], die bekanntlich als eine der wenigen koptisch-gnostischen Schriften außerhalb des Nag-Hammadi-Textkorpus auf uns gekommen ist.[85]

Damit schließen wir unsere Betrachtungen über die bestehenden tschechischen Übersetzungen koptischer Literatur. Dem aufmerksamen Leser wird nicht entgangen sein, daß die hier besprochenen Arbeiten sich überwiegend aus sogenannten populärwissenschaftlichen, also eine breite Leserschaft ansprechenden Büchern rekrutieren. Nicht auszuschließen ist daher, daß unser Versuch einer Übersicht so manche tschechische Übersetzung unberücksichtigt gelassen hat, die an entlegener Stelle in fachwissenschaftlichen Publikationen erschienen ist. Auch darf unsere Übersicht nicht dahingehend interpretiert werden, als seien die hier zitierten Übersetzungen alles an koptischer Literatur, was von tschechischen Gelehrten je bearbeitet und herausgegeben worden ist - im Mittelpunkt unseres Interesses standen lediglich die tschechischsprachigen Veröffentlichungen; fremdsprachige Bearbeitungen und Übersetzungen tschechischer Gelehrter muß-

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[82] Vom Thomasevangelium übersetzte er Logion 7 (= NHC II/2; 33,23b-28a), 22 (= 37,20--35), 42 (= 40,19), 50 (= 41,30b-42,7a), 56 (= 42,29b-32a), 60 (= 43,12b-23a), 80 (=47,12b--15a), 87 (= 48,4h-7a) und Logion 111 (= 51,6-10a).

[83] Vgl. M. MALININE, H.-Ch. PUECH, G. QUISPEL, Evangelium Veritatis, Zürich.

[84] Und zwar die Kapitel 30, 31, 35,1-5 sowie Kap. 81,10-21, vgl. F. LEXA, Náboženská literatura staroegyptská, 2. Teil, Kladno 1921, S. 412-415 und 419f.

[85] Vgl. schon oben S. 4.

ten unberücksichtigt bleiben.[86] Als Beispiel par excellence sei in diesem Zusammenahng an Jaroslav ČERNÝ (1898-1970) erinnert, der seine koptologischen Arbeiten stets englisch publizierte.[87] Versagen mußten wir uns zudem eine Wertung der Übersetzungen; dies hätte den hier zur Verfügung stehenden Rahmen gesprengt. Es liegt aber auf der Hand, daß zumal die älteren Übersetzungen angesichts des Erkenntniszuwachses, den uns koptische Philologie und Linguistik, aber auch neue Textfunde in den letzten Jahrzehnten beschert haben, nicht mehr unbesehen übernommen werden können. Ihr Verdienst: den Reichtum koptischen Schrifttums wenigstens erahnen zu lassen, bleibt davon freilich unberührt.

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[86] So beispielsweise die französische Ausgabe LEXAS zur altägyptischen Magie: La magie dans l'Egypte antique de l'ancien empire jusqu'à l'époque copte, 3 Bände, Paris 1925, oder die Veröffentlichung eines koptischen Papyrus aus der Sammlung Wessely von V. HAŽ-MUKOVÁ: Miscellaneous Coptic Prayers, in: Archiv Orientální 8 (1936) 318-333; 9 (1937) 107-145.

[87] Zu J. ČERNÝ vgl. L. BAREŠ, Das Leben František Lexas. In: F. Lexa, zakladatel české egyptologie, Praha 1989, 123f.

Erzähltechnik, Stilmittel und Sprache im arabischen Volksbuch von Zīr Sālim[1]

Jaroslav OLIVERIUS

Das arabische Volksbuch von Zīr Sālim stellt eine legendäre Bearbeitung vorislamischer Stammestraditionen (*aijām al-ʿArab*) dar[2], deren Kern die Berichte über den sog. Basūs-Krieg zwischen den Stämmen Taghlib und Bakr sind. Sie blieben in der arabischen Kunstliteratur - bei Historikern, Geographen, bei Autoren von Gedichtsanthologien und Sammlungen altarabischer Realien - erhalten[3]. Als literarische Adaptation volkstümlicher Stoffe wie auch als lebendige

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[1] Dieser Aufsatz knüpft lose an eine Reihe von Studien, die ich in vergangenen Jahren über das arabische Volksbuch von Zīr Sālim veröffentlichte. Es sind folgende Artikel: a) Aufzeichnungen über den Basūs-Krieg in der Kunstliteratur und deren Weiterentwicklung im arabischen Volksbuch über Zīr Sālim. Archív Orientální 33, 1965, S. 44-64; b) Themen und Motive im arabischen Volksbuch von Zīr Sālim. Archív Orientální 39, 1971, S. 129-145; c) The Epic and Genealogical Cyclization in the Arabic Folk Book about Zīr Sālim. Acta Universitatis Carolinae - Philologica 5, .Orientalia Pragensia IX, 1975, S. 27-44; d) Der Reflex der sozialen Verhältnisse und historischen Begebenheiten im arabischen Volksbuch von Zīr Sālim. Acta Universitatis Carolinae -Philologica 1, Orientalia Pragensia X, 1977, S. 49-61. Zu dieser Problematik siehe weiter: G. CANOVA, Osservazioni a margine della storia di Zīr Sālim. Quaderni di Studi Arabi 3, 1985, S. 115-136. Der Autor analysiert darin den Epilog zur Qiṣṣat az-Zīr mit Bezug auf eine orale Zigeunerversion aus Oberägypten. Verschiedene Versionen erörtert und vergleicht Marguerite GAVILLET, La Geste de Zir Salim. Étude comparative de quatre versions. Mémoire de D.E.A. Université d'Aix-en-Provence, 1985. Über eine ägyptische, in den 60er Jahren des vorigen Jh. in der Umgangssprache herausgegebene Version berichtet A. VON KREMER, Aegypten, II. Theil, Leipzig 1863, S. 306-322.

[2] cf. u.a. W. CASKEL, Die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte Nord-Arabiens vor dem Islam. Islamica, Vol. 3, 1930, S. 331 ff.; W. CASKEL, Aijām al-ʿArab. Studien zur altarabischen Epik. Islamica, Vol. 3, Fasc. 5, 1930, Suppl.; E. MEYER, Der historische Gehalt der aiyām al-ʿArab. Wiesbaden 1970.

[3] Die bedeutendsten Quellen sind: Kitāb al-aġānī, Miṣr o.J., al-ǧuz' 4, S. 139-150; The Nakā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, ed. by A.A. BEVAN, Leiden 1908-1909, Vol. II, S. 905-906; Al-ʿIqd al-farīd, Miṣr 1305 h., al-ǧuz' 3, S. 74-77; ABŪ ZAKARIJĀ Aṭ-ṬABRĪZĪ, Šarḥ al-Hamāsa, Būlāq 1296 h., al-ǧuz' 2, S. 197-200; IBN AL-AṬĪR, Kitāb al-Kāmil..., ed. C.J. TORNBERG, Leiden 1866, I, S. 384-397; IBN NUBĀTA, Šarḥ risālat ibn Zaidūn (in: Addimenta ad Historiam Arabum ante islamismum, ed. J.L. RASMUSSEN, Hauniae 1821, S. 9-13); AL-MAIDĀNĪ, Maǧmaʿ al-amtāl, al-Qāhira 1310 h., S. 254-255, 329; JĀQŪT, Kitāb Muʿǧam al-buldān, al-Qāhira 1906, al-muǧallad 1, S. 138-140; Abulfedae Historia Anteislamica, ed.

Volksüberlieferung hat dieses Sujet in seiner weiteren Entwicklung einen längeren Prozeß epischer und genealogischer Zyklisation erfahren und Veränderungen durchgemacht, die sowohl die Struktur, Komposition, Handlungsentfaltung und Erzähltechnik wie auch den Inhalt, die Tendenz und den sozialen und historischen Hintergrund betreffen[4]. Es ist zur Grundlage sämtlicher existierenden Versionen des Volksbuches von Zīr Sālim geworden.

Das Volksbuch von Zīr Sālim[5] ist in neun Teile (ǧuz') von gleichem Umfang gegliedert: der 1., 6., 7. und 9. Teil besteht aus 16 Seiten, der 2., 4., 5. und 8. Teil aus 17 Seiten und der 3. Teil aus 18 Seiten (die unerheblichen Abweichungen sind infolge der Einfügung von Illustrationen entstanden). Es ist eine rein äußere, mechanische Aufteilung, die die thematische Aspekte, ja sogar die Abschnitte und Sätze überhaupt nicht berücksichtigt. Die einzelnen Teile enden meistens inmitten des Satzes (oder des Gedichts); auf der folgenden Seite beginnt dann der nächste Teil und wird der unterbrochene Satz beendet[6]. Falls diese rein formale Gliederung nicht aus technischen Gründen entstand, hängt sie offensichtlich mit der Untergliederung der handschriftlichen Vorlage in gleiche Teile zusammen, die dem Erzähler (rāwī) das Pensum für einen nächtlichen Vortrag festlegen[7].

Das Buch ist nicht in Kapitel oder andere größere thematische Abschnitte unterteilt. Nur viermal erscheint im Text eine Überschrift: vor dem langen Gedicht, das tubba' Ḥassān dem Kulaib vorträgt (al-Malḥama al-kubrā li-t-tubba' Ḥassān; S. 23); vor dem Anfang der Geschichte über den Basūs-Krieg (Ḥarb al-Basūs baina Bakr wa-Taghlib; S. 45); vor dem sog. schönen Namen Allāhs (Asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā; S. 68) und vor der Schilderung des Krieges zwischen dem Kreuzfahrer Birǧis und dem jüdischen König Ḥakmūn (Ḥarb Birǧis aṣ-ṣalībī ma'a -l-jahūdī; S. 96).

H.O. FLEISCHER, Lipsiae 1831, S. 136-140; 'ABDALQĀDIR AL-BAĠDĀDĪ, Ḥizānat al-adab, Būlāq 1299 h., al-muǧallad 1, S. 300-304.

[4] siehe die in der Anm. 1 erwähnten Studien.

[5] Von den mannigfaltigen Versionen hatte ich folgenden Text zur Verfügung: Qiṣṣat az-Zīr Sālim al-kubrā, Abū Lailā al-Muhalhil. Ǧidda, As'ad al-Ḥabbāl, o.J., 151 S.; denselben Text in derselben polygraphischen Gestaltung bietet Qiṣṣat az-Zīr Sālim al-kubrā, Abū Lailā al-Muhalhil. Al-Qāhira, 'Abdalḥamīd Ḥanafī 1960, 151 S.

[6] Eine ähnliche quantitative Aufteilung weist das Volksbuch Qiṣṣat Fairūz šāh ibn al-malik Dārāb auf. Al-Qāhira, 'Abdalḥamīd Ḥanafī o.J. Jeder Teil hat 28 S.

[7] cf. dazu die Bemerkung R. PARETS in seiner Abhandlung Sīrat Saif ibn Dhī Jazan. Ein arabischer Volksroman. Hannover 1924, S. 2; siehe auch R. PARET, Die legendäre Maghāzi-Literatur. Tübingen 1930, S. 155.

Der Erzähler

Die Form der Erzählung von Zīr Sālim und anderer Werke der arabischen Volksepik beruht auf der Deklamation. Der Dīwān (das Hilfsmittel des Erzählers) war üblicherweise in sog. Szenen (*mašāhid*) geteilt, von denen sich jede zumeist auf eine Figur konzentrierte[8]. Das Subjekt des Erzählers tritt in den Vordergrund am häufigsten als ein Verbindungsglied zwischen den einzelnen Szenen. Außer dem stereotypen Satz "*qāla -r-rāwī*" ("Es sagte der Erzähler") am Anfang der Absätze macht der Erzähler durch verschiedene Formeln oder kurze Bemerkungen auf sich aufmerksam, von denen er einige in der 1. Person des Plurals vorträgt.

Im Eingangsteil gibt der Erzähler eine kurze Genealogie der Nordaraber wie folgt: "*..walākin qabla -š-šurūʿi fī hādihi -s-sīrati -l-ʿaǧība wa-ahbārihā -l-muṭribati -l-ġarība ra'ainā an naḏkura ṭarafan min ahbāri -l-ʿArab*" ("..bevor wir jedoch diese bewundernswerte Geschichte mit ihren fesselnden und merkwürdigen Begebenheiten beginnen, entschlossen wir uns, einen Abschnitt von den Traditionen der alten Araber zu erwähnen" - S.2).

Der Übergang von einer Szene zur anderen wird gewöhnlich mit dem Ausdruck "*hādā mā kāna min..*" ("Dies geschah mit...") eingeleitet, dem am häufigsten "*wa-ammā...*" ("und was... betrifft") oder ein anderer Satz folgt, der die Aufmerksamkeit des Hörers auf die nächste Szene, in der Regel auf deren Hauptfigur, richtet; z.B. *"Hādā mā kāna min al-Muhalhil wa-ammā Ǧassās..."* ("Dies geschah mit Muhalhil, und was nun Ǧassās betrifft..." - S. 82, ähnlich S. 61 u.a.); "*Hādā mā kāna min amri Ǧassās wa-ammā Kulaib ...*" ("Das geschah mit Ǧassās; Kulaib ... unterdessen..." - S. 31); "*Hādā mā kāna min habari Banī Qais... wa li-natakallam al-'ān ʿan hadīti -l-Jamanīja wa ma ǧarā lahum*" ("Das ist der Bericht von den Banū Qais ... und nun werden wir von den Jemenitern reden und von dem, was ihnen passierte" - S. 3); "*Hādā mā kāna min amri Kulaib wa-jarǧiʿu -l-kalāmu wa-s-sijāq ilā hadīti Suʿād*" ("Dies geschah mit Kulaib; die Rede und der Faden des Gespräches kehren nun zur Geschichte von Suʿād zurück" - S.50; ähnlich ohne die Eingangsformel S.19).

Der Erzähler will das Interesse seiner Höhrer für die kommende Erzählung wecken: "*Wa-min ġarībi -l-ittifāq al-mustahiqqi -t-tastīri fī -l-aurāq bi-anna...*" ("Eines der seltsamen Geschehnisse, das eine schriftliche Aufzeichnung verdient, ist..." - S. 88).

Manchmal nimmt der Erzähler die Handlung voraus[9] und macht die Hörer darauf aufmerksam, daß von einer bestimmten Figur noch die Rede sein wird:

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[8] ʿA. JŪNUS, Aẓ-Ẓāhir Baibars fī -l-adab aš-šaʿbī. Al-Qāhira o.J. S. 8.

[9] R. PARET, Maghāzī, S. 159.

"Wa-saufa jazharu lahumā waladān wa-humā Šaibūn wa-Šaibān sa-ja'tī hadītu-humā baʿda -l-ān" ("Und sie werden zwei Knaben haben - Šaibūn und Šaibān, von denen wir nachher reden werden" - S.3); "...*wa-saufa jaqaʿu lahu hadītun wa-kalām"* ("... und von ihm werden wir noch erzählen und reden" - S. 141).

Der Erzähler beruft sich auch darauf, wovon schon früher die Rede war: *"Wa-zaffū ʿalaihi -bnata ʿammihi -l-Ġalīla wa-qad kunnā dakarnā fī auwali -s-sīra ʿan ausāfi hādihi -s-saijidati -l-hatīra"* ("Und sie führten ihm seine Kusine Ġalīla zur Vermählung zu; am Anfang der Erzählung haben wir diese vortreffliche Frau beschrieben" - S. 28); "... *wa-dālika min ʿahdi wuqūʿi -z-Zīr fī -l-bahr kamā sabaqa -l-kalām"* ("...und zwar seit Zīr ins Meer geworfen worden war, wie davon schon die Rede war" - S. 117); *"Qasada -l-ʿĀbid Nuʿmān alladī taqaddama dikruhu qabla -l-ān"* ("Und er begab sich zu ʿĀbid Nuʿmān, den wir schon vorher erwähnt haben" - S. 89).

Einmal verweist der Erzähler auf eine andere Erzählung,, die er jedoch außer acht lassen muß: *"Wa-baʿda dālika wadaʿat lahu gulāman asmāhu Mālik wa-lahu hadītun tawīl"* ("Und sie gebar ihm nachher einen Knaben, dem er den Namen Mālik gab; von ihm könnte man lange erzählen" - S. 149).

Ein andermal beruft sich der Erzähler auf die Historie, die Tradenten und Chronisten: *"Wa-dakarat ruwātu -l-ahbār wa-ʿuzamā'u -l-aʿsār bi-anna madīnata Hakmūn kānat nafsa madīnati Bairūt"* ("Die Erzähler von Geschichten und die hervorragenden Tradenten aus verschiedenen Epochen berichten, daß die Stadt Hakmūns das jetzige Bairūt war" - S. 96); "...*allatī -stamarrat nahwa arbaʿīna sanatan wa-kusūr kamā huwa fī -t-tārīhi madkūr"* ("..die etwa über vierzig Jahre dauerten, wie es in den Chroniken aufgezeichnet worden ist" - S. 141).

Einmal redet der Erzähler die Hörer bei der Schilderung einer Schlacht mit der 2. Person des Singulars an: *"Fa-mā kunta tarā illā ru'ūsan tā'ira"* ("Und du würdest nur fliegende Köpfe sehen" - S. 70).

Der Sprachstil und die Stilmittel

Eines der charakteristischen Merkmale der arabischen Volksromane (*sijar šaʿbīja*) ist ihr Sprachstil, die spezifische Form der Schriftsprache (in den gedruckten Volksbüchern), einer verhältnismäßig einfachen und leicht verständlichen Sprache, die sich im Prozeß der schriftlichen Redaktion dieser Denkmäler herausbildete. Diese Sprachform unterscheidet sich beträchtlich vom klassischen Arabisch der Kunstliteratur.

Neben der erwähnten Sprachform muß man auf ein zwar reiches, aber immerhin standardisiertes Repertoire von bestimmten Arten bildlicher Benennung,

phraseologischer Eigentümlichkeiten und nicht zuletzt zahlreicher Klischees hinweisen, die ein typisches Merkmal der Volksliteratur sind.

Was die bildliche Benennung und die emotional gefärbte Sprache angeht, so kommt in unserem Volksbuch - wie übrigens in der gesamten arabischen Volks-epik - am häufigsten der Vergleich, die Hyperbel und eine übermäßige Anwen-dung von Epitheta zur Geltung.

Bei der Schilderung eines schönen weiblichen oder Knabengesichts wird der Vergleich mit dem Mond (Vollmond) gebraucht: "*aulādun mitlu -l-aqmār*" ("Kin-der wie Monde" - S. 2); "*al-Ǧalīla - badru -t-tamām*" ("Ǧalīla - ein Vollmond" - S. 14); "*wa-lahā waǧhun ka-badr bi-lailati -l-qadr*" ("sie hatte ein Gesicht wie der Vollmond in der Nacht, da der Koran herabgesandt wurde" - S. 19); "*sabʿatu* /sic/ *banātin mitlu -l-budūri -t-tāliʿāt*" ("sieben Töchter wie aufgehende Vollmonde" - S. 31); "*wa-kāna ǧamīla -ṣ-ṣūrati ka-annahu -l-badr*" ("er hatte ein schönes Aussehen, als ob er ein Vollmond gewesen sei" - S. 31); "*bintun ka-l-qamari -l-munīr*" ("ein Mädchen wie ein strahlender Mond" - S. 98); "*waǧhuhā ka-š-šamsi wa-l-badri -l-munīr*" ("ihr Gesicht war wie die Sonne und wie ein strahlender Vollmond" - S. 142).

Der Vergleich kommt logischerweise nach dem Komparativ vor: "*wa-kāna ʿalaihi ašadda min ḍarbi -s-saif*" ("es bestürzte ihn stärker als ein Schwerthieb" - S. 5); "*wa-kaffaini aṭrā mina -l-jāsamīn*" ("Hände weicher als der Jasmin" - S. 19); "*wa-ṣadamahu ṣadmatan... ašadda min ṣadamāt ʿAntara*" ("er schlug ihn stärker als ʿAntara" - S. 30).

Der Vergleich des Helden mit dem Löwen gehört zu den häufigsten: "*wa-huwa mitlu -l-asadi -l-ġaḍbān*" ("er war wie ein wütender Löwe" - S. 10); "*hādā - l-asadu -l-ġašamšam*" ("dieser kühne Löwe - S. 10); "*fa-jahǧumu huǧūma -ṣ-sibāʿ*" ("er stürzte sich in den Kampf wie Löwen" - S. 100); "*ka-l-asadi -l-kāsir*" ("wie ein reißender Löwe" - S. 101); "*qitālu -l-usūdi -l-kāsira*" ("der Kampf reißender Löwen" - S. 109); "*ka-lujūti -l-āǧām*" ("wie Löwen aus den Gebüschen" - S. 124).

Weitere Beispiele: "*asnānu lu'lu'*" ("Zähne wie Perlen" - S. 19); "*lahā ʿunqun ka-ʿunqi -l-ġazāl*" ("sie hat einen Hals wie die Gazelle" - S. 19); "*Waǧanātun ḥumrun ka-mā -l-wurūd*" ("purpurrote Wangen wie Rosen" - S. 19); "*kitāfun ka-l-ʿāǧ mitlu -z-zuǧāǧ*" ("Schultern wie Elfenbein, wie Glas" - S. 19); "*wa-fataka fīhim fatka -d-di'bi bi-l-aġnām*" ("er brachte sie um wie ein Wolf, der unter den Schafen rast" - S. 79); "*ka-annahu qullatun mina -l-qulal au qiṭʿatun fuṣilat min daili ǧabal*" ("als ob er ein Felsblock wäre, der sich vom Abhang des Berges trennte" - S. 124); "*ka-rūḥaini fī ǧasadin wāḥid*" ("wie zwei Seelen in einem Körper" - S. 143).

Mit Vorliebe wird die Hyperbel gebraucht, die oft mit dem Vergleich kombiniert ist: "*judhiku -l-ahğāra bi-af ālihi*" ("durch seine Streiche bringt er Steine zum Lachen" - S. 21); "*fa-ṣaraha ʿalaihā ṣautan mitla -r-raʿdi -l-qāṣif ḥattā - rtağğat minhu -l-widjān*" ("er brüllte sie an wie ein dröhnender Donner, daß vor seiner Stimme die Täler erzitterten" - S. 38); "*wa-kāna jahdiru ka-r-raʿdi -l-qāṣif au ka-r-rīhi -l-ʿāṣif*" ("er brauste wie ein grollender Donner oder wie ein Sturmwind" - S. 98); "*bi-ṣautin ka-r-raʿdi fī -l-ġamām*" ("mit einer Stimme wie ein Donner in den Wolken" - S. 10, 124); "*wa-ammā -l-huğūl tuzīlu -l-ʿuqūl*" ("und die Fußringe bringen einen um den Verstand" - S. 20); "*wa-ağrau dumūʿahum ka-l-anhār*" ("sie vergossen Tränen wie Flüsse" - S. 66); "*daqqa -ṭ-ṭablu -r-rağūğ fartağğat minhu -s-suhūlu wa-l-murūğ*" ("die Trommel rollte und vor ihr erzitterten die Ebenen und die Wiesen" - S. 69); "*asraʿu mina -r-rīḥ*" ("schneller als der Wind" - S. 76); "*asraʿu min aṭ-ṭair*" ("schneller als der Vogel" - S. 76); "*wa-lau kānū bi-ʿadadi - t-turāb*" ("auch wenn ihre Anzahl den Staubkörnchen gliche" - S. 78); "*wa-rtağğat ğawānibu -l-āfāq min ḍarbi -s-sujūf*" ("es erzitterten die Horizonte vor den Schwerthieben" - S. 115); "*wa-faʿala fīʿālan tabqā wa tuḏkar ma dāmati -š-šamsu wa-l-qamar*" ("er verrichtete Taten, die immer im Gedächtnis bleiben werden, solange die Sonne und der Mond fortdauern" - S. 129); "*wa dumūʿuhu tağrīʿalā ḥaddaihi ka-l-anhār*" ("und die Tränen rannen ihm über die Wangen wie Flüsse" - S. 147); "*wa-ṣadamahu ṣadmatan tuzaʿziʿu -l-ğibāl*" ("er versetzte ihm einen heftigen Schlag, der die Berge zu erschüttern vermag" - S. 147); "*Naẓarti -l-jauma min Sālim fīʿālan jašību lahā -ṭ-ṭiflu -ṭ-tarīḥ*" ("Du sahst heute Sālims Taten, bei denen das Haar des frühgeborenen Kindes grau wird" - S. 36, ähnlich S. 70); "*lā uṣāliḥuhum ... ḥattā jaʿūdu Kulaib ilā qaidi -l-ḥajā*" ("ich werde mich mit ihnen nicht versöhnen..., bis Kulaib wieder zum Leben erwacht" - S. 79); "*juhğilu ḥusnuhā dau'a -n-nahār*" ("ihre Schönheit beschämt das Tageslicht" - S. 13).

Die Hyperbel gibt sehr oft außerordentlich starken Emotionen, besonders der Erregung, dem Zorn, der Wut, der Enttäuschung u.a. Ausdruck: "*šahara wa-nahara ... wa-ḥmarrat ʿaināhu ḥattā ṣārat mitla -l-ğamr*" ("er wütete, brüllte..., seine Augen wurden rot, daß sie wie glühende Kohle waren" - S. 10); "*wa-tawaq-qada qalbuhum mina -l-ġaiẓ bi-lahībi -l-ğamr*" ("ihr Herz entflammte vor Zorn und loderte wie Feuer auf glühender Kohle" - S. 12); "*inqaṭaʿat amʿāhu wa ḍalla ʿaqluhu wa-tāh*" ("seine Eingeweide zerrissen und sein Verstand irrte" - S. 14); "*ṣāra -ḍ-ḍijā /sic/ fīʿainaihi ka-ẓ-ẓalām*" ("das Licht in seiner Augen verwandelte sich in Dunkelheit" - S. 15, 55, 147); "*wa-ṣāra -n-nahāru fī wağhihi mitla -ẓ-ẓalām*" ("der Tag wurde vor seinem Gesicht zur Finsternis" - S. 67); "*tāra min ʿainaihi -š-šarar*" ("seine Augen funkelten" - S. 65, 148); "*ġābat ʿan ʿaqlihā*" ("sie verlor ihren Verstand" - S. 122).

Häufig werden Epitheta des Helden gebraucht: "*al-baṭalu -l-auḥad wa-s-saifu -l-muhannad wa-ṣ-ṣaḥṣāhu -š-šahīr*" ("der unvergleichliche Held, das Schwert aus indischem Stahl, der berühmte Recke" - S. 66); "*al-baṭalu -n-niḥrīr*" ("der wackere Held" - S. 113); "*fārisu -l-ʿAǧam wa-l-ʿArab*" ("Ritter der Perser und Araber" - S. 114); "*laiṯu -l-maidān wa-zīnatu -š-šuǧʿān*" ("Löwe des Schlachtfeldes und Zierde der Unerschrockenen" - S. 125); "*al-fārisu -ṣ-ṣandīd* ("der tapfere, kühne Ritter" - s. 16); "*al-fārisu d-daʿʿās*" ("der zerstampfende Reiter" - S. 132); "*al-asadu -l-karrār wa-l-baṭalu -l-miǧwār*" ("der angriffslustige Löwe und der tapfere Held" - S. 2); "*hādā -l-asadu -l-ġašamšam*" ("dieser kühne Löwe" - S. 10); "*al-asadu -l-ġadanfar*" ("der unüberwindliche Löwe" - S. 29, 33); "*al-asadu -l-ġālib*" ("der überwältigende Löwe" - S. 32, 100).

Auch dem Schwert werden verschiedene Epitheta beigegeben: "*as-saifu -l-abtar*" ("das geschärfte Schwert" - S. 5); "*bi-s-saifi -l-muhannad*" ("mit dem Schwert aus indischem Stahl" - S. 27, 99); "*as-saifu -l-aḥadd*" ("das äußerst scharfe Schwert" - S. 28).

Seltener werden metaphorische Äußerungen gebraucht: "*wa-ʿaṣafat fī naf-sihi*" - oder: "*raʾsihi - naḥwatu -l-ǧāhilīja*" ("in seiner Seele - oder: in seinem Kopf - stürmte der Stolz der ǧāhilīja" - S. 36, 54); *wa-huwa junaffiḍu ġubāra -l-mauti ʿan ʿainihi* - oder: *mankibihi*" ("er schüttelte aus seinen Augen - oder: von seinen Schultern - den Todesstaub" - S. 64, 97); "*wa-bātū tilka -l-lailata ʿalā maqālī -n-nār*" ("in jener Nacht schliefen sie auf rotglühenden Pfannen" - S. 113, 125); "*iḥtaraqa qalbuhumā*" ("ihr Herz verbrannte"; d.h., vor Kummer - S. 122); "*wa-rāḥat rūḥuhu ilā -l-wādī -l-aḥmar*" ("sein Geist begab sich ins rote Tal"; d.h., er starb - S. 19); "*judīquhu -l-mauta -l-aḥmar*" ("er wird ihn den roten Tod kosten lassen" - S. 98).

Durch eine Parabel wird Ǧassās' Traum dargestellt: Ǧassās träumt, daß er sich eines Wolfsjungen annahm. Als das junge Tier zu einem starken Wolf wurde, gesellte er sich einem raubgierigen Löwen zu. Eines Tages stürzten sich alle beide auf die Herden des Stammes Bakr und fingen an, Frauen und Kinder zu raufen. Ǧassās trat dem Löwen mit gezücktem Schwert entgegen, der Wolf aber überfiel ihn hinterrücks und biß ihm die Kehle durch (S. 139). Die Parabel ist äußerst klar. Sie deutet an, daß Kulaibs Sohn Ǧarw (*ǧarw* heißt Hündchen), den Ǧassās erzogen hatte, gemeinsam mit Zīr Ǧassās töten werden.

Unser Volksbuch bietet auch zwei bemerkenswerte Belege der Ironie: Sultān fordert seinen Bruder Ǧassās auf, zu Zīr zu gehen und mit ihm über den Frieden zu verhandeln. Ǧassās antwortet: "*Hal samiʿta bi-aḥadin mina -n-nās jarā -l-mauta baina jadaihi fa-jaẓḥafu ilaihi ʿalā riǧlaihi?*" ("Hast du von irgendeinem Menschen gehört, der den Tod vor sich sah und ihm entgegeneilte?" - S. 112).

Die Dichterin Su'ād will Ǧassās' Eitelkeit verletzen und sagt ihm, daß sie den Schutz lieber bei Kulaib hätte suchen sollen: *"Fa-innī taraktu -l-baḥra wa-ǧi'tu ilā -s-sāqija wa-taᶜallaqtu bi-ḏ-ḏanab wa-taraktu -r-ra's"* ("Ich habe das Meer verlassen und bin zur Bewässerungsgrinne gekommen, ich habe mich dem Schwanz angehängt und den Kopf losgelassen" - S. 52).

Ein Körnchen Volksweisheit ist in der Belehrung verborgen, die Kulaib seinem Bruder Zīr erteilt: *"fa-mina -l-wāǧib an taḥsaba ḥisāba -l-ᶜawāqib li-anna -d-dahra dūlābun sarīᶜu -l-inqilāb iḏā aḏhakaka jauman abkāka sanatan"* (Du mußt mit den Folgen rechnen, denn das Schicksal ist wie ein rasch laufendes Rad; wenn es dich für einen Tag zum Lachen bringt, so bringt es dich für das ganze Jahr zum Weinen" - S. 31).

Ein charakteristisches Merkmal der arabischen Volksepik sind die Parallelismen und die synonymischen Paare[10]. Auch in der Qissat az-Zīr ist dieses stilistische Mittel belegt und stets mit der Reimprosa (*saǧᶜ*) kombiniert. Die Parallelismen beruhen nicht nur auf sinnverwandten Wörtern, sondern auch auf der grammatischen und syntaktischen Gleichartigkeit der einzelnen Satzglieder.

"Wa-kūnū li-awāmirī ṭā'iᶜīn wa-li-ḥukmī hādiᶜīn sāmiᶜīn" ("Gehorchen sie meinen Befehlen und fügen sie sich meinen Anordnungen" - S. 11); *"ad-durratu -l-maṣūna wa-l-ǧauharatu -l-maknūna"* ("die wohlbehütete Perle und das wohlbewahrte Kleinod"; d.h., die züchtige Frau - S. 46); *"juḥibbuhu maḥabbatan ᶜaẓīma wa-jawadduhu mawaddatan ǧasīma"* ("er liebte ihn innig und hegte tiefe Zuneigung zu ihm" - S. 111, 34, 3 u.a.); *"Fa-innahu kāna min ᶜaǧā'ibi -z-zamān wa-ǧarā'ibi -l-awān"* ("Es - d.h., das Pferd - war eines der seltsamsten und erstaunlichsten Wunder der Zeit - S. 114).

Der Sprachstil des Volksbuches von Zīr Sālim ist mit zahlreichen feststehenden, sich häufig wiederholenden Redewendungen durchsetzt. Diesen Klischees und Formeln begegnet man auch in anderen Werken der arabischen Volksepik[11]. Sie zeugen von einer reichen Tradition und einer langen Entwicklung der arabischen Volksliteratur, der mehrere Generationen von Tradenten und Erzählern ihren charakteristischen Stempel aufdrückten. Die Erzählkunst beruhte nicht nur auf einem achtunggebietenden Gedächtnis und einer angeborenen und durch lange Praxis verfeinerten Beredsamkeit, sondern auch auf einem reichhaltigen Repertoire von stereotypen stilistischen Vorgängen.

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[10] cf. dazu N. IBRAGIMOV, Arabskij narodnyj roman. Moskva 1984, S. 200-209; B.JA. ŠIDFAR, Genezis i voprosy stilja arabskogo narodnogo romana (siry); In: Genezis romana v literaturach Azii i Afriki. Moskva 1980, S. 125-126.

[11] siehe z.B. IBRAGIMOV, opus cit., S. 191 f.; ŠIDFAR, art. cit., S. 123 f.

In der folgenden Übersicht werden die häufigsten Formeln und Klischees angeführt. Der Anfang des Gedichts wird oft mit dem stereotypen Satz eingeleitet: "...*fa-anšada jaqūl wa-ᶜumru -s-sāmīᶜīn jatūl*" ("Er rezitierte, und mögen die Hörer ein langes Leben genießen" - S. 64, 26, 79, 106 u.a.).

Nach der Deklamation des Gedichts folgt gewöhnlich: "*Fa-lammā faraġa* - oder: *intahā -... min kalāmihi wa-šiᶜrihi wa-nizāmihi* - oder: *min hādā -š-šiᶜr wa-n-nizām* - ..*" ("Und als X.Y. seine Rede, sein Gedicht und seine poetische Ansprache beendet hatte..." - S. 3, 5, 12, 22, 37, 40, 95 u.a.).

Absolute Unterordnung und Folgsamkeit bringt der folgende Satz zum Ausdruck: "*Naḥnu baina jadaika wa-lā nabḥulu bi-arwāḥinā ᶜalaika*" ("Wir sind in deinen Händen und können dir unsere Leben nicht vorenthalten" - S. 6, 27, 68 u.a.).

Sehr häufig sind Klischees und Formeln, die sich auf den Verlauf des Kampfes und auf die Schlachtszenen beziehen: "*qatalahu* - oder: *aqtuluka* u.ä. - *bi-ḥaddi -l-ḥusām*" ("er tötete ihn - oder: ich werde dich töten - mit scharfem Schwert" - S. 27, 106 u.a.); "*ḍarabahu bi-s-saifi fī ṣadrihi ḥaraġa jalmaᶜu min zahrihi*" ("er stach ihn in die Brust mit dem Schwert, so daß es aus seinem Rücken blitzend herauskam" - S. 30, 57, 83, 87, 111, 122, 140, 147 u.a.); "*fa-waqaᶜa* - oder: *fa-alqāhu ᶜalā -l-arḍi qatīlan wa-fī damihi ġadīlan*" ("er fiel - oder: er schlug ihn - tot zu Boden und wälzte sich im Blut" - S. 27, 29, 65, 100, 111, 147 u.a.); "*daqqat tubūlu -l-infiṣāl*" ("es rollten die Trommeln der Unterbrechung", d.h., die Schlacht wurde abgebrochen - S. 115, 133, 134 u.a.); "*fa-rāḥat* - d.h. *aḍ-ḍarbatu, aṭ-ṭaᶜnatu -ḫā'ibatan baᶜdamā kānat ṣā'ibatan*" ("er - d.h., der Hieb - ging fehl, auch wenn er gut gezielt war" - S. 121 u.a.).

Nach der Unterbrechung des Kampfes bemerkt der Erzähler gewöhnlich, daß Zīr "Speise aß und Wein trank" ("*akala -ṭ-ṭaᶜām wa-šariba -l-mudām*" - S. 45, 74, 89, 150 u.a.).

Grammatisch bemerkenswert ist die Phrase "*katura -l-qīlu wa-l-qāl*" ("es wurde viel darüber geredet" - S. 28, 49, 124, 144 u.a.).

Verschiedenartige, in der Reimprosa gebundene Formeln sind das beliebteste Stilmittel bei der Schilderung von Kämpfen und Schlachten.

"*Wa-fī-l-ḥāl ištabaka -l-qitāl wa-ᶜazumati -l-aḥwāl wa-ġarā -d-damu wa-sāl wa-rtaġġati -l-widjānu wa-t-tilāl min qaᶜqaᶜati -n-nisāl*" ("Und sofort entfesselte sich der Kampf und es war ungeheuerlich; das Blut floß in Strömen, es erzitterten Täler und Hügel vor dem Geklirr der Lanzenspitzen" - S. 70).

"*Fa-ᶜinda dālika daqqati -ṭ-ṭubūl wa-ṣahalati -l-ḫujūl wa-rtafaᶜati -r-rājāt ᶜalā ru'ūsi -l-umarā'i wa-s-sādāt min ġamīᶜi -l-ġawānibi wa-l-ġihāt haġama kullu farīqin ᶜalā farīq wa-taqātalū bi-s-saifi wa-l-mazārīq wa-ltaqati -l-umamu bi-l-umam wa-qāma -l-ḥarbu ᶜalā sāqin wa-qadam*" ("Da rollten die Trommeln und

wieherten die Pferde, es wurden die Banner über die Köpfe der Emire und Herren von allen Seiten und Richtungen gehoben, die Truppen griffen einander an und kämpften miteinander mit Schwertern und Wurfspießen, die Völker stießen zusammen und der Krieg entbrannte mit aller Kraft" - S. 72).

"*Tumma haǧama ʿalā -r-rājāt wa-taʿana -l-fursāna wa-s-sādāt fa-qatala -r-riǧāl wa-maddada -l-abtāl fī sāhati -l-maǧāl wa-fataka fīhim fatka -l-usūdi -l-kāsira wa-faʿala afʿālan taʿǧazu ʿanhā sanādīdu -l-ǧabābira*" ("Dann stürzte er sich auf die Banner und stach Reiter und Herren, tötete Männer und schlug Helden auf dem Schlachtfeld zu Boden, brachte sie um wie reißende Löwen und verrichtete Taten, die über die Kräfte der tapfersten und stärksten Recken gehen" - S. 111).

"*Wa-fī -l-hāl ištaʿalat nīrānu -l-qitāl wa-qāmati -l-harbu ʿalā qadamin wa-sāq wa-rtaǧǧat ǧawānibu -l-āfāq min darbi -s-sujūfi -d-diqāq wa-r-rimāhi -r-riqāq wa-ǧamadat mina -l-qaumi -l-ahdāq wa-faʿala -z-Zīr fī dālika -l-jaumi fiʿālan lā tutāq*" ("Und sofort loderten die Feuer des Kampfes auf und es entbrannte der Krieg mit aller Kraft, und vor den Schlägen scharfer Schwerter und gespitzter Lanzen erzitterten die Horizonte, so daß den Leuten ihre Pupillen erstarrten. Und Zīr verrichtete an jenem Tag unerträgliche Taten" - S. 115).

Auch die Beendigung des Kampfes wird in verschiedenen gereimten Formeln geschildert: "*Wa-mā zāla -l-harbu juʿmal wa-d-damu jubdal wa-r-riǧālu tuqtal ilā an wallā -n-nahāru wa-rtahal wa-dahala -l-lailu wa-aqbal*" ("Und der Krieg schritt fort, das Blut floß, die Männer wurden getötet, bis der Tag zur Neige ging und die Nacht anbrach" - S. 72-73); "*Wa-mā zālū fī ašaddi qitāl ilā waqti -z-zawāl fa-ʿinda dālika daqqat tubūlu -l-infisāl*" ("Und sie führten einen grimmigen Kampf bis zum Sonnenuntergang; dann rollten die Trommeln der Unterbrechung" - S. 115; ähnlich S. 133, 134); "*Wa-mā zālū ʿalā tilka -l-hāl ilā an wallā -n-nahāru bi-l-irtihāl fa-rtaddū ʿani -l-harbi wa-s-sidām wa-raǧaʿū ilā -l-madāribi wa-l-hijām*" ("Und sie waren noch immer in diesem Zustand, bis der Tag zur Neige ging; dann ließen sie von Kriegführung und gegenseitiger Bekämpfung ab und kehrten zu ihren Lagern und Zelten zurück" - S. 73; ähnlich S. 71).

Die Reimprosa

N. IBRAGIMOV bezeichnet die Reimprosa als eines der strittigsten Probleme des Stils der arabischen Volksromane[12]. Er polemisiert mit U. STEINBACH, der in seiner Abhandlung über Dāt al-Himma die Verwendung dreier Stilmittel in der

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[12] IBRAGIMOV, opus cit., S. 187.

arabischen erzählenden Dichtung feststellt: Prosa, Reimprosa und Vers[13]. Bezüglich der Reimprosa ist er genau derselben Meinung wie E. LITTMANN[14] und besonders R. PARET, der zu dem Schluß gelangt, daß die Verwendung der Reimprosa "vorwiegend rhetorisch-pathetischer Art" zu sein scheint, daß sie immer dann angewandt wird, "wenn es sich irgendwie um ein Pathos des sprachlichen Ausdrucks handelt"[15]. An einer anderen Stelle meint er: "Sie gibt der Gesamtdarstellung einen abwechslungsreichen künstlerischen Schmuck, der sich hoch über die einfache Erzählung emporhebt..."[16]. IBRAGIMOV ist der Ansicht, es sei belanglos, von der Prosa und Reimprosa zu reden, da die Volksromane eben in der Reimprosa geschrieben seien. Die Reimprosa sei die gewöhnliche Gestaltung zunächst der Autoren- und oft auch der direkten Rede.[17]

Die Analyse des Volksbuches von Zīr Sālim scheint eher die Beobachtungen R. PARETS zu bestätigen. Der prosaische Text ist sehr häufig, aber bei weitem nicht völlig in Reimprosa gehalten. Andererseits wird die Reimprosa wohl häufiger gebraucht, als es anscheinend in der maġāzī und Dāt al-Himma der Fall ist. Die Reimprosa geht fließend in die einfache Prosa über und umgekehrt. Im allgemeinen kann festgestellt werden, daß die Reimprosa eher in den Passagen statischen, deskriptiven Charakters oder in den sich durch etwas Ungewöhnliches, Großartiges, Feierliches, Hinreißendes und dergleichen auszeichnenden Abschnitten zur Geltung kommt. In den Partien dynamischer Art, die ohne Beschreibung und in einfacher Sprache die Handlung entfalten und die Folge der Ereignisse schildern, wird die Erzählung in einer schlichten, ungereimten Prosa geführt.

Die Reimprosa wird am häufigsten in folgenden Fällen gebraucht:

1) der Erzähler charakterisiert eine Figur:

"*Fa-hādihi sīratu -l-asadi -l-karrār wa-l-batali -l-miġwār alladī šāʿa dikruhu fī -l-aqtār wa-adalla bi-saifihi kulla sindīdin wa-ğabbār*" ("Dies ist die Lebensbeschreibung eines kampflustigen Löwen und unerschrockenen Helden, von dem in allen Gegenden erzählt wird und der jeden Recken und Riesen mit seinem Schwert bezwang" - S. 2).

2) Der Erzähler schildert eine Szene; siehe die oben erwähnten Schlachtszenen.

3) Der Erzähler leitet einen neuen Handlungsabschnitt ein:

[13] U. STEINBACH, Dāt al-Himma. Kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu einem arabischen Volksroman. Wiesbaden 1972, S. 120.

[14] E. LITTMANN, 1001 Nacht in der arabischen Literatur. Tübingen 1923, S. 24-28.

[15] R. PARET, Maġāzi, S. 163.

[16] opus cit., S. 164.

[17] IBRAGIMOV, opus cit., S. 187.

"*Innahu kāna fī qadīmi -z-zamān fī bilādi -l-Jaman malikun ᶜazīmu -š-ša'ni wa-sāhibu ǧundin wa-aᶜwān wa-abṭālin wa-fursān juqālu lahu -l-maliku Ḥassān*" ("Es war in alten Zeiten im Jemen ein mächtiger König, der ein Heer und eine Garde, Helden und Ritter hatte und König Ḥassān hieß" - S. 4).

4) In direkter, mit Pathos gehaltener Rede:

"*Fᶜlam aijuhā -l-maliku -l-muᶜazzam annahu lā jūǧadu miṭluka fī hāḏihi -l-aqṭār mina -l-mulūki -l-kibār aṣhābi -l-muduni wa-l-amṣār*" ("Wisse, o erhabener König, daß es in diesen Ländern unter den großen Königen, die über Städte und Gegenden herrschen, keinen deinesgleichen gibt" - S. 4).

5) Nach der Deklamation eines Gedichts:

"*Fa-lammā faraǧa -z-Zīr min kalāmihi ṭābat qulūbuhum wa-nšaraḥat sudū-ruhum wa-zālat ᶜanhumu -l-atrāh wa-aiqanū bi-n-aṣri wa-n-naǧāḥ*" ("Und als Zīr seine Rede beendet hatte, waren sie guten Mutes, freuten sich, befreiten sich von ihrem Kummer und waren des Sieges und des Erfolges sicher" - S. 108).

6) Bei der Beschreibung eines Ortes:

"*Wa-kāna hāḏā -l-bustān ka-annahu rauḍatu ǧinān kaṭīru -l-ašǧār wa-l-fawākihi wa-l-aṭmār*" ("Und dieser Garten war wie das Paradies, es waren dort viele Bäume, die Obst und Früchte trugen" - S. 53).

Die Poesie

Wie in zahlreichen anderen Werken der arabischen Volksliteratur wechselt auch in unserem Volksbuch die prosaische Erzählung ständig mit der Poesie. Es sind Gedichte, deren Umfang durchschnittlich zwischen 10-15 Versen variiert.

Die Gedichte enthalten nie dynamische Handlungselemente, sie entfalten die Handlung nicht, manche aber sind als eine unentbehrliche Komponente der Erzählung anzusehen, weil sie Angaben und Informationen mitteilen, die in der Prosa nicht erwähnt werden und im Sujet daher eine bedeutende Rolle spielen (siehe unten).

Was ihre Form bettrift, so halten sich die Gedichte im Grunde an die traditionelle *qasīda* mit durchlaufendem Reim (eine Ausnahme siehe unten)[18]. Ihre metrischen Formen sind jedoch anders gestaltet als diejenigen in der Kunstdichtung. K. PETRÁČEK erwägt diese Erscheinung im Zusammenhang mit dem Verfall der klassischen Flexion (*iᶜrāb*) und dem Einfluß der Volksprache und der volkstümlichen Dichtung[19].

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[18] cf. K. PETRÁČEK, Die Poesie als Kriterium des arabischen Volksromans. In: Oriens, Vol. 23-24, 1970-71, S. 302.

[19] art. cit., S. 303-304.

Nur selten reimen sich die ersten zwei Halbverse (S. 11, 26, 128). Im Gedicht, das der sterbende Kulaib vorträgt, reimen sich unregelmäßig die Endlaute -*ūd* und -*īd* (S. 59). Dreimal dient als Reimlaut nur der Vokal -*ā* (S. 60, 104, 137). Nur in einem Gedicht haben die zweiten Halbverse ein abweichendes Reimschema: ab ac ad ae usw. (S. 132).

Inhaltlich sind die Verse ausnahmlos vom gegebenen Kontext abhängig und resultieren unmittelbar aus der konkreten Situation. Alle Gedichte werden als direkte Rede der handelnden Personen vorgetragen, entweder in Dialog- oder in Monologform, zuweilen in einem Brief oder einem Traum. Im ersten Halbvers wird - von seltenen Ausnahmen abgesehen - die redende Person genannt: "*Jaqūlu -z-Zīr...*" ("Es sagt Zīr..."- S. 44); "*Qālat Jamāma ...*" ("Es sagte Jamāma..." - S. 113); "*Maqālātu -l-Ğalīla binti Murra ...*" ("Die Aussprüche Ğalīlas bint Murra..." - S. 33); "*ğannā Rabīᶜa šiᶜran...*" ("Es sang Rabīᶜa ein Gedicht..." - S. 8); zuweilen mit einem Epitheton: "*Jaqūlu Kulaib qahhāru -l-aᶜādī...*" ("Es sagt Kulaib, der Besieger der Feinde..." - S. 26); manchmal wird die Einleitung emotional gefärbt: "*Taqūlu Suᶜād min qalbin mūğiᶜ...*" ("Es sagt Suᶜād gebrochenen Herzens..." - S. 47; ähnlich S. 66, 90); "*Taqūlu -l-Ğalīla bi-damᶜin ğağğām...*" ("Es sagt Ğalīla, Tränen weinend..." - S. 128).

Wie bereits oben erwähnt, stellen mehrere Gedichte einen unentbehrlichen Bestandteil des Textes dar, der nicht weggelassen werden kann, denn ohne ihn würde die Kontinuität der Handlung und die Logik der Erzählung gestört werden[20]. Dazu einige Beispiele:

S. 43: Ğalīla tritt vor Kulaib und sagt ihm in einem Gedicht, daß Zīr sie entehren wollte.

S. 55: Ein Brief (nur zwei Verse enthaltend), den Suᶜād einem Diener des Ğassās unterschiebt und in den sie beleidigende Worte an Kulaib einfügt.

S. 59-60: In zwei Gedichten trägt der sterbende Kulaib sein Vermächtnis vor und beschwört Zīr, die Blutrache zu üben.

S. 90: Der schwer verwundete Zīr fordert Dibāᶜ auf, ihn in eine mit Pech verschmierte Kiste zu legen und ins Meer zu werfen.

S. 134: Eine Schlüsselstellung nimmt in der Erzählung auch Zīrs absichtlich lückenhaftes Gedicht ein; nach dessen Ergänzung erkennt Jamāma, daß Zīr von seinen Sklaven getötet wurde.

In Gedichtform werden meistens Briefe abgefaßt (S. 13, 55, 118, 119, 143). Bemerkenswert ist das Gedicht, in dem Zīr im Traum mit dem toten Kulaib ein

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[20] siehe dazu die Beobachtungen von R. PARET, Maghāzi, S. 164; U. STEINBACH, opus cit., S. 121; B. ŠIDFAR, art. cit., S. 127.

Zwiegespräch führt (S. 132). Es ist üblich, daß die Helden vor ihrem gewaltsamen Tod ein Gedicht vortragen (Ḥassān - S. 23-26; Kulaib - S. 59-60; Ġassās - S. 139; Zīr - S. 150).

In dem Volksbuch sind auch die traditionellen Genres der klassischen arabischen Poesie belegt: die Panegyrik (*madḥ* - S. 47-48, 85-86), das Selbstlob (*faḫr* - S. 6), die Elegie (*riṯā'* - S. 67, 121-122), die Beschreibung (*waṣf* - S. 19-20), die Anstachelung (*taḥrīḍ* - S. 59-60).

Die Sprache

Die vorliegende Version des Volksbuches von Zīr Sālim ist - wie andere Drücke dieser Art - in einer syntaktisch einfachen, aber lexikalisch reichen Schriftsprache redigiert. Man kann mit R. Paret feststellen, daß es an keiner Stelle zu einer bewußten Anwendung der Umgangssprache kommt[21].

Erwähnenswert sind die verhältnismäßig häufigen Fälle, wo das Subjekt im Plural des Mask. syntaktisch als der Singular fem. betrachtet wird; sogar das postponierte verbale Prädikat steht manchmal im Sing. fem.: "*Fa-lammā daqqati - l-ʿabīdu -t-ṭabl wa-samiʿat ṣautahu quwwādu -l-fursān aqbalat ʿalā -l-wazīr...*" ("Als die Sklaven die Trommel schlugen und die Befehlshaber der Reiterei deren Klang hörten, traten sie auf den Wesir zu..." - S. 6; ähnlich S. 72, 100); "*Aġābat Banū Qais amrahu bi-l-imtiṯāl*" ("Die Banū Qais befolgten seinen Befehl" - S. 12); "*Tuhādīhi -l-mulūku -l-akāsira wa-tahābuhu -l-mulūku -l-qajāṣira*" ("Die persischen Könige tauschten mit ihm Geschenke und die byzantinischen Kaiser verehrten ihn" - S. 12; ähnlich: S. 7, 27, 41, 66, 67, 96, 124 u.a.); auch das Attribut und das attributive Prädikat können im Sing. fem. stehen: "*al-abṭālu -l-mašhūra wa-l-fursānu -l-maḏkūra*" ("die glorreichen Helden und die berühmten Reiter" - S. 111); "*fa-waġada ... -l-qatlā maṭrūḥa ʿalā -l-arḍ*" ("und er fand die Getöteten zu Boden geschlagen" - S. 93).

Obwohl bei der Redaktion unseres Volksbuches die schriftsprachliche Norm angestrebt wurde, kommen darin, besonders in der Poesie[22], zahlreiche Einwirkungen der Umgangssprache zutage. Dialektismen lassen sich im Wortschatz, in der Phonetik, der Morphologie und der Syntax nachweisen.

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[21] R. Paret, opus cit., S. 162.

[22] cf. dazu K. Petráček, art. cit., S. 304-305.

Das Substantiv

ǧawāz (Hochzeit - S. 14); *bīr* (Brunnen - S. 44); die Ausdrücke *ahūka, ahūhā* u.ä. werden nicht dekliniert: *min ǧihati ahūka* (von seiten deines Bruders - S. 35); *bi-hāli ahūka* (von dem Zustand deines Bruders - S. 35); *ibnu ʿammi ahūhā* (der Vetter ihres Bruders - S. 46); *Kulaib qatala ahūhā tubbaʿ* (Kulaib tötete den tubbaʿ, ihren Bruder - S. 47); *hudī ahūkī* (nimm deinen Bruder - S. 105).

Das Pronomen

Das Personalpronomen: *nahnā* (wir - S. 11);

Das suffigierte Personalpronomen: *ahūja* (mein Bruder - S. 8, 59); *lijja* (für mich - S. 50);

Das Demonstrativpronomen: das anteponierte *dōl* (diese) im folgenden Satz: *Mādā taqūlu ʿannā dōl il-mamālik?* (Was werden von uns diese Königtümer sagen? - S. 130);

Das interrogative Pronomen: *ēš* (was); *jas'aluhā ēš ǧibti?* (er wird sie fragen: was hast du gebracht? - S. 140); *lastu adrī ēš ǧābit a-bint au ǧulām* (ich weiß nicht, was - d.h., wen - sie brachte - d.h., gebar -, ein Mädchen, oder einen Knaben? - S. 134).

Das Verb

Mehrere Male wird das umgangssprachliche Verb *ǧāb* (bringen, holen) gebraucht: *ǧābū laka -l-hail* (sie brachten Pferde zu dir - S. 19); *ǧābū -l-Ǧalīla* (sie brachten Ǧalīla - S. 19); *jiǧīb al-mā'* (er bringt Wasser - S. 24); *aǧīb al-mā'* (ich bringe Wasser - S. 44); *ǧābūnī* (sie brachten mich - S. 105); siehe auch die zwei oben erwähnten Beispiele.

Auch das Verb *šāf* (sehen) kommt einige Male vor: *wa-in šāfhā raǧul* (und wenn sie ein Mann sähe - S. 20); *mā jišūf al-hair* (er wird nicht das Gute sehen - S. 37); *šufhu* - offensichtlich: *šūfo* (schau ihn an! - S. 37); *lammā šāfnī* (als er mich sah - S. 40); *lammā šuftuhum* (als ich sie sah - S. 40); *hal šuft* (hast du gesehen? - S. 106).

Die Schreibweise des Verbs *ǧā'a* (kommen) deutet an, daß es sich um umgangssprachliche Formen handelt: *ǧīt* (du bist gekommen - S. 26); *ǧīt li-ardi -š-Šām* (ich bin nach Syrien gekommen - S. 27); *wa-lā ǧānī minka dakar* (es kam von dir kein Knabe zu mir; d.h., ich bekam von dir keinen Knaben -S. 39).

Dreimal ist der Gebrauch des umgangssprachlichen Verbs *baqa* belegt, das etwa dem schriftsprachlichen Verb *asbaha* (werden, in einen Zustand kommen) entspricht: *tibqa ahmar mitla -d-dam* (du wirst rot werden wie Blut - S. 15); *anā baqīt (baqēt) kabīr as-sinn* (ich bin alt geworden - S. 8); *wa-jibqa Kulaib jaqtuluhu* (und Kulaib wird ihn töten - S. 33).

Auch die Schreibweise der 1. Pers. Sg. Imperf. des Verbs *qāla* (sagen) zeigt, daß wir hier mit einer umgangssprachlichen Form zu tun haben. Das Vorwort *li*, das ein suffigiertes Pronomen hat, ist mit dieser verbalen Form zusammen geschrieben. Der Stammvokal ist zum Unterschied von der Schriftsprache kurz; *aqullak* (ich sage dir - S. 41, 50); *in wāḥid qallak* (wenn dir jemand sagt - S. 16).

Einmal ist das Verb mediae geminatae nach dem umgangssprachlichen Gebrauch konjugiert: *šannēt* (statt *šananta*) *ʿalainā -l-ġāra* (du hast gegen uns Angriff gerichtet - S. 10).

Die Schreibweise einiger Verben tertiae hamzatae setzt die umgangssprachliche Form voraus: *li-ahannīk bi-l-intiṣār* (damit ich dich zum Sieg beglück-·wünsche - S. 74); *wa-jimlū -l-arḍ* (und sie werden die Erde füllen - S. 24); *ittakā ʿalaihi* (er lehnte sich gegen ihn - S. 99).

Die Formen der 3.P. Pl. mask. Imperf. sind in einigen Fällen nur mit der Endung -ū (statt -ūna) belegt: *madīna jamlikūhā* (eine Stadt, die sie beherrschen - S.7); *juqīmū -š-šarr* (sie werden das Böse einführen - S.24); *wa-ahūhu Kulaib maʿa -l-Ġalīla jasmaʿū kalāmahu* - S. 41). Im letzten angeführten Beispiel tritt ein weiteres Merkmal der Umgangssprache zutage: anstatt des Duals, den die Schriftsprache erfordert, wird der Plural gebraucht.

Zweimal kommt die Form der 2.P. Sg. fem. Imperf. nur mit der Endung -ī vor: *turīdī* (du willst - S. 79); *jā Jamāma lēš tabkī* (o Jamāma, warum weinst du? - S. 110).

Das Aktivpartizip des Verbs mediae *w* hat *j* anstelle Hamza: *kāna... nājim* (er schlief - S. 42).

Das Aktivpartizip des Verbs tertiae *j* hat den langen Vokal -ī statt der Nunation: *kullu ḏā ġārī* (das alles geschieht - S. 112).

Das Adverb

Das Adverb des Ortes: *ġuwwā* oder: *gouwa* (drinnen - S. 18);

Das interrogative Adverb: *lā jas'aluhā fēn kunti* (er wird sie nicht fragen: wo warst du? - S. 140); *jā Jamāma lēš tabkī* (o Jamāma, warum weinst du? - S. 110).

Die Präpositionen

Die Präposition *maʿa* (mit) hat zweimal die umgangssprachliche Form mit ā: *maʿāhu* (mit ihm - S. 8); *maʿānā* (mit uns - S. 14).

Die Syntax

Die Verwendung des Aktivpartizips ist an folgenden Stellen anscheinend durch den umgangssprachlichen Usus beeinflußt: *kullu ḏā ġārī ʿalaikum jā riġāl*

(das alles geschieht ihnen, o Männer - S. 112); *wa-takūnu anta wādiᶜ qirbatan mina -d-dam taḥta ğānibika* (und du wirst unter dein Kleid einen mit Blut gefüllten Wasserschlauch legen - S. 138).

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Der europäische Einfluß auf die Entwicklung der maghribinischen Literaturen.[1]

Svetozár PANTŮČEK

1 Allgemeine historische Bedingungen

Für eine gründliche Erforschung der europäischen Einwirkung auf die maghribinische Kultur, die zur Beschleunigung der Literaturentwicklung auf dem Wege zur Weitergestaltung der einzelnen Nationalliteraturen beigetragen hat, muß man die Haupttatsachen über den Stand der Gesellschaft vor dem Beginn des europäischen Einflusses, über die Wege dieses Einflusses und über seine unmittelbare Auswirkung auf die Struktur der Gesellschaft und der gesellschaftlichen Institutionen feststellen.

Bei der Untersuchung der historischen Bedingtheit im Rahmen der maghribinischen Gesellschaft stellt man fest, daß das Durchdringen des europäischen Einflusses verschiedene Phasen und gewisse Abweichungen in den einzelnen Ländern hat. Die ersten Versuche zum Eingreifen der europäischen Staaten in die Entwicklung des Maghrib finden wir schon seit dem 12. Jahrhundert; die Teilerfolge haben aber keine lange Dauer gehabt. Die türkische Herrschaft in Nordafrika hat die Tendenz Europas zur Einwirkung so sehr geschwächt, daß sie von keiner großen Bedeutung war. In Tunesien wurde so z.B. Karthago in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts für eine kurze Zeit von König Karl von Sizilien besetzt; oder in der Blütezeit der Hafsiden eröfneten einzelne Italiener und Franzosen Faktorien in Tunis. Diese ersten Versuche bereiteten nur den Boden für die spätere Zeit. Erst am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts, zeigte sich für die europäischen Mächte eine günstige Lage, die durch Vernichtung der algerischen Piratenflotte durch die Engländer im Jahre 1816 und die Niederlage der türkischen Flotte bei Navarino im Jahre 1827 sehr gestärkt wurde.

Das erste Land, in dem Frankreich direkt militärisch eingriff, war im Jahre 1830 Algerien. Aber erst 1834 entschloß sich die franzözische Regierung zu einer

definitiven Besetzung des Landes, wenn auch in einem beschränkten Rahmen. In den folgenden Jahren fühlte sich die franzözische Besatzungsmacht durch bewaffnete Aufstände gefährdet und bemühte sich, die unter ihrer Kontrolle stehenden Gebiete zu erweitern. Am Anfang war das Statut Algeriens nicht klar bestimmt, erst später wurde Algerien für franzözisches Territorium erklärt.

In Tunesien kam ein indirekter langfristiger Einfluß Frankreichs später als in Algerien zur Geltung; er wurde dort durch Vermittlung des Konsuls ausgeübt. Das spiegelte sich im ʿAhd al-amān (Sicherheitspakt) vom Jahre 1857 wider, in dem Frankreich besondere Rechte erwarb. In Tunesien stieß aber der Einfluß Frankreichs mit den Interessen Englands und Italiens zusammen. Erst nach der im Jahre 1878 in Paris erreichten Billigung der englischen Besetzung der Insel Zypern distanzierte sich England zugunsten Frankreichs. Italien allein hatte dann wenig Hoffnungen auf eine erfolgreiche Rivalität mit der französischen Kolonialmacht. Im Jahre 1881 wurde Tunesien ohne größeren Widerstand militärisch von den Franzosen besetzt und zwei Jahre später wurde das französische Protektoratsregime eingerichtet. Algerien war also ein Ausgangspunkt zuerst für einen indirekten (aber starken), später dann auch für einen direkten Einfluß. Noch vor diesem direkten Einfluß hatten administrative und politische Änderungen begonnen, die einen liberalen Charakter hatten; doch wegen zunehmender Unruhen im Lande kam es zur Rückkehr des autokratischen Regimes.

Im westlichen Teil des Maghrib - in Marokko - entwickelte sich die politische Lage in komplizierterer Form. Dieses Land behielt im Vergleich mit den anderen maghribinischen Ländern am weitesten seinen berberischen Charakter. Der europäische Einfluß begann schon im 15. Jahrhundert, als Portugiesen und Spanier einige isolierte Stützpunkte an der marokkanischen Küste besetzten. Die spanischen Bemühungen steigerten sich im Laufe der Zeit. Zuerst besetzten die Spanier die Hafenstadt Melilla (1497), dann übernahmen sie von den Portugiesen Ceuta (1580) und erhoben Ansprüche auf das Gebiet Ifni, das sie allerdings erst im Jahre 1934 besetzten. Zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts war eine geheime Vereinbarung zwischen Spanien und Frankreich abgeschlossen worden, die im Jahre 1912 eine Aufteilung Marokkos zwischen diesen beiden Ländern zur Folge hatte. Die Spanier behielten den nördlichen Teil, die Franzosen den Rest des Landes, indem beide Teile Marokkos zum Protektorat erklärt wurden. Damit wurde das Land auch wirtschaftlich und kulturell geteilt.

In Libyen kennen wir eine erste, sehr kurze Präsenz der europäischen Bevölkerung seit dem 12. Jahrhundert (die sizilianischen Normannen in Tripolis 1145-1160). Aber ein europäischer langfristiger Druck wurde erst seit dem Jahre 1911 von den Italienern militärisch und wirtschaftlich ausgeübt; im Jahre 1934

wurde Libyen zur italienischen Kolonie erklärt. Es war also in der libyschen Geschichte die dritte Einwirkung Roms (Römer, Byzanz, Italiener).

Es zeigt sich also, daß eine in verschiedenen Momenten unterschiedliche historische Entwicklung zur Besetzung der maghribinischen Länder geführt hat.

Welche Gründe kann man für diese zur Kolonisation führende Entwicklung finden? "The reasons for this are many: the inability of these states to adapt themselves to the modern world, the backwardness of the economy, stagnation in the social organization and the archaism of their political institutions, the lack of any national cohesion, except in the case of Tunisia, but above all the irresistible force of the European penetration, whether they attempted to canalize it as in Tunisia, or to repel it as in Morocco"[2]. Die verschiedenartige Stärke und die unterschiedlichem Methoden der europäischen Kolonisation haben die Unterschiede zwischen den vier maghribinischen Ländern noch weiter vertieft. Einiges war bei dieser Entwicklung allgemein. Zuerst wurde der ökonomische und politische Druck auf die Länder ausgeübt, ihm ist immer der spätere militärische Druck gefolgt. Die Intervention kam entweder durch die Seeküste und die Häfen, wie es in Algerien und Libyen der Fall war, oder es handelte sich um eine Kombination der Besetzung vom Meer aus wie auch auf dem Landweg - in Tunesien unbd Marokko. Die militärische Besetzung war also der entscheinende Impuls, der einen verstärkten Eingriff in die Wirtschaft und Politik mit sich brachte. Die Gesellschaft versuchte zwar vor dem schnell stärker werdenden direkten europäischen Einfluß neue Wege zur Modernisierung der Länder nach dem türkischen Beispiel zu finden, doch geschah dies leider nicht schnell und nicht erfolgreich genug.

2 Die kulturelle Bedingungen vor der direkten europäischen Einwirkung

·　　In der Zeit vor der direkten Einwirkung Europas befand sich die Kultur der nordafrikanischen Länder in Stagnation. Das literarische Schaffen beschränkte sich meistens auf das Gebiet der Geschichte, der Religion u.ä.; eine bedeutende Belletristik im modernen Sinne gab es nicht. Prosa und Poesie verfolgten in formaler, wie auch inhaltlicher Sicht die alten Muster. Im Ideenbereich bestand ein enger Zusammenhang mit der islamischen Religion, mit der selbstverständlich auch die Schulbildung verknüpft war. Die Lage im Maghrib war für die zur Modernisierung führenden Reformen reif, aber die Möglichkeiten für solch eine

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[2] A. RAYMOND: North Africa in the pre-colonial period. In: The Cambridge History of Islam. II, Cambridge 1970, s. 297.

Entwicklung reichten nicht aus. Die wichtigen Impulse zur Durchführung der modernen Reformen kamen erst später. Die problematische ökonomische und politische Lage bremste eine schnelle kulturelle Entwicklung.

Trotz aller diesen negativen Tendenzen müssen wir uns einer Tatsache bewußt sein. Das Arabische war schon viel tiefer eingewurzelt, als es bei früheren kulturellen Zusammenstößen mit den anderen Sprachen der Fall gewesen war. Ein Teil der nordafrikanischen Bevölkerung war rein arabischer Herkunft, und zwar handelte es sich nicht nur um eine kleine, unbedeutende Minderheit, sondern um eine in alle Schichten der Gesellschaft integrierte Gruppe, die sowohl ihren eigenen Schrifttum als auch eine orale arabische Volksdichtung hatte. Ein weiterer Teil dieser Bevölkerung war schon in dem Maße arabisiert, daß er trotz seiner berberischen Herkunft das Arabische manchmal schon mehrere Generationen hindurch als Kultursprache benutzte. Den dritten Teil bildeten die mehr oder weniger reinen berberischen Stämme, die nach wie vor verschiedene Mundarten des Berberischen als Umgangssprache benutzten. Die letzte der oben erwähnten Gruppen war vorwiegend für die orale berberische Volksdichtung von Bedeutung.

Diese drei linguistisch unterschiedlichen Gruppen waren nicht in gleichem Maße in den vier maghribinischen Ländern vertreten. Bei dem direkten kulturellen Zusammenstoß mit dem europäischen Einfluß spielten die ersten zwei Gruppen eine wichtige Rolle, denn sie mußten ihre Konkurrenzfähigkeit angesichts der neu wirkenden Sprachen zeigen. Das Arabische und die europäischen Sprachen waren im Bereich der Kultur schon langfristig bewährt. Im Augenblick des Zusammenstoßes war die europäische Kultur dynamischer, hatte eine aufsteigende Tendenz und zeichnete sich aus durch eine größere Anpassungsfähigkeit gegenüber modernen Impulsen, während die arabische Kultur im Maghrib stagnierte und erst neue Wege zur Weiterentwicklung und Modernisierung suchte. Die Bedingungen waren also aus der Sicht der Linguistik gesehen vorteilhafter für das Arabische, aber von dem gesellschaftlichen und gesamtkulturellen Standpunkt war die Lage der europäischen Sprachen viel günstiger.

Die Schulbildung war in dieser Zeit ähnlich wie in den anderen arabischen Ländern mit der Religion eng verbunden und bot keine großen Möglichkeiten für eine schnelle Modernisierung. Die Schulen waren jedoch von Bedeutung für die Erhaltung des Arabischen und für die weitere Vertiefung der Arabisierung in Nordafrika. Als leuchtendes Vorbild dient die Moschee und Universität *az-Zītūna* in Tunis, die große Verdienste um ein gutes Niveau des Arabischen nicht nur in Tunesien, sondern auch in den anderen maghribinischen Ländern erworben hat. Verschiedene Formen der Tätigkeit im Kulturbereich stärkten die Lage der einheimischen Kultur angesichts der fremden Einflüsse, da sich meistens ein guter Standard in der islamischen Architektur, Kalligraphie, Miniatur, sowie in den

Werken zahlreicher Handwerke zeigte. Die Literatur war also nicht allein bedroht, vom fremden Kultureinfluß vernichtet zu werden; sie fand darum in zahlreichen Kunstbereichen eine bedeutende Hilfe.

Die Kultur in den maghribinischen Ländern suchte schon vor dem starken Eindringen europäischer kultureller Einflüsse neue Impulse für die Erneuerung und war deshalb verwundbar, doch sie hatte immer noch Kraft genug, sich gegen die fremden Einflüsse, wenn auch mit ungleichartiger Intensität zur Wehr zu setzen.

3 Die Änderungen im Gesellschaftsbewußtsein

Für die Zeit vor der europäischen Einwirkung zeigt sich als ein charakteristischer Zug im Gesellschaftsbewußtsein die Unterordnung des Einzelwesens unter eine größere Gesamtheit, die in den maghribinischen Ländern ähnlich wie in den anderen arabischen Ländern eine klare religiöse Motivierung hat. Eine starke Tendenz zum gehorsam den islamischen Ideen gegenüber (z.B. die Mitglieder des Ordens der Sanūsī mußten sich zu unbedingtem gehorsam verpflichten) beschränkte sehr stark die Möglichkeit zur Weiterentwicklung des Individuums. Hingegen brachte der europäische Einfluß eine neue Auffassung des Einzelwesens im Rahmen der Gesellschaft mit sich, die eine breitere Geltendmachung der individuellen Züge des Menschen bei der allgemeinen Modernisierung der Gesellschaft ermöglichte. Die islamische religiöse Tendenz zielt auf die Beibehaltung der Gesellschaftsintegrität und gestattet nur kleine Abweichungen im Gesamtrahmen des maghribinischen Islams. Weitere Reformen oder Veränderungen, wie es z.B. zu Beginn der islamischen Expansion nach Nordafrika der Fall waren (verschiedene Häresien), sind nicht erwünscht. Deshalb betrachtete der Islam in Nordafrika die Tendenz zu Reformen, die für die Wirtschaft von großer Bedeutung waren, als gefährliche Drohung für sich.

Die ethischen und moralischen Normen hängen mit dem Charakter der islamischen Religion zusammen; sie begrenzen die Initiative des Einzelwesens. Diese Normen wurden durch den europäischen Einfluß erschüttert, denn er brachte neue Normen mit sich, die zur Entfaltung der Individualität und der Initiative beitragen sollen. Die herrschenden ethischen Grundsätze stammen selbstverständlich aus dem Mašriq, doch im Laufe der Jahrhunderte wurden sie modifiziert und der maghribinischen Wirklichkeit angepasst. Die Gefährdung dieser Grundsätze fühlte die Religion als eine Gefährdung der Substanz der arabischen Kultur. Eine ständige Unterstützung und einen guten Nährboden für das Überleben der arabischen Kultur im Maghrib boten die Bindungen mit der ganzen arabischen Welt im Ideenbereich; das war einer der Gründe für den religiösen Widerstand gegen den europäischen Einfluß.

Der Maghrib hat sich in seiner langen Geschichte als ein Gebiet, das die fremden Einflüsse für eigene Ziele ausgenutzt hatte, bewährt. Die Araber selbst nutzten die maghribinische Anpassungsfähigkeit aus, sie ließen sich in diesem Gebiet nieder und wurden zu einem integrierten Teil der Bevölkerung. Beim Zusammenstoß mit der europäischen Kultur fühlten sie sich in ihrer Lage bedroht und setzten sich mit aller Kraft den neuen Einflüssen zur Wehr. Sie suchten zu Anfang keine Anpassungsmöglichkeiten, was aber grundsätzlich zur bisherigen Entwicklung im Gegensatz stand.

4 Die Lage im 19. Jahrhundert

In der Zeit des 19. Jahrhunderts existierten drei Type des fremden Einflusses im Maghrib. Es handelt sich um einen direkten europäischen Einfluß, um einen indirekten, mittels der arabischen Länder des Mašriq ausgeübten und damit auch modifizierten europäischen Einfluß und dann um den direkten arabischen Einfluß vom Mašriq aus. Speziell der zweite Typ der vermittelten europäischen Einwirkung spielte im Bewußtsein der Menschen in Nordafrika eine wichtige Rolle, denn damit war die Möglichkeit der Applikation europäischer Muster auf eine islamische Gesellschaft bereits bewiesen. Das betrifft z.B. das Entstehen des Nationalgefühls und das Einführen der wichtigen gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Reformen. "Western institutions, for instance, played an important part in shaping the reforms introduced in the Tanzimat period in the Ottoman Empire and by Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt. Also, certain Western political concepts, notably that of nationalism, as well as several principles characteristic of Western democracy (e.g., the right of self-determination, sovereignity of the people, social obligations of the state) found their way to the Middle East through educational and philantropic channels and were echoed in Middle Eastern ideological developments"[3]. Die Spiegelung dieser Tendenzen war in einzelnen Ländern verschiedenartig.

4.1 Algerien

Nach der militärischen Invasion der Franzosen in Algerien im Jahre 1830 begann die Okkupationsmacht sich bei ihrer kolonialen Ausbreitung der weiteren Gebiete im Inneren des Landes nach und nach zu bemächtigen. Die einheimische Bevölkerung leistete an verschiedenen Stellen und mit ungleicher Kraft Widerstand, indem die religiösen Bruderschaften und die Marabuts zum Heiligen Krieg

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[3] R. PATAI: The dynamics of westernization in the Middle East. In: Readings in Arab middle eastern societies and cultures. The Hague - Paris 1970, S. 237-238.

aufriefen. Eine der wichtigsten Persönlichkeiten im Kampf gegen die Franzosen war der Emir ʿAbd al-Qādir (1808-1883), dessen Kampf im westlichen Teil Algeriens bis zum Ende des Jahres 1847 dauerte. In Constantine und in den naheliegenden Gebirgen organisierte der frühere türkische Offizier Aḥmad Bey bis zum Jahre 1837 den Widerstand. Auch die Kabylen waren mit der französischen Okkupation nicht einverstanden, wie es z.B. der Aufstand unter der Führung der Bruderschaft ar-Rahmānīya und der Frau Lālla Fāṭima beweist. Es folgte auch später eine ganze Reihe von Aufständen, die eine große Widerstandskraft der einheimischen arabisch-berberischen Bevölkerung gegen die kulturelle und politische europäische Dominanz zeigten.

Die Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert hatte wegen der schwierigen politischen und militärischen Lage viel zu wenig Möglichkeiten, sich auf breiter Basis zu entwickeln. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient zweifellos die literarische Tätigkeit des Emirs ʿAbd al-Qādir, der nicht nur Prosa, sondern auch Poesie verfaßt hat. Seine Prosaschriften haben den Charakter von Sachliteratur, wie sein Buch über die Dienstordnung für die regulären Truppen *Wišāḥ al-katāʾib* (Das Ordenstand der Schwadronen, 1844) belegt, und außerdem zeigen sie seine philosophischen Ansichten - wie z.B. *Ḏikrā l-ʿāqil wa-tanbīh al-ghāfil* (Erinnerung des Klugen und Mahnung des Nachlässigen, 1858). Seine Gedichte, die später in der Form eines Diwans herausgegeben wurden, haben oft Reflexionen über die Freiheit und die ruhmvolle arabische Vergangenheit im Mittelpunkt der Gedankenfolge, was eine enge Verbindung mit der damaligen Realität zeigt.

Die anderen Schriftsteller des 19. Jahrhunderts schrieben Bücher über die Religion (Korankommentare), das Recht, die Grammatik, die Musik und Bücher mit biographischem Charakter. Das heißt, daß die Literatur meistens den Charakter der klassischen arabischen Literatur (*adab*) beibehalten hat.

Bedeutend für die kulturelle Entwicklung Algeriens war die Presse und die Buchdruckereien[4]. Seit den ersten Tagen der franzözischen Okkupation ist die Zeitschrift L'Estafette d'Alger (Die algerische Stafette) erschienen, die in gleicher Weise wie auch nachfolgende Zeitschriften den Interessen der Franzosen diente. Einerseits boten solche Zeitschriften Informationen verschiedener Art, anderseits aber wurden sie zur Verbreitung franzözischer Ideen und zur Beeinflußung der einheimischen algerischen Bevölkerung benutzt. Dieser Einfluß war zu Anfang wegen der schwachen Kenntnis des Französischen in der Bevölkerung sehr gering. Im Jahre 1832 erschien Le Moniteur algérien (Der algerische Anzeiger) in der Form einer zweisprachigen Zeitschrift, in der der arabische Teil zuerst lithogra-

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[4] Siehe: CH. SOURIAU-HOEBRECHTS: La presse maghrébine. Paris 1969.

phiert, später dann - noch in demselben Jahr - mit arabischen Lettern gedruckt wurde. Doch als Anfang der algerischen arabischen Presse betrachtet man erst *al-Mubaššir* (Verkünder froher Botschaft), das arabische Résumé der sonst französisch geschriebenen Zeitschrift Le Mobacher. So zeigt sich die Presseentwicklung in Algerien im allgemeinen ganz günstig, es handelte sich nämlich um die dritte Zeitschrift in der ganzen arabischen Welt[5].

Die französischen Behörden versuchten die algerische Bevölkerung mit den Hinweisen auf eine ähnliche Entwicklung in anderen islamischen Ländern (besonders in der Türkei und in Ägypten) zu gewinnen. So heißt es z.B. im Leitartikel dieser Zeitschrift: "L'initiative gouvernementale est conforme à l'usage européen; mais elle est également conforme à ce qui est en usage dans des pays musulmans comme la Turquie et l'Égypte. Il ne s'agit donc pas d'une innovation pouvant être regardée comme blâmable par les pieux Musulmans algériens"[6]. Doch der Einfluß solcher Publikationen auf die algerischen muslimischen Schichten war sehr beschränkt, denn nicht nur die Zahl der einheimischen Leser, die Französisch verstanden, war sehr klein, sondern auch diejenigen, die eine gewisse arabische Erziehung hatten und Arabisch zu lesen imstande waren, waren nicht zahlreich. Die Zeitschriften wurden von Franzosen mit Hilfe einiger gebildeten Algerier herausgegeben; so kann man keineswegs von einer freien einheimischen algerischen Presse im 19. Jahrhundert sprechen. Die Bedeutung dieser Zeitschriften lag in der Tatsache, daß eine kleine Anzahl der gebildeten Algerier die Möglichkeit hatte, mit den politischen Tendenzen und mit den modernen Formen des gesellschaftlichen, wirtschaftlichen und politischen Lebens sich vertraut zu machen.

Die Volksdichtung entwickelte sich weiter in ihren zwei Sprachen - in der arabischen und in der berberischen. Die Themen dieser Dichtung waren mannigfaltig und behandelten die Liebe, die Religion, aber häufig auch die schweren Zusammenstöße mit den Franzosen. Die orale Volksdichtung stellte fast die einzige Möglichkeit für die Äußerung der antifranzösischen Strömungen unter der Bevölkerung dar. Sie basierte auf der Vergangenheit, auf der Religion und auf der Sprache, das heißt auf den Faktoren, die zu Grunde des Nationalbewußtseins liegen und dem Verständnis der Algerier naheliegend waren.

Das ganze 19. Jahrhundert hindurch war der Druck der französischen Kultur auf die algerische Gesellschaft sehr stark. Das moderne französische Schulwesen

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[5] Im Jahre 1800 hat die Napoleons Expedition in Ägypten *al-Tanbīh* (Die Mahnung) herausgegeben und 1828 erschien die offizielle ägyptische Zeitschrift *al-Waqā'i' al-miṣrīya* (Ägyptische Ereignisse).

[6] A. MERAD: La formation de la presse musulmane en Algérie (1919-1939). In: IBLA 1964, S. 11.

dehnte sich aus, indem die arabische Ausbildung zielbewußt gebremst wurde. Jedenfalls entwickelte sie sich mühsam nach veralteten Mustern meistens im Geiste der religiösen Erziehung. Die fremde französische Kultur versuchte sich mit allen Mitteln durchzusetzen und ihre Lage im Lande nach bestem Vermögen zu stärken. Dazu sollte auch die schnell sich entwickelnde französisch-sprachige Presse beitragen. Anderseits aber hat sie auch die Möglichkeit für die Algerier geboten, sich mit den modernen europäischen Tendenzen aller Art vertraut zu machen. Die Teilnahme des Arabischen in der algerischen Presse war verhältnismäßig gering und auch ihr Einfluß auf die Bevölkerung aus den obenerwähnten Gründen beschränkt. So sieht man, daß die fremde importierte Kultur meistens von den Franzosen praktiziert worden ist und nur eine enge Schicht der einheimischen algerischen Bevölkerung sich an ihr beteiligt hat. Parallel mit der französisch geschriebenen Literatur existierte die arabische Kultur, die sich in ihrer literarischen Produktion meistens der religiösen Problematik widmete und die alten arabischen Formen der Adab-Literatur behielt. Sehr selten zeigte sich als Neuerung eine Bindung an die neue Realität und eine ausgeprägte, gegen die fremden Eroberer gerichtete Tendenz, wie es der Fall Emirs ʿAbd al-Qādir war. In höherem Maße zeigte sich die Abneigung gegen die Franzosen und ihre Politik in Algerien in der Volksdichtung, in der die Kolonialmacht weniger gute Möglichkeiten zum Eingreifen hatte. Immerhin waren aber z.B. die Vorstellungen des unter dem einfachen Volk beliebten Schattentheaters von den Behörden wegen einer kritischen Parodie auf die Besatzungsarmee in den Städten verboten. "So wurde i.J. 1834 das Schattentheater nur deshalb geschlossen, weil Karagöz sich nicht mit Zoten begnügt, sondern zu den Ereignissen der Gegenwart in der ihm gemäßer Weise Stellung genommen hatte"[7]. Trotz des Verbots fanden diese Vorstellungen außer dem Machtbereich der Behörden in den Dörfen weiter statt.

Der fremden französischen Kultur gegenüber stand in der geschriebenen Literatur das Arabische, das nur geschwächt aber nicht beseitigt worden war, und in der oralen Volksdichtung wirkten sogar zwei Sprachen - das Arabische, das nur geschwächt aber nicht beseitigt worden war, und in der oralen Volksdichtung wirkten sogar zwei Sprachen - das Arabische und das Berberische - die in diesem bereich ohne Konkurrenz waren und zur Stärkung der Lage der einheimischen Kultur im großen und ganzen beitrugen. Die importierte europäische Kultur hat in weiten einheimischen Kreisen ungeachtet des großen Kraftaufwands nicht so viel Erfolg erzielt, wie man erwarten konnte, wozu sicher die Barriere der Religion viel beigetragen hat.

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[7] W. HOENERBACH: Das nordafrikanische Schattentheater. Mainz 1959, S. 43.

4.2 Tunesien

Eine ganz andere Lage kann man im benachbarten Tunesien beobachten. Dort setzte sich die Dynastie der Husainidenbeys durch, und einige modern denkende Herrscher beeinflußten die Entwicklung im 19. Jahrhundert positiv. Ahmed Bey (1837-1855) schaffte die Sklaverei ab und begann mit der Modernisierung der Armee und der Flotte. Mit Hilfe von italienischen, englischen und französischen Fachleuten wurde der *Maktab al-ᶜulūm al-ḥarbīya* (Schule für Militärwissenschaften) gegründet. Als Professor des Arabischen und des Religionsunterrichts war dort Maḥmūd Qābādū (1814-1871) tätig, der mit der Übersetzung von Vorlesungen der ausländischen Professoren und von europäischen Büchern über das Militärwesen beauftragt worden war. Er verkündigte: "Die islamische Welt ist rückständig und befindet sich im Verfall, aber der Islam an und für sich ist eine Garantie, daß sich die auf seinen Grundlagen ruhende Gesellschaft organisieren kann, falls sie sich dem gegenwärtigen Zustand widersetzen wird; man soll den Grund für die Rückständigkeit der islamischen Gesellschaft den außerhalb der Substanz der Religion liegenden Umständen zuschreiben"[8]. Mit seiner Tätigkeit beginnen durch die Übernahme von europäischen Kenntnissen mit Hilfe von Übersetzungen die Tendenzen zur Reformierung des Islams sich durchzusetzen. Er versuchte im Sinne der alten maghribinischen Traditionen fremde Einflüsse für einheimische Ziele zu benutzen. Es war die Suche nach einer Modernisierung, nach einem Kompromis, der aber keineswegs die Grundlagen des Islams beeinträchtigen darf.

Ähnliche Ziele wurden bei der Gründung der tunesischen lithographischen Druckerei im Jahre 1845 verfolgt. Der Vergleich des Fortschritts in Europa mit dem Verfall in Tunesien führte zu einem erhöhten Interesse an europäischen Ländern und zu Reisen dorthin. Zur Entwicklung des Landes in die moderne Richtung hat sehr aktiv Ḥeireddīn (1810-1890), der Minister von Ahmed Bey, beigetragen. Er übertrug die Erneuerungsbemühungen auf das Gebiet der Kultur und wurde "der Vater der tunesischen Rennaissance" genannt.

Auch Ahmed Beys Nachfolger Mḥammed Bey (1855-1859) setzte die Modernisierung des Landes in verschiedenen Richtungen fort. Die politische Umstände zwangen ihn ᶜahd al-amān (Sicherheitspakt) zu verkündigen. Dieser Pakt war von der osmanischen Charta aus den Jahren 1839 und 1856 inspiriert. Es war der erste Versuch einer Art von Verfassung in den arabischen Ländern. Die früher gegründete Druckerei bewährte sich gut bei der Herausgabe verschiedener Publi-

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[8] IBN ᶜĀŠŪR: Al-ḥaraka al-adabīya wa-l-fikrīya fī Tūnis. Al-Qāhira 1956, S. 13.

kationen und Zeitschriften und somit bei der Verwirklichung mannigfacher moderner Tendenzen.

In der Zeit des nachfolgenden Beys Mḥammed aṣ-Ṣādoq (1859-1883) kam eine liberale Verfassung, die mit einem liberaleren Regime als vorher verbunden wurde. Doch Unruhen im Lande führten zur Abschaffung der verfassungsmäßigen Freiheiten. Trotz aller Bemühungen, das Land zu modernisieren und seine Wirtschaft zu verbessern, konnte man die Besetzung Tunesiens nicht verhindern. Die militärische Kontrolle des Landes wurde schnell hergestellt, und die Franzosen strebten nach einer raschen Modernisierung. Von Anfang an zeigte sich Unzufriedenheit mit dem Okkupationsregime und der Widerstand vor allem in den Kreisen der intellektuellen Jugend des Bürgertums steigerte sich immer mehr und mehr.

Diese politische Entwicklung spiegelte sich deutlich in der Presse wider, die in Tunesien ebenso wie in anderen Teilen des Osmanischen Reiches unter europäischem Einfluß entstanden war. Die erste Initiative bei der Einführung der Presse in Tunesien kam im Unterschied zu Algerien von der Seite der Italiener, die dort schon 1838 die Zeitschrift Il Giornale di Tunisi e di Carthagine (Die Zeitschrift von Tunis und Karthago) herausgegeben hatten. Die Anfänge der Presse auf tunesischen Boden waren also in italienischer Sprache und waren auch inhaltlich meistens auf die Italiener eingestellt.

Den wirklichen Beginn der einheimischen tunesischen Presse, d.h. der den tunesischen Bedürfnissen entsprechenden Presse, kann man erst im Jahre 1860 sehen. Der gebildete Reformator Ḥeireddīn war Initiator bei der Herausgabe der offiziellen Zeitschrift ar-Rā'id al-tūnisī (Der tunesische Pionier) und er gewährte ihr auch die notwendige Unterstützung. In diesem Fall handelte sich um eine Zeitschrift nur in arabischer Sprache, wodurch sie sich von den anderen offiziellen osmanischen Zeitschriften unterschied. Doch die Presse der Italiener und zum Teil auch die der Juden übertraf noch lange Zeit die arabisch geschriebenen Zeitschriften zahlenmäßig.

In den tunesischen Zeitschriften zeigte sich sehr schön der Zusammenstoß der italienischen und französischen politischen Interessen. Die Italiener gaben eine ganze Reihe von Zeitschriften heraus, in denen sie Tunesien als Zone des italienischen Einflusses betrachteten und sie stellten sich den französischen Tendenzen entgegen. Auch nach der französischen Besetzung Tunesiens bestanden dort weiter Zeitschriften mit proitalienischen, proosmanischen und protunesischen sowie mit den jüdischen Tendenzen, während die französisch-sprachige Presse sich erst langsam etablieren mußte. Der Anteil der Zeitschriften und Zeitungen in französischer Sprache steigerte sich ziemlich schnell, doch der einheimischen Presse in der arabischen Sprache ist es trotz verschiedenen Schwierigkeiten

gelungen, sich weiterzuentwickeln. So erschienen, auch wenn manchmal nur ein paar Jahre, Zeitschriften wie: *al-Baṣīra* (Der Scharfblick), *Sabīl ar-rašād* (Der Weg der rechten Führung), die panislamische Zeitschrift der türkischen Bruderschaft *Lisān al-ḥaqq* (Die Sprache der Wahrheit) oder die erste von einer Privatperson herausgegebene Tageszeitung *az-Zuhara* (Der Morgenstern).

Die tunesische Lage im Pressewesen war also durch drei Sprachen gekennzeichnet: Arabisch, Italienisch und Französisch. Die Franzosen mußten mit der italienischen Konkurrenz rechnen und es kann sein, daß gerade deshalb das Arabische doch ein bißchen mehr Spielraum als z.B. in Algerien hatte. Die Presse war aber weit mehr für die Politik und für die Entwicklung des Nationalbewußtseins als für die Literatur von Bedeutung. Ihre Tragweite für die Literatur kann man in der Aufrechterhaltung der kontinuierlichen Entwicklung des Arabischen als Literatursprache in Tunesien sehen, sowie darin, daß eine Reihe von Schriftstellern auch als Journalisten tätig war.

Die Literatur in Tunesien[9] war vor der europäischen Einwirkung und in deren Anfängen einigermaßen isoliert. Die Prosa-Literatur beschränkte sich auf Briefe und Maqāmen nach altem Muster. Der Zusammenstoß mit modernen europäischen Gedanken hat die Literatur in neue Richtung sowohl formal, als auch inhaltlich gelenkt. der persönliche Kontakt der Tunesier mit Europa spiegelte sich mit der Zunahme von Auslandsreisen in der Entwicklung der Reisebeschreibungen. Diese Literaturgattung stellt eine wichtige Quelle für die Kenntnis der neuen Gedanken in der tunesischen Gesellschaft dar. Außerdem war sie ein wichtiger Impuls, der die Literatur in Tunesien in eine schnellere Bewegung und zu einer bestimmten Flexibilität brachte. Die Verknüpfung mit dem aktuellen Geschehen führte unter anderem zu einer größeren Verbreitung der Sach- und politischen Literatur. Als eine bedeutende Tatsache kann man die Erweiterung des Wirkungsfeldes der Literatur auf die aktuelle Problematik der tunesischen Gesellschaft und auf breitere Zusammenhänge im Rahmen des politischen, kulturellen und wirtschaftlichen Weltgeschehens betrachten. Die Schriftsteller beschränkten sich nicht nur auf das literarische Schaffen, sondern sie beteiligten sich manchmal sehr intensiv am gesellschaftlichen Leben, was für sie mit großen Hindernissen und Schwierigkeiten verbunden war.

Die Poesie war im Vegleich mit den Prosaschriften von der europäischen Einwirkung sehr wenig angegriffen. Die Form der Gedichte blieb im Grunde unverändert; man kann nur in einigen Fällen eine neue, mit dem gesellschaftlichen und politischen Geschehen verbundene Thematik bemerken, wie überhaupt in der

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[9] Vgl. S. PANTŮČEK: Tunesische Literaturgeschichte. Wiesbaden 1974, S. 25-41.

gesamten Literatur jener Zeit in Tunesien die verschiedenen Tendenzen zur Modernisierung der Literatur mehr in stofflicher, als in formaler Hinsicht bemerkbar sind. Das Arabische blieb wie vor so auch nach der europäischen Einwirkung die einzige Literatursprache. Die europäischen Sprachen (Französisch und Italienisch) beschränkten sich mehr oder weniger auf das politische Leben und beeinflußten direkt einen Teil der Presse. Diese verhältnismäßig feste Lage des Arabischen im Vergleich zu Algerien läßt sich erklären durch eine ziemlich gute arabische Schulbildung, die mit zwei wichtigen religiösen Zentren (Qairuwān und az-Zītūna) verbunden war, und durch die Tendenz, die europäischen Einflüsse auf dem Weg über andere islamische Länder (Ägypten, die Türkei) zu übernehmen.

4.3 Marokko

Die Geschichte Marokkos am westlichen Flügel Nordafrikas im 19. Jahrhundert ist mit der Dynastie der ʿAlawiden verbunden. Im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert traten große innere Schwierigkeiten in Vordergrund. Einerseits wurden sie durch den Gegensatz Araber-Berber, andrerseits durch die Schwäche der Zentralgewalt in den entfernten Teilen des Landes zu regieren verursacht. Im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts stießen die Kolonialinteressen der europäischen Mächte in Marokko zusammen. Es handelte sich in erster Linie um die politischen Bestrebungen Frankreichs und Spaniens. Der Sultan Mūlāy al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad (1837-1894), belehrt von den früheren militärischen Mißerfolgen bei den Auseinandersetzungen seines Landes mit Frankreich und Spanien, wandte sich zur Modernisierung der Armee mit Hilfe französischer, englischer und italienischer Fachleute. Es geschah leider ohne eine breitere gesellschaftliche Modernisierung des ganzen Landes, deshalb war der Einfluß dieser Tendenz für die Zukunft ziemlich gering.

Der Beginn der Presse in Marokko ist mit der spanischen Sprache verbunden. Die erste Zeitschrift in Marokko, gleichzeitig auch die erste Zeitschfrift in ganz Nordafrika, die im Jahre 1820 herausgegebene Zeitschrift El-Liberal africano (Der afrikanische Liberale) befasste sich nur mit den Problemen der spanischen politischen Flüchtlinge in Ceuta. Auch die späteren Zeitschriften waren in europäischen Sprachen geschrieben, meistens in Spanisch, aber auch in Englisch oder Französisch. Sie dienten den europäischen Interessen und blieben ohne größeren Einfluß auf die Entwicklung der einheimischen marokkanischen Presse in arabischer Sprache. Die einzige arabisch-sprachige Zeitschrift *al-Maghrib* (Marokko) aus dem Jahr 1889 wurde vom Redakteur der in englischer Sprache herausgegebenen Zeitschrift *Times of Morocco* (Times von Marokko) redigiert, sie blieb aber ohne Bedeutung. Verglichen mit der Lage der Presse in Algerien oder in

Tunesien zeigt sich in dieser Hinsicht eine relativ große Isolierung des Landes, was auch die Einführung der modernen Ideen gebremst hat.

Eine ähnliche Lage spiegelte sich auch in der Literatur in Marokko wider, die ohne größere europäische Einflüsse zu sein scheint. Wie in früheren Epochen florierte auch im 19. Jahrhundert biographische Literatur, verschiedene Sammlungen der Biographien von Heiligen, Monographien über Šorfā-Familien oder über religiöse Bruderschaften u.ä. Erst Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts geriet die Literatur einigermaßen in Bewegung. Das hing mit der sich vergrößerten Tätigkeit der lithographischen Anstalten in Fes zusammen. Man kann jedoch keine bedeutendere Änderungen in der Prosa oder der Poesie nachweisen. Ein leichter Trend zur neuen Tendenz zeigte sich erst in der großen Geschichte Marokkos von *an-Nāṣirī as-Salāwī* (1855-1897). Das Buch ist zwar noch im alten kompilatorischen Stil verfaßt, doch der Verfasser hat zum ersten Mal europäische Werke zu Rat gezogen[10]. So zeigt sich, daß die arabische Sprache in der Zeit der europäischen Einwirkung in Marokko ihre Kontinuität beibehalten hat und die kulturelle Entwicklung kaum von den neuen mit Europa verbundenen Tendenzen betroffen ist. Das berberische Element kam nur in der Volksdichtung zum Ausdruck und ist in größerem Maße als in den anderen nordafrikanischen Ländern beibehalten worden.

4.4 Libyen

Der östliche Teil Nordafrikas - das Gebiet des heutigen Libyen - befand sich seit der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts unter türkischer Herrschaft. Nicht nur für die politische, sondern auch für die kulturelle Entwicklung in diesem Gebiet im 19. Jahrhundert war die Bruderschaft der Sanūsīya von großer Bedeutung. Sie ist im Jahre 1837 gegründet worden, ihre Tätigkeit war gegen die Türken gerichtet. Sie führte einen gereinigten Islam mit strengen Vorschriften ein, schuf ein gut organisiertes Netz von Beherbergungseinrichtungen bei den Zāwīyas, den klosterartigen Stützpunkten. Alle diese Bemühungen, einschließlich des organisierten religiösen Unterrichts, waren auf das wichtigste Ziel der Bruderschaft gerichtet, - den Einfluß der ungläubigen Europäer zu verhindern. So fand hier in dieser Zeit die europäische Einwirkung sehr wenig Nährboden und von den vier nordafrikanischen Ländern herrschte hier die größte Isolierung den modernen Einflüssen aller Art gegenüber.

Die erste Zeitschrift dieser Region erschien in Tripolis in handschriftlicher Form im Jahre 1827, war aber in französischer Sprache abgefaßt und nur für die

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[10] C. BROCKELMANN: GAL, S. II, 888.

Konsulate in Tripolis vorgesehen. Auf Veranlassung des Osmanischen Reiches erschien erst im Jahre 1864 *Tarābulus al-Gharb* (Das westliche Tripolis) zuerst lithographiert, ab 1870 in Druckform. Am Anfang war das Blatt in Türkisch, später dann zweisprachig - arabisch und türkisch - herausgegeben. Im Jahre 1897 erschien die von einer Privatperson in arabischer Sprache abgefaßte Zeitschrift *at-Taraqqī* (Der Fortschritt), sie hatte aber keine lange Dauer. Der Presse im östlichen Teil des Maghrib kommt also keine große Bedeutung für die Modernisierung der Gesellschaft und für die europäische Einwirkung zu.

Der sonst sehr geringe Einfluß Europas in verschiedenen Bereichen des Lebens auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Libyen konnte sich sehr schwer im Bereich der Literatur durchsetzen. Sie war außerordentlich eng mit der Religion und damit mit der europafeindlichen Bruderschaft Sanūsīya verbunden, deshalb blieb sie bei den alten literarischen Mustern und man kann auch keine größeren inhaltlichen Änderungen bemerken. Außerdem handelt es sich bei der libyschen Literatur um keine größere Literatur im ganzen maghribinischen Komplex. Die ganze Lage in Libyen war in zweierlei Hinsicht von Bedeutung: Arabisch blieb als Literatursprache beibehalten und moderne Tendenzen konnten sich nicht durchsetzen. Die Volksdichtung blieb unberührt in zwei Sprachen - in der arabischen und berberischen.

5 Zusammenfassung

Die europäische Einwirkung in ihrer Anfangsphase und einem gewissen Zeitraum nachher, d.h. in groben Umrissen während des 19. Jahrhunderts, hat die Entwicklung der nordafrikanischen Literaturen spürbar beeinflußt. Die Stärke der Einwirkung war vom direkten (zuerst wirtschaftlichen, später dann militärischen) Eingriff in die innere Angelegenheiten der Länder abhängig. Am stärksten und am frühesten wurde vom europäischen Einfluß Algerien und deshalb auch die dortige Kultur angetastet. Mit Verzögerung und nicht mit so viel Kraft trat der direkte Einfluß Europas in Tunesien zutage. Die Anpassungsfähigkeit hat für die dortige Kultur schon bessere Möglichkeiten geschaffen, indem sie selbst moderne Tendenzen aller Art sich zunutze machte. Diese zwei Länder waren außerdem im Mittelpunkt der französischen Aufmerksamkeit und Einflußnahme. Marokko lag einerseits etwas abseits, andrerseits kreuzten sich dor Interessen zweier Mächte und so kam es erst im nächsten Jahrhundert zur direkten Kolonisation des Landes. Die kulturelle Entwicklung war sehr wenig von modernen europäischen Tendenzen angegriffen, wozu die Zersplitterung des Landes, sowie eine starke Verbreitung der berberischen Sprache beigetragen haben. Noch größere Isolierung und Abneigung der europäischen Einflüsse meistens aus religiösen Gründen zeigten

sich im Gebiet des späteren Libyens, wo auch die offene Kolonisation erst im 20. Jahrhundert angetreten ist.

Der ganze Maghrib benötigte im 19. Jahrhundert im gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Sinne dringend eine Modernisierung. Die aufgezwungene Modernisierung, die noch dazu mehr den Interessen der Eroberer als den der Einheimischen diente, kam in Algerien in eine geschwächte und nicht genug vorbereitete Gesellschaft. In Tunesien hatte die Gesellschaft mehr Zeit für eine gewisse Umstellung und so konnte sie die Einwirkung Europas für ihre eigene Ziele mehr ausnutzen. Auch in sprachlicher Sicht war die Lage dieser zwei Länder unterschiedlich, indem das Arabische in Tunesien mehr in der Literatur aktiv beibehalten war, als es der Fall in Algerien war, wo die französische Sprachpolitik sehr streng durchgeführt worden war. Die beiden anderen Länder waren sprachlich und kulturell sehr wenig von Europa beeinflußt.

Die negative Seite der europäischen Einwirkung in der nordafrikanischen Kultur kann man in der Beschränkung der einheimischen Sprachen (aber auch der Religion) sehen und so in der Tendenz, die Bindungen mit der Tradition zu brechen. Das Ziel war, die neue importierte anstatt der einheimischen Literatur zu gestalten. Die positive Seite des europäischen Einflusses zeigt sich in der Orientierung der Aufmerksamkeit auf moderne Tendenzen, die für eine fruchtbare Weiterentwicklung von großer Bedeutung waren. Damit ist eine Modernisierung im Sinne der Suche nach Kompromissen zwischen den modernen Tendenzen und der einheimischen Tradition gemeint[11].

Im 19. Jahrhundert war die Entwicklung selbstverständlich nicht abgeschloßen. Es hat sich die separate Entwicklung der Literatur in den vier maghribinischen Ländern weiter vertieft und die Kerne der Einzelnen entstehenden Nationalliteraturen sind schon deutlicher gestaltet. Trotzdem bleiben auch weiterhin die Bindungen zwischen diesen Ländern, aber auch die Bindungen mit dem Mašriq, der in verschiedener Hinsicht für sie ein gutes Beispiel für die Annahme der modernen Tendenzen geblieben ist.

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[11] Vgl. G.E. VON GRUNEBAUM: Studien zum Kulturbild und Selbstverständnis des Islams. Zürich 1969, S. 107: "Mit jeder Veränderung im Erfahrungsbereich der Gemeinschaft wird sich die Überlebensfähigkeit ihrer Kultur an ihrer Eignung erweisen, die neu aufgetauchten Fragen im Sinn der traditionellen Werte und der als Präzedente vorliegenden Entscheidungen zu formulieren und zu beantworten".

Sur l'origine de la diptosie en langue arabe[1]

André ROMAN

I. INTRODUCTION[2]

L'Homme a formé ses langues nécessairement en évinçant le hasard, en les structurant donc, semble-t-il, en un «système de systèmes»[3]. Cette structuration, universelle d'abord, déterminait quatre systèmes interdépendants : un *système phonologique* et un *système syllabique*, ayant pour fin, l'un et l'autre, de fournir à chaque langue sa *materia prima*; un *système de nomination* ayant pour fin de produire ses «unités de nomination»; un *système de communication*, sa syntaxe,

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[1] L'hypothèse ici proposée a été esquissée par l'auteur dans «*Baht zamânî ᶜan-i l-ismi l-ᶜarabî*», in *Annales de l'Université de Tunis*, n° 24, 1985, pp. 41-63, Tunis. Sur l'état de la question voir H. FLEISCH, *Traité de Philologie arabe* (Beyrouth, 1961), vol. I, pp. 277-280; A. LEK'IASVILI, «Das diptotische System im klassischen Arabisch», in *A. O.*, vol. XXXVIII, 1970, pp. 57-69. *Confer* particulièrement le livre d'az-Zaẓẓâẓ, - grammairien arabe, m. en 311/923 -, *Mâ yanṣarifu wa mâ lâ yanṣarifu* (Le Caire, 1391/1971) et les études de J. KURYŁOWICZ, *L'Apophonie en sémitique* (Varsovie, 1961), 235-244, *Studies in Semitic Grammar and Metrics* (Varsovie, 1972), pp. 125-129; M. LIVERANI, «Antecedenti del diptotismo arabo nei testi accadici di Ugarit», in *R.S.O.*, vol. XXXVIII, 1963, pp. 131-160; S. MOSCATI, «Sulla flessione nominale dell'arabo classico», in *R.S.O.*, vol. XXIX, 1954, pp. 171-182; «On Semitic Case-Endings», in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. XVII, 1958, pp. 142-144; Ch. RABIN, «The Structure of the Semitic System of Case Endings», in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies held in Jerusalem in July 1965*, Jerusalem, 1969; W. VYCICHL, «Die Deklination im Arabischen», in *R.S.O.*, vol. XXIX, 1953, pp. 71-78, «Numerus und Kasus im klassischen Arabisch, in *R.S.O.*, vol. XXXIII, 1958, pp. 175-179.

[2] Le texte ici présenté a été voulu comme une étude partielle du «système de l'arabe dans une perspective diachronique». L'on aura reconnu dans cette citation le titre même de l'article du très regretté Professeur K. PETRÁČEK, «Le système de l'arabe dans une perspective diachronique» (in *Arabica*, vol. XXVIII/2-3, 1981, pp. 162-177). La méthode recommandée par l'éminent sémitisant dès le titre de cet article avait été explicitée par lui dans plusieurs de ses savantes contributions, particulièrement dans «A Study in the Structure of Arabic» (in *Acta Universitatis Carolinae - Philologica*, pp. 23-39); «Vers une conception dynamique du paradigme dans les études chamito-sémitiques», in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, tome XLVIII/1973-74; «La méthodologie du chamito-sémitique comparé : état, problème, perspectives», in *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 423-462, 1984. Cette opinion est conforme à l'Ecole tchèque.

[3] Et cela aussitôt qu'il a su inventer une combinatoire. Voir A. ROMAN, «Le hasard et la nécessité dans l'ordre des langues : l'illustration de l'arabe», in *B.E.O.*, 1990.

ayant pour fin d'organiser en «unités de communication», syntagmes ou phrases, ses unités de nomination.

Les «unités de nomination» sont les images linguistiques des entités inventées par l'Homme dans le monde. Ces entités, les langues montrent que l'Homme les a imaginées, d'abord, par rapport au temps : elles incluaient ou excluaient le temps. Les entités imaginées par l'Homme hors du temps, - exemple : «arbre» -, seront ici dites *res*[4]. Les entités imaginées par lui dans le temps, - exemple : «faire» -, seront dites *modus*.

Le système syllabique des langues sémitiques, réduit aux deux seules syllabes /CV/ et /CVC/, a commandé la disjonction du sous-ensemble des phonèmes-consonnes, {C}, et du sous-ensemble des phonèmes-voyelles, {V}[5].

Cette disjonction offrait aux langues sémitiques une organisation fondamentale qu'elles ont réalisée en construisant sur des racines de consonnes leurs systèmes de nomination et sur des voyelles leurs systèmes de communication.

Quant au nombre des consonnes composant les racines des unités de nomination de ces langues, il a été déterminé par les besoins de nomination des Sémites : les «unités de nomination particulières», c'est-à-dire les unités de nomination particularisées sémantiquement, ont été construites, systématiquement, sur des racines de trois consonnes parce que seule la combinatoire de trois consonnes pouvait produire en nombre suffisant les arrangements constituant les racines, qui sont les premiers signifiants de leurs sens «particuliers»; les unités devant nommer une instance unique ou globale, - exemples : «je», «ceci», *«quid»* -, c'est-à-dire les «unités de nomination générales», comme elles sont peu nombreuses, ont pu être en effet construites sur des racines d'une seule consonne.

Le plan ci-après, qui est resté celui de la langue arabe classique, montre dans leur interdépendance les quatres systèmes constituant le «système de systèmes» propre aux langues sémitiques[6]:

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[4] Que les langues disent systématiquement le temps et non l'espace se retrouve dans le fait que la distinction entre les *res* concrètes, qui sont des entités spatiales, et les *res* abstraites, qui ne sont pas des entités spatiales, est une distinction non pas linguistique mais référentielle.

[5] Voir A. ROMAN, «De la langue arabe comme un modèle général de la formation des langues sémitiques et de leur évolution», in *Arabica*, tome XXVIII/2-3, pp. 127-161, 1981.

[6] Dans ce plan, «√» est pour «racine»; remarquablement, les langues sémitiques ont eu recours *et* à une combinatoire de consonnes radicales *et* à une combinatoire de racines. Voir A. ROMAN, *Grammaire de l'arabe*, Paris, *PUF*, 1990, «Que sais-je ?».

$$S = \{/CV/, /CVC/\} > \{C\} \qquad \cap \{V\} = \emptyset$$

| |
Système de Nomination   Système de Communication

$\sqrt{C}$ $\sqrt{CCC}$ - V

Unités générales   Unités particulières
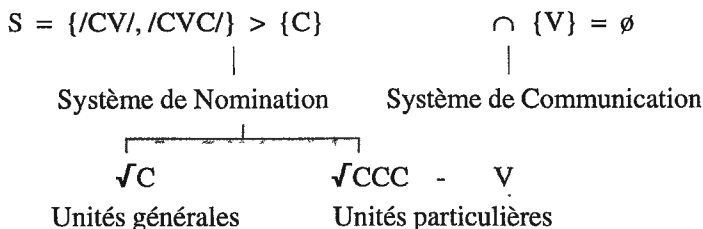
Les voyelles brèves ont donc vocation au rôle de morphème fonctionnel. Les voyelles longues, inutiles au système de communication, en sont exclues par leur longueur même. Autre fait de disjonction. Elles ne prêtent service que dans le système de nomination. Les voyelles brèves, elles, sont présentes dans l'un et l'autre système. Leurs rôles sont différenciés par leurs positions : dans les unités de nomination ou «formes», elles sont les signifiants de «modalités» ou déterminants grammaticaux; en fin de forme elles sont les signifiants de «fonctionnels»[7].

II. LES PHRASES CONSTRUITES

Le noyau de chaque phrase est constitué comme un système simple par deux seuls éléments[8]. La phrase, pour se développer, a dû faire recours à des extensions des constituants de son noyau et à des extensions de ces extensions mêmes. En effet, le noyau, comme il constitue une phrase, ne peut en tant que phrase recevoir d'extension puisqu'une phrase, par définition, est l'unité syntaxique maximale. Dans ce plan de la phrase :

x <———————> y	[NOYAU
+/↑	+/↑
x'	y'
+/↑	+/↑
x"	y"

[EXTENSIONS

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[7] Dans le cas du verbe, comme il constitue une phrase et qu'une phrase ne peut recevoir un fonctionnel-désinence, cette voyelle finale n'est pas le signifiant d'un fonctionnel : elle est soit du mode, soit du morphème de personne du verbe. Le verbe est la forme de la langue la plus développée. La forme pronominale, ou «pro-forme», qui est la forme de la langue la moins développée, pour cette raison inverse, ne peut généralement recevoir un fonctionnel-désinence.

[8] Deux éléments sont nécessaires et suffisants pour constituer un système.

«x» et «y» sont pour les deux unités de nomination fondamentales du noyau de la phrase, ses éléments «nucléaires», reliés par une relation biunivoque de co-occurrence comme dans un «duo», la «première voix» et la «seconde voix»; «x'», «y'»... sont pour les unités de nomination éventuellement appelées par le locuteur, selon son besoin; «x'», «y'» ... sont des «extensions» reliées à leurs «bases», soit par la «relation de coordination», symbolisée par «+», soit par la «relation de subordination», symbolisée par «↑».

La relation entre les deux éléments «nucléaires», ou «relation nucléaire», est identifiée par son unicité même. Par contre, la relation de coordination et la relation de subordination, parce qu'elles sont multiples, doivent être identifiées par des morphèmes spéciaux : les «coordonnants» et les «fonctionnels».

Les extensions par subordination, ou «expansions», sont donc rapportées à leurs bases par les trois fonctionnels-désinences qui sont les pièces fondamentales du système de communication de la langue arabe.

L'on distinguera en arabe : l'expansion d'identité ou expansion qualificative; l'expansion modale; l'expansion d'annexion ou annective; l'expansion complétive.

1. L'expansion d'identité ou expansion qualificative

L'expansion qualificative qualifie purement et simplement sa base. Lorsque la désinence casuelle de la base est apparente[9], le fonctionnel qui établit l'expansion dans sa relation avec elle a pour signifiant l'identité ou «écho» de leurs deux désinences.

2. L'expansion modale

L'expansion modale dénote une actualisation de sa base qui est présentée comme une différence soit par rapport à son état ancien soit par rapport à sa situation. Le fonctionnel qui l' établit est la désinence /a/.

3. L'expansion annective

L'expansion annective est dans un rapport sémantique d'inclusion avec la base dont elle dépend. Elle se substitue au /n/ dit du *tanwîn* [10] qui suit immédiatement sa base, constituant avec elle un syntagme. Aussi l'expansion qui

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[9] Seules certaines pro-formes peuvent recevoir un morphème casuel, indirectement, *via* un morphème de nombre. Autrement, il n'est point rare que la désinence casuelle soit masquée par un conditionnement.

[10] Ce morphème /n/ n'a aucune autonomie syntagmatique.

prend la place du *tanwîn* suit-elle immédiatement sa base. Son fonctionnel est, dans la langue arabe historique, la désinence /i/ si elle peut la recevoir et, sinon, à défaut, la désinence /a/ [11].

4. L'expansion complétive

L'expansion complétive dénote ou un objet ou une circonstance de sa base. Le fonctionnel qui l'établit est soit la désinence casuelle /a/, soit, dans la langue arabe historique, la même voyelle /i/ de l'expansion annective, mais spécifiée sémantiquement par un morphème antéposé à l'unité de nomination qui reçoit cette voyelle si elle peut la recevoir. Cette différence de timbre entre [a] du morphème non spécifié sémantiquement et [i] des morphèmes spécifiés sémantiquement est tout à fait remarquable.

III. LES FONCTIONNELS DESINENCES

Il semble bien que le système de communication n'ait compté d'abord que les deux désinences casuelles /u/ et /a/.

1. Le fonctionnel-désinence /u/

La désinence /u/ était, est, hors intervention d'une modalité ou d'un translatif[12], le fonctionnel nécessaire de la plupart des expansions qualificatives des voix de la phrase. Exemple :

/ja: ražul-*u* zajd-*u*-n/	=	«Eh, l'homme Zayd !»
/'ila:h-u kum 'ila:h-*u*-n wa:ḥid-*u*-n/	=	«Votre Dieu est un Dieu *Unique*.»
/jaktubu zajd-*u*-n/	=	«Zayd écrit.»

où le morphème /j/, = «il», la première voix, est la base de l'expansion qualificative /zajd/, marquée comme telle par sa désinence /u/; la seconde voix est le *modus* √k-t-b, = «écrire».

De fait, en raison de l'unicité de leur relation biunivoque, les deux voix de la phrase ne sont pas dans le besoin d'un fonctionnel : une pro-forme peut donc être une première voix alors même qu'elle ne porte aucune voyelle-désinence. C'est particulièrement le cas des morphèmes de personne des verbes. En conséquence l' «écho» ne pouvant être réalisé puisque les pro-formes ne reçoivent pas de voyelle-désinence, leur expansion qualificative reçoit particulièrement la voyelle /u/.

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[11] Fait de diptosie; voir *infra* le § VII.

[12] Exemple de modalité : /ʔin:a ... -a/, = «certes»; exemple de translatif : /ʔan:a ... -a/, = «que».

Cependant l' «écho», d'évidence, est indépendant du timbre des deux voyelles-désinences qui se répondent. Exemples :

/'in:a la hu 'ab-*a*-n šajḥ-*a*-n kabi:r-*a*-n/ = «En vérité il a un père, *homme* très *âgé.*»

/la qad ži'ta šaj'-*a*-n 'imr-*a*-n/ = «Tu as, certes, commis une chose *monstrueuse.*»

/wa kita:b-*i*-n mastu:r-*i*-n * = «Par un écrit *tracé* *

fi: raq:-*i*-n manšu:r-*i*-n/ = sur un parchemin *déployé.*»

2. Le fonctionnel-désinence /a/

La désinence /a/ était, est, le fonctionnel nécessaire de l'expansion modale *et* de l'expansion complétive : la discrimination entre les deux types d'expansion était assurée par le système de nomination qui complétait là le système de communication impuissant : les syntagmes { *res* - *a* } constituaient les expansions complétives; les syntagmes { *modus* - *a* } constituaient les expansions modales.

Il faut relever que, dans le cas des expansions modales, comme elles reçoivent toutes la même désinence /a/, cette désinence indifférenciée ne pouvait créer un lien syntaxique entre elles et l'une des deux voix du noyau à l'exclusion de l'autre. Aussi étaient rapportés systématiquement à la première voix les syntagmes { *modus* - *a* } aspectuellement reliés à une *res*, c'est-à-dire ceux dont le *modus* porte une modalité aspectuelle spécifiée, et à la seconde voix les syntagmes { *modus* - *a* } non reliés aspectuellement à une *res*[13].

Ainsi étaient et restent rapportées à la première voix toutes les formes dénotant un *modus* spécifié sémantiquement : les formes du verbe [14] et les *modus agentis* (*ism fāᶜil*), *patientis* (*ism mafᶜûl*), *determinans* (*sifa*) [15].

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[13] Ces *modus* non spécifiés aspectuellement et par là *informis* sont les *maṣdar* de la Tradition grammaticale. L'aspect est la modalité qui détermine le déroulement du *modus* non pas extrinsèquement en le datant par référence à une donnée temporelle qui est une autre entité que lui mais en représentant son déroulement propre. La spécification du déroulement du *modus*, s'il est spécifié, implique l'intervention d'une *res*, son agent aspectuel. Le fait que ce soit cet agent et non pas l'agent du *modus*, impliqué, lui, par la diathèse, qui répartisse les expansions modales entre la première et la seconde voix, marque clairement que c'est la distinction [+ temps] *vs* [- temps] qui est fondamentale.

[14] Tout constituant d'une phrase fait avec une forme du verbe est «complexe», c'est-à-dire est une phrase translatée (par un translatif) en un constituant d'une autre phrase qui l'englobe, sa phrase «matrice».

[15] Le *modus elativus* (*ism at-tafḍîl*) est une réalisation particulière du *modus determinans*.

Et à la seconde voix les *modus* non spécifiés sémantiquement, dits *maṣdar* par la Tradition.

Exemples d'expansions modales de la première voix :

/('i)ržiʿi: 'ila: rab:-i ki ra:dijat-*a*-n mardij:at-*a*-n/

«[O âme !] retourne vers ton Seigneur, agréante et agréée !»

où les {*modus - a*}, - le *modus agentis* /ra:dijat-*a*-n/ = «agréante», et le *modus patientis* /mardij:at-*a*-n/ = «agréée» -, sont expansions modales de la première voix, le morphème de personne de la forme verbale /ržiʿi:/.

/wa ḍmum jad-a ka 'ila: žana:ḥ-i ka taḥruž bajda:'-*a*/

«Serre ta main contre ton flanc, *blanche* elle [res]sortira.»

où le *modus determinans* /bajda:'/ = «blanche» est expansion modale de la première voix.

Exemple d'expansion modale de la seconde voix :

/ha:ḍa: ṭawb-u-n nasž-*a* l jaman-i/   =   «C'est un vêtement, *le tissage* du Yémen.»

3. Le fonctionnel-désinence /i/

3.1. L'expansion complétive

Le fonctionnel /i/ qui est, dans la langue arabe historique, la désinence des expansions complétives introduites par des morphèmes qui le spécifient sémantiquement ne laisse pas d'apparaître redondant. Il doit son existence à l'organisation générale de la langue qui a été présentée, qui fait des voyelles-désinences les signifiants fondamentaux de ses fonctionnels. Son signifiant pourrait être /a/. Et sans doute a-t-il d'abord été /a/ : toutes les expansions complétives auraient donc dans un premier temps reçu la même désinence.

3.2. L'expansion annective

Le fonctionnel /i/ est également, dans la langue arabe historique, la désinence des expansions annectives. Et il ne laisse pas d'apparaître redondant dans cette situation aussi. En effet toute expansion annective, comme elle se substitue au pro-lieu /n/, le *tanwîn*, est par là clairement marquée : si un constituant est sans /n/[16], c'est que le constituant qui le suit immédiatement s'est substitué à /n/, qu'il est son expansion annective. Cependant ce marquage, efficace, de la fonction du constituant n'est un marquage que secondairement. Systématiquement, c'est à la voyelle-désinence qu'il revient de marquer la fonction. D'où /i/, dans la langue

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[16] Le cas où ce constituant serait un «nom propre» sera examiné § VII.

arabe historique mais, assurément, /a/ dans la proto-langue. En effet le timbre [i] est là aussi inutile.

Dans cette reconstruction, les {*res* - a} entrant dans le paradigme du *tanwîn* /n/ étaient expansions annectives; les {*res* - a} n'entrant pas dans son paradigme étaient expansions qualificatives ou complétives; les {*modus* - a} étaient expansions qualificatives ou modales[17].

En toute hypothèse c'est une syntaxe à deux cas, ou «diptosie» qui aurait été la première syntaxe de la langue[18]. La syntaxe à trois cas, ou «triptosie», se serait constituée dans un second temps. Or elle n'était point nécessaire.

Il semble qu'elle se soit constituée pour une raison inverse de celle qui a fondé l'organisation générale de la langue, que ce soit précisément faute de la différence, de la disjonction, sans laquelle la voyelle /i/ ne pouvait être exclue du système de nomination. La voyelle /i/ aurait pris la place de la voyelle /a/ là où un semblant de différence existait : la différence impliquée par les spécificateurs sémantiques de /a/, les «prépositions», et la différence impliquée par l'appartenance au paradigme du *tanwîn* /n/.

Que la première syntaxe de la langue arabe ait été une syntaxe à deux cas, il en reste un ensemble de traces lexicales disparates qui semble s'être constitué comme la «monnaie» du «nom propre», de nouveaux facteurs sémantiques et formels se substituant au fait linguistique premier, lorsque le *tanwîn* /n/ a été méconnu.

IV. LE *TANWÎN*

Le plan général des langues sémitiques qui a été présenté commande que le morphème /n/, nommé *tanwîn* (nounation) par la Tradition grammaticale arabe, soit identifié comme une pro-forme de racine monoconsonantique, √n.

Cette pro-forme dénomme «le lieu général», un lieu, donc, réel ou figuré, qui n'est pas spécifié, un pro-lieu. L'état de l'unité de nomination à laquelle il est

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[17] L'expansion modale faite d'un *modus informis* (ou *masdar*) pouvait, peut encore, être reconnue par l'identité de sa racine avec la racine de sa base; exemple : /taʔuzzu hum ʔazz-a-n/ = «[Les démons] les excitent extrêmement.». L'emploi de *modus informis* comme expansions complétives serait donc secondaire.

[18] *Confer* K. PETRÁČEK, «Die innere Flexion in dem semitische Sprachen - Entstehung und Entwicklung des Systems», in *A.O.* (vol. XXVIII-XXXII, 1960-1964), vol. XXX, 1962, p. 397: «Die Diptosie {= -*u/-a*} auf irgendeine Art mit dem älteren Determinationssysteme verbunden ist, weshalb sich die Diptota im neuen System in Triptota verwandeln. Die Diptosie ist daher älter als die Triptosie.»

rabouté est ainsi signifié comme un état de «non annexion» ou «non appartenance»[19].

Au demeurant, que les expansions «annectives» entrent dans le paradigme du *tanwîn* est une autre preuve de sa constitution comme une unité construite sur une racine à l'instar des autres éléments de ce paradigme, une pro-forme.

V. LE NOM COMMUN

Dans la proto-langue arabe les *res* de racine triconsonantique étaient construites, semble-t-il, sur le schème $\sqrt{R_1 V_1 R_2 \emptyset R_3}$, également représentable par /fv^{c}øl/, qui est caractérisé comme un schème de *res* par l'absence de voyelle entre R_2 et R_3. Dans ce schème, V_1, entre R_1 et R_2, était le signifiant de la modalité d'animéité.

Tout «nom commun» était, est, à même de constituer avec la pro-forme $\sqrt{n}$ de lieu, le *tanwîn*, un syntagme non localisé, un syntagme *pendens* et, par là, indéterminé[20].

Exemple :

/kaløb-u-n/   =   «[un] chien»

VI. LE NOM PROPRE

Le «nom propre»[21] semble différent du «nom commun» en ceci qu'il est un

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[19] Les sémitisants nomment état «absolu» l'état de «non appartenance» et état «construit», celui d'«appartenance».

[20] L'on voit bien que si le *tanwîn* produit l'effet d'un «article indéfini», il n'est pas un «article indéfini». Construit sur une racine monoconsonantique, il est une «pro-forme». L'article, lui, est une «modalité», une unité du système de nomination non construite sur une racine, une «unité amorphe». Au demeurant les modalités qui portent sur une forme en son entier, c'est-à-dire les modalités autres que celles qui sont constitutives des formes, sont régulièrement antéposées. L'hypothèse ici soumise au Lecteur contredit l'exposé d'I. M. DIAKONOFF, in *Afrasian Languages* (Moscow, 1988), pp. 66-67: «In Arabic, a noun determined by another noun or a pronoun, or an article, did not acquire nunation - exactly because nunation by itself was a kind of determination, and double determination would have been redundant. With the gradual weakening of the determining function of nunation, Arabic introduced a new preposed article *al-* (< **han/l-*) [...] nunation came to be contrasted with the new definite article and was transformed from the definite into an indefinite article.» En fait l'«article défini» /?al/ est, différemment, une «unité numérale», «amorphe», qui «arrête» le nombre du substantif auquel elle est affectée : le syntagme qu'elle constitue avec lui est l'étiquette d'un ensemble. Or la base d'une expansion annective est par celle-ci incluse dans un ensemble. En conséquence elle ne peut recevoir la modalité numérale /?al/, puisque celle-ci constitue en un ensemble la forme à laquelle elle est affectée. D'où l'impossibilité de */?al kalb-u walad-i-n/ pour «Le chien d'un enfant», qui se dira /kalb-u walad-i-n/.

[21] Les exemples de «noms propres» seront pris dans : Ibn Qutayba (m. en 276/889), '*Adab al-Kâtib* (Bayrût, 1402/1982), *Bâb 'uṣûl 'asmâ' an-nâs*); Ibn Durayd (m. en 321/933), *Kitâb al-Ištiqâq* (2e éd., Baġdâd, 1399/1979); an-Nawawî (m. en 676/1277), *Tahḏîb al-'Asmâ' wa

«nom généalogique»[22]. Sa première fonction est, à l'évidence, de déclarer l'appartenance d'un être humain à un groupe social.

C'est par extension que d'autres noms auront été considérés comme des «noms propres». Ainsi apparaissent dans l'usage comme des «noms propres» les noms qui sont effectivement des signatures, - un «Renoir», une «Renault» -, et aussi tous ceux des *res* pour lesquelles est établie une relation d'appartenance assimilée à celle d'un être humain à son groupe : les noms de lieux, d'animaux, d'objets, les appellatifs ou titres, les «noms de nombre», les noms des symboles mathématiques, «Pi».

La langue arabe traitait et, pour certains d'entre eux traite encore comme des noms propres, c'est-à-dire comme des «noms généalogiques», les noms de personnes, de lieux, d'animaux, d'objets particuliers, les appellatifs ou titres, les «noms de nombre». Cela est particulièrement net pour les appellatifs ou titres et pour les «noms de nombre».

Exemples :

| /ja: 'ami:r-u/ | = | «O Emir !» |
| /tala:ṭat-u niṣf-u sittat-a/ | = | «Trois est la moitié de six.»[23] |

Au demeurant, le système de nomination n'avait pas la capacité de créer pour le «nom propre» une forme différente de celle du «nom commun». En effet l'un et l'autre devaient être créés sur une racine, particulière, de trois consonnes, et comporter également la modalité d'animéité.

D'où les «noms communs» d'êtres vivants :

/'ahøl/, = «famille»,	/bajøt/, = «maison»,	/rahøṭ/, = «clan»,
/marø?/, = «homme, *vir*»,	/kahøl/, = «homme mûr»,	/šajøh/, = «vieillard»,
/ba°øl/, = «seigneur»,	/wahøš/, = «animal sauvage»,	/?awøs/, = «loup»,
/dabø°/, = «hyène»,	/fahød/, = «lynx»,	/kaløb/, = «chien»,
/žarøw/, = «chiot»,	/lajøṭ/, = «lion»,	/°ajør/, = «âne»,
/bakør/, = «chamelles jeunes»,	/hajøl/, = «équidés»,	/bagøl/, = «mulet»,
/da'øn/, = «ovins»,	/zabøj/, = «oryx»,	/fahøl/, = «étalon»,
/kabøš/, = «bélier»,	/tawør/, = «taureau»,	/°anøz/, = «caprins»,

l-luġât (Bayrût, s.d.); al-Qalqašandî (m. en 821/1418), *Qalâ'id az-Zamân fî t-ta°rîf bi qabâ'ili °Arabi z-zamân* (2ᵉ éd., Bayrût, 1402/1982); A.- C. BARBIER DE MEYNARD, *Surnoms et sobriquets dans la littérature arabe*, Paris, 1907.

[22] Voir, sur le rôle anthropologique du nom propre, particulièrement, Ch. BROMBERGER, «Pour une analyse anthropologique des noms de personnes», in *Le Nom Propre*, n°66 de la revue *Langages*, Paris, Larousse, 1982, pp. 103-124.

[23] En effet le «nom de nombre» apparaît, s'il est employé sans le nom de la *res* nombrée, comme le nom d'un membre de la population des nombres et, par là, comme un «nom propre». Voir A. ROMAN, *Grammaire de l'arabe*.

/maᶜøz/, = «caprins»,   /tajøs/, = «bouc»,   /waᶜøl/, = «aragali»,
/žadøj/, = «chevreau»,   /žahøš/, = «ânon»,   /bajød/, = «oeufs»,
/batøt/, = «canard»,   /faʾør/, = «rat»,   /fahør/, = «poulet»,
/nasør/, = «vautour»,   /saqør/, = «sacre»,   /žabøh/, = «ruche»,
/nahøl/, = «abeilles»,   /namøl/, = «fourmis»,   /qamøl/, = «poux»,
/taløᶜ/, = «pollen»,   /ʾarød/, = «terre» ...

D'où les «noms propres» :

/ʔazød/, /bahøz/, /tajøm/, /žabør/, /žahøš/, /žahøn/, /žarøm/, /žasør/, /žazøʾ/, /žaᶜød/, /žalød/, /hazøm/, /hazøn/, /haføs/, /daᶜød/, /dahør/, /dawøs/, /rajøt/, /zawøf/, /zajød/, /saᶜød/, /šakør/, /šamøh/, /sahør/, /saᶜøb/, /saløt/, /dawør/, /tasøm/, /taløq/, /ᶜabøs/, /ᶜadøs/, /ᶜadøn/, /ᶜamør/, /ᶜanøs/, /ᶜawød/, /ᶜawøs/, /ᶜawøf/, /ᶜawøn/, /ġarøm/, /ġalød/, /ġanøm/, /ġawøt/, /fakøk/, /fahøm/, /qarøn/, /qasør/, /qahød/, /qajøs/, /kabøs/, /kaᶜøb/, /laʾøj/, /lahøm/, /maᶜøn/, /mahøw/, /nabøt/, /nahøw/, /nadør/, /mamør/, /nahød/, /nawøf/, /warød/, /wažøz/, /wahøb/,...

Aussi la différence entre le «nom propre» et le «nom commun» a-t-elle dû être assurée par le système de communication.

Cette différence nécessaire, le système de communication l'a assurée fort simplement : le «nom propre», qui est un «nom généalogique», ne pouvant être apparié au tanwîn *dès lors qu'il nommait un membre d'une communauté, - sa famille, son clan, sa tribu -, c'est l'absence même du* tanwîn *qui, en impliquant cette communauté, a fait du «nom commun» un «nom propre».*

Exemple :

/daᶜød-u/ = «Daᶜd»

Cependant cette différence, le système de communication ne pouvait l'assurer qu'en excluant les «noms propres» de la relation de subordination annective. Au demeurant c'est ce qu'impliquait la suppression de la relation avec le *tanwîn* qui est la tête même du paradigme des expansions annectives. De fait, si les «noms propres» avaient été employés comme bases d'une expansion annective, l'expansion annective, en se substituant au *tanwîn*, aurait effacé leur différence avec les «noms communs». Ce sont donc les autres relations de subordination qui ont suppléé la relation annective. Exemple :

/zajød-u bn-u daᶜød-a/ = «Zayd fils de Daᶜd.»

où le «nom propre» /zajød/, déclaré comme un «nom propre» par l'absence du *tanwîn*, est la base de l'expansion d'identification /bn/, = «fils», qui évite l'annexion /zajød-u daᶜød-a/, = «Zayd de Daᶜd».

Toutefois la mise en relation d'un «nom propre» avec une expansion annective est possible à la condition d'une situation attestant clairement sa qualité. Le «nom propre» se trouve dans cette situation quand il est la première voix d'une phrase dont la seconde voix est un morphème d'appel. Exemple :

/ja: tajøm-u tajøm-a ᶜadij:-i-n/ = «O Taym, Taym [descendants] de ᶜAdî !»
où /tajøm/ est inéquivocablement un «nom propre» dès lors qu'il est appelé.

La forme appelée, si elle n'est pas un «nom propre», est traitée comme un «nom propre» et conserve la condition archaïque du «nom propre» qui, jadis, était systématiquement la base d'une expansion d'annexion implicite et ne pouvait donc recevoir le *tanwîn*. Exemple repris :

/ja: 'ami:r-u/

La langue a-t-elle tenté de se donner des schèmes de «nom propre» ?

La structuration des *res* qui a été présentée imposait que tout schème nouveau fût différent du schème originel, /faᶜøl/, par un suffixe : un préfixe, un infixe, aurait rendu méconnaissable le schème des *res*[24].

Le suffixe /-u:n/ aurait pu être ce marqueur de «nom propre». En effet il est sans autre emploi. Mais les «noms propres» de schème /facøl-u:n/ qui sont attestés sont tardifs. Le sémitisant allemand Georg KAMPFFMEYER en a rapporté plusieurs. Seuls seront repris ici les noms *différents* portés par trente-sept personnages[25] qu'il a cités. Les deux personnages les plus anciens de sa liste sont un oriental, commensal du calife al-Mutawakkil[26], /hamød-u:n/[27], et un occidental, le juriste /sahøn-u:n/[28]. Voici ces noms:

/badør-u:n/, /h abør-u:n/, /hakøm-u:n/, /haføs-u:n/, /hamød-u:n/, /hajøj- u:n/, /halød-u:n/, /hajør-u:n/, /zahør-u:n/, /zajød-u:n/, /sahøn-u:n/, /saᶜød-u:n/, /šaløm-u:n/, /šamøž-u:n/, /dajøf-u:n/, /ᶜabød-u:n/, /ᶜasr-u:n/, /ᶜamør-u:n/, /ᶜajøš-u:n/, /ġaløb-u:n/, /fahøl-u:n/, /wahøb-u:n/.

Quelle peut être l'origine de cette forme qui apparaît au IIIᵉ/IXᵉ siècle ? Les deux origines possibles seraient l'origine syriaque et l'origine andalouse. L'ori-

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[24] C'est la même raison qui a déterminé la constitution comme des suffixes des morphèmes primitifs du genre et du nombre. Exemples: les «noms communs» /kaløb/, = «chien», qui a pour féminin /kaløb-a-t/; le «nom commun» /ʔahøl/, = «famille», qui a pour pluriel /ʔahøl-u:/.

[25] G. KAMPFFMEYER, pp. 633-640 de son article «Südarabisches [Beiträge zur Dialektologie des Arabischen, III]» (in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1900, pp. 621-660).

[26] Al-Mutawakkil a régné de 232/847 à 247/861.

[27] Voir la notice que lui a consacrée Yâqût (m. en 626/1229) dans son *Muᶜžam al-'Udabâ'* (Le Caire, 20 vol.), vol. II, pp. 204-218. /hamød-u:n/ est le seul des quelque 1170 personnages cités par Yâqût dont le nom ait ce suffixe /-u:n/. Faut-il citer Qâlûn ? Mais /qa:lu:n/, - voir le *Muᶜžam al-'Udabâ'*, vol. XVI, pp. 151-152 -, serait le surnom de ᶜIsâ b. Mînâ b. Wardân b. ᶜIsâ, mort en 205/820-1, Lecteur d'origine byzantine qui se plaisait à répéter «qâlûn ! qâlûn !», pour dire «bien ! bien !».

[28] Sahnûn est mort en 240/854.

gine syriaque aurait produit de tels noms avant le IIIe/IXe siècle, semble-t-il. L'origine andalouse serait donc la plus probable[29].

Un autre suffixe, le suffixe /-a:n/, apparaît, lui, anciennement. Exemples: /ˀalǿha:n/, /bawǿla:n/, /ha̧žǿwa:n/, /hamǿda:n/, /hawǿla:n/, /ha̧jǿra:n/, /ha̧jǿwa:n/, /dakǿra:n/, /dakǿwa:n/, /zahǿra:n/, /salǿma:n/, /ˀšaᶜǿba:n/, /ṣafǿwa:n/, /zabǿja:n/, /ˀabǿda:n/, /ˀazǿla:n/, /ᶜadǿna:n/, /ᶜadǿwa:n/, /ᶜajǿla:n/, /ġadǿba:n/, /ġajǿla:n/, /qahǿta:n/, /kahǿla:n/, /marǿwa:n/, /nabǿha:n/, /hamǿda:n/ ...

Mais ce suffixe /-a:n/ est, dans la langue arabe historique affixé aussi à des noms communs et à divers *modus*[30].

D'autres «noms propres» apparaissent formés non plus par un suffixe mais, en rupture avec le système de nomination des *res*, sur le schème /fuᶜal/ [31], qui est employé, autre rupture, comme un nouveau schème de pluriel du nom, un schème dit, justement, par la Tradition, «pluriel brisé» (*žamᶜ at-taksîr*). Exemples: /bulaᶜ/, /žuraš/, /žumaḩ/, /dulaf/, /duhal/, /zufar/, /šurar/, /ᶜudas/, /ᶜumar/, /ġudar/, /quţam/ ...

VII. LA DIPTOSIE

1. L'origine de la diptosie: les «noms propres» diptotes

Ce sont les «noms propres» qui seraient à l'origine du paradigme «diptote» des formes sans *tanwîn*, ainsi nommé d'après sa flexion à deux cas, {/u/, /a/}, ou «diptosie», qui serait, on l'a vu, la première flexion du système de communication.

La «diptosie» serait donc faite de deux traits archaïques : cette flexion duelle et l'absence du *tanwîn*.

La flexion diptote serait devenue une flexion triptote, à trois cas, lorsqu' elle a intégré comme un nouveau fonctionnel-désinence la voyelle /i/, qui ne pouvait rester exclue du système de communication faute de se différencier suffisamment des premières voyelles désinentielles, /u/ et /a/[32]. La «diptosie» est donc devenue «triptosie».

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[29]. Pour H. FLEISCH, *Traité*, p. 454 : «Dans l'Arabie du Sud une influence du suffixe diminutif -*ôn* (-*ûn*) de l'araméen syriaque est invraisemblable. Ce suffixe -*ûn* est bien arabe.» Or le philologue français vient de faire référence à l'étude précitée de G. KAMPFFMEYER. Il n'aura pas examiné les dates d'occurrence de ces «noms propres».

[30] Exemples : /karawa:n/, = «courlis»; /ḩafaqa:n/, = «palpitation»; /našwa:n/, = «ivre».

[31] En effet sa voyelle /a/ entre R$_2$/^{c} et R$_3$/l était spécifique des *modus*.

[32] Voir A. ROMAN, *Etude de la phonologie et de la morphologie de la* koinè *arabe* (2 vol., Jeanne Laffitte, Aix-en-Provence - Marseille, 1983), chapitre IV: les traits.

La diptosie première et l'absence de *tanwîn* se sont, semble-t-il, maintenues ensemble, leur archaïcité s'affermissant mutuellement. De fait un nom diptote, s'il reçoit la modalité numérale /'al/, dite par la Tradition «article défini», ou s'il reçoit une expansion annective, devient triptote. Exemple:

{/sala:ṭi:n-u/ - /sala:ṭi:n-a/ - /sala:ṭi:n-a/} = «des sultans»

{/'as sala:ṭi:n-u/ - /'as sala:ṭi:n-a/ - /'as sala:ṭi:n-i/} = «les sultans»

{/sala:ṭi:n-u d dawlat-i/ - /sala:ṭi:n-a d dawlat-i/ - /sala:ṭi:n-i d dawlat-i/}

= «[les] sultans de la dynastie»

Le «nom propre» a pu conserver son statut particulier tant que la langue a conservé la structuration de ses *res* et tant que la communauté a pris ses «noms propres» dans le paradigme des *res* animées. Ainsi /'awøs/, /bakør/, /fahød/, /kaløb/, sont devenus des «noms propres» sans porter atteinte au système : /kaløb-u daʿød-a/ ne pouvait être que «le chien de Daʿd»; /kaløb-u bn-u daʿød-a/ ne pouvait être que «Kalb fils de Daʿd».

La rupture est venue de la perte de la structuration des *res*. Lorsque les *res* animées se sont métamorphosées en des figures indéchiffrables, simples séquences de phonèmes où seules les consonnes de la racine, gardant quelque signifié, restaient des morphèmes, - d'où : /ražul/, = «homme», /'asad/, = «lion», /baʿi:r/, = «chameau», /birdawn/, = «bardot», /ḥima:r/, = «âne», /ḥu:t/, = «poisson», /difdiʿ/, = «grenouille», /ʿaqrab/, = «scorpion», /ʿankabu:t/, = «araignée», /ḥuba:ra:/, = «outarde» -, les Arabes, émancipés de la contrainte du système linguistique, le paradigme des *res* s'évanouissant, ont choisi leurs «noms propres» dans leur monde, transformant, pour ce faire, en noms des surnoms. Ainsi ils ont retenu comme des «noms propres» les «adjectifs» des qualités qu'ils appréciaient. Exemples[33]:

/'aḥmad-u/ = «Qui mérite les louanges les plus fortes»

«adjectif» de schème, /'afʿal/, du *modus elativus* qui dénote une qualité à son plus haut niveau; cette forme, comparable en cela au «nom propre», est, régulièrement, la base d'une expansion annective implicite qui nomme l'ensemble de qui a cette qualité à son plus haut niveau *et* de qui ou ne l'a point ou ne l'a pas à ce même niveau; /'afʿal/ du *modus elativus* ne reçoit donc jamais le *tanwîn* /n/[34].

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[33] Dans ces exemples /-u/, pour voyelle, coche un nom diptote; /-u-n/, pour voyelle et *tanwîn*, coche un nom triptote.

[34] De même le *modus numeralis* de schème /mafʿal/ est toujours la base d'une expansion annective implicite, le «génitif subjectif» qui dénomme ceux qui ensemble constituent un groupe du nombre spécifié par la racine. Exemple : /matlat-u/ = «groupe de trois». Différemment du *modus elativus*, les «noms communs» qui en ont le schème sont triptotes; exemples : /'armal-u-n/, = «veuf», /'azmal-u-n/, = «bruit indistinct», /'arnab-u-n/, = «lapin», /'aždal-u-n/, = «gerfaut», /'aḥjal-u-n/, = «oiseau vert».

/muham:ad-u-n/ = «Qui mérite des louanges fréquentes»

«adjectif» de schème, /mufaᶜ:al/, du *modus patientis* où l'allongement de la seconde radicale, /m/, est le signifiant de la modalité d'itération.

/hasan-u-n/	=	«Beau»,	/hasa:n-u-n/	=	«Belle»
/ka:mil-u-n/	=	«Parfait»,	/nabi:l-u-n/	=	«Noble»
/ʔal ᶜab:a:s/	=	«Le Sévère»[35],	/ᶜažrad-u-n/	=	«Leste»

qui sont des noms d'êtres humains «ordinaires».

/'al 'ahtal/	=	«Le Disert»,	/'al farazdaq/	=	«La Miche»
/'al hansa:'/	=	«La Camuse»,	/diᶜbil-u-n/	=	«Chameau chevronné»
/miski:n-u-n/	=	«Gueux»,	/šanfara:/	=	«Lippu»
/tirim:a:h-u-n/	=	«Long»			

qui sont des surnoms de poètes, devenus les noms sous lesquels ils sont célèbres, qui leur sont restés propres.

/'as saf:a:h/ = «Le Sanguinaire»

qui est le surnom du premier calife abbâsîde[36].

Les Arabes, encore, ont choisi leurs noms dans la nature arabe.

Exemples :

/hajdarat-u/	=	«Lion»[37],	/fa:timat-u/	=	«Chamelle à peine sevrée»
/jaᶜsu:b-u-n/	=	«Reine des abeilles, chef»,	/talhat-u/	=	«Acacia»

Les Arabes, enfin, ont choisi leurs noms dans leur histoire. Exemple:

/ha:šim-u-n/ = «Emietteur» [38]

«Après hésitation, les noms du Prophète : /'ahmad-u/, /muham:ad- u-n/, /mustafa:/ [...], /'abu: l qa:sim-i/, sont devenus populaires; aussi ceux des Prophètes : /'ibra:hi:m-u/, /zakarij:a:'-u/, /ju:suf-u/, /'isha:q-u/, /da:wu:d-u/, /ᶜi:sa:/ etc. Les anciens noms ne se répandirent largement dans la société nouvelle que quand

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[35] Ce surnom, comme il comprend l'article, ne peut être diptote.

[36] As-Saffâh a régné de 132/750 à 136/754.

[37] Voir Ibn Qutayba, *op. cit.*, p. 71, qui cite dans le *Bâb 'Usûl 'asmâ' an-nâs* plusieurs surnoms qui sont des noms de plantes - /tuma:mat-u/, /saja:bat-u/, /ᶜara:dat-u/, /ᶜalqamat-u/, /qata:dat-u/ ... -, d'insectes, d'oiseaux, d'animaux, - /žundub-u-n/, /ᶜikrimat-u/, /ʔusa:mat-u/ ...

[38] Ce personnage, qui vécut avant l'Islam, «reçut le surnom de *Hâchim*, «l'émietteur», parce qu'il fut le premier à distribuer des aliments aux pauvres de la tribu de Koreich.» Voir Barbier de MEYNARD, *op. cit.*, *s.v.*; Ibn Durayd, *Kitâb al-Ištiqâq*, p. 13.

ils eurent été illustrés par l'un des grands hommes des premiers temps de l'Islâm, par un compagnon du prophète : /ˁumar-u/, /ˁutma:n-u/, /ˁalij:-u-n/, /ˁab:a:s-u-n/. Des noms étrangers, araméens, persans, turcs, berbères, etc., se sont fait naturaliser arabes.»[39]

Les phrases, elles, sont très rarement devenues des «noms propres», les phrases même les plus courtes, celles faites de la seule forme verbale. En effet les phrases, dès lors qu'elles verbalisent des expériences, gardent une relation au temps qui est incompatible avec le statut des noms qui sont des *res*. Exemples:

| /jaškur-u/ | = | «Il remercie», | /jazi:d-u/ | = | «Il ajoute» |
| /jaḥja:/ | = | «Il vit», | /jamu:t-u/ | = | «Il meurt» |

La perte de la structuration des *res* a permis que des surnoms comportent une expansions annective. Exemples :

/zajd-u l ḥajl/	=	«Zayd des chevaux.»[40]
/jazi:d-u l ḥajr/	=	«Yazîd du bien»[41]
/ˀazød-u šanu:ʔat-a/	=	«ˀAzd de la détestation»[42]

Dans cette altération des systèmes de la langue, certains «noms propres» devaient se maintenir dans le cadre de la diptosie, cela, semble- t-il, parce qu'ils restaient pris dans un réseau de traits sémantiques ou formels.

2. Les unités diptotes de la langue historique

Les unités diptotes de la langue historique sont des «noms propres», des «noms communs» et des «adjectifs». Les deux traits responsables de la diptosie dans ces unités apparaissent comme étant l'extranéité et la forme.

2.1. Les «noms propres» diptotes
2.1.1. Les «noms propres» à forme typée

Cette forme typée est soit un schème arabe réemployé, - /fuˁal/, /ˀafˁal/, /jafˁvl/, /faˁ:al/ -, soit une forme étrangère.

Exemples repris de «noms propres» à forme arabe :

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[39] M. GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES et R. BLACHÈRE, *loc. cit.*

[40] L'homme «devait ce surnom à son goût pour les chevaux de race.» Le Prophète changea son surnom en /zajd-u l ḥajr/, = «Zayd de bien.». Voir BARBIER DE MEYNARD, *op. cit., s.v.*

[41] «Surnom honorifique donné par Mahomet à [...] un de ses partisans les plus dévoués.» Voir BARBIER DE MEYNARD, *op. cit., s.v.*

[42] Ibn Qutayba, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

/ʿumar-u/, /ʾaḥmad-u/, /jazi:d-u/, /šam:ar-u/

Quand le système de nomination de la langue arabe possédait encore son organisation caractéristique, la structuration différente des noms étrangers les manifestait effectivement comme étrangers et comme appartenant à une communauté donnée, identifiée, non arabe, les hommes qui les portaient. Ces «noms propres» étrangers sont restés diptotes. Exemples:

/ʾibra:hi:m-u/   =   «Abraham», /da:wu:d-u/   =   «David»

/marjam-u/   =   «Marie»,   /sulajma:n-u/ =   «Salomon»

Ainsi l'extranéité de ces «noms propres» est doublée par leur «extranéité» aux schèmes de la langue arabe.

2.1.2. Les «noms propres» à suffixes : /-a:n/, /-u:n/, /-(a)t/, /—a:/, /-a:ʾ/

Les suffixes /-(a)t/, /-a:/, /-a:ʾ/ apparaissent dans la langue arabe historique comme des suffixes du féminin: ils sont effectivement employés comme tels pour les *res* et les *modus* de la langue. Le suffixe /-a:n/ apparaît, par opposition, mais non pas de façon régulière, comme un suffixe du masculin. Le suffixe /-u:n/, quant à lui, apparaît de fait, dans l'usage, comme un suffixe du «nom propre» masculin.

Exemples repris de noms propres d'hommes à suffixes du masculin:

/saʿødu:n-u/, /marøwa:n-u/

Exemples de «noms propres» à suffixes du féminin, d'hommes et de femmes: /taløh-a-t-u/, /hamøz-a-t-u/ - /ḥawøl-a-t-u/, /ʿabød-a-t-u/, /ʿamør-a-t-u/, /salw-a:/, /zahr-a:ʾ-u/

Peut-être aura joué le statut relativement dépendant de la femme qui aura maintenu le sentiment de son appartenance à un groupe[43].

Cependant les «noms propres» de femmes, de schème /faʿøl/, schème qui n'est plus désormais dans la langue historique qu'une figure banale, commune effectivement aux *modus* et aux *res*, peuvent être triptotes.

Exemple :

/daʿd-u/   *vs*   /daʿd-u-n/

2.1.3. Les «noms propres» étrangers à leurs paradigmes

Ce sont les «noms propres» faits d'une forme d'un verbe, d'une phrase donc, ou d'un *modus* pouvant être confondu avec une forme d'un verbe. Leur réemploi comme des *res* dénonçait leur caractère de «nom propre».

Exemples:

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[43] Un «nom propre» d'homme, triptote dans la langue historique, devient diptote s'il est donné à une femme; voir az-Zažžâž, *Mâ yanṣarifu wa mâ lâ yanṣarifu*, p. 51.

/ʾaḥmad-u/[44]			/ḍurib-u/	=	«Il a été battu»
/jazi:d-u/	=	«Il ajoute»,	/šam:ar-u/	=	«Il s'est mis à l'oeuvre»,
/jaḥja:/	=	«Il vit»,	/taġlib-u/	=	«Tu vaincs / elle vainc»

2.2. Les «adjectifs» diptotes

Quant aux «adjectifs», certains devaient devenir diptotes, par analogie, semble-t-il, avec les «noms propres», *via* un même schème ou un même affixe[45]. Exemples :

/ʾ-aswad-u/	=	«noir»	-	/sawd-a:'-u/	=	«noire»
/ʾ-aᶜwar-u/	=	«borgne (masc.)»	-	/ᶜawr-a:'-u/	=	«borgne (fém.)»
/našw-a:n-u//	=	«ivre (homme)»	-	/našw-a:/	=	«ivre (fém.)»[46]

/ʾ-akbar-u/ = «au plus haut degré de la grandeur (homme)»
/kubr-a:/ = «au plus haut degré de la grandeur (femme)»

L'«adjectif» /našwa:-n-u/ a donc la même désinence de /marwa:n-u/. Par contre les «noms communs» /nadma:n-u-n/, = «commensal», /nadma:n-a-t-u-n/, = «commensale», sont triptotes. De même /marža:n-u-n/, = «corail».

Les adjectifs de schème /faᶜøl-a:n/ ont un pluriel également diptote : / $R_1 a R_2 a:R_3$-a:/. Exemple :

/naša:w-a:/

de racine √n-š-w, pluriel de /našwa:n-u/ et de /našw-a:/.

2.3. Les «noms communs» diptotes

Le pluriel /$R_1 a R_2 a:R_3$-a:/ s'est étendu, sous la forme /$C_1 a C_2 a:C_3 i(:)C_4$/, aux adjectifs de schème /ʾafᶜal/ transformés en noms. Exemples:

/ʾaka:bir-u/

pluriel de /ʾakbar-u/, de racine √C_2-C_3-C_4 = √k-b-r[47].

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[44] /ʾahmad/, *modus elativus* signifiant «qui mérite les louanges les plus fortes», est homonyme de la forme du verbe signifiant «Je loue.»

[45] Les schèmes /ʾ-afᶜal-u/ - /faᶜl-a:?-u/ sont communs aux «adjectifs de couleur» et aux «adjectifs de qualité "monstrueuse"». Le pluriel de ces unités a pour schème /fuᶜl-u-n/ quand elles restent des «adjectifs», - exemple : /suwd-u-n/ = «noirs» -, et /fuᶜl-a:n-u-n/ quand elles deviennent des noms, exemple : /suwd-a:n-u-n/ = «Noirs».

[46] /našw-a:/ a la même désinence de /salw-a:/.

[47] Le pluriel /fuᶜal-u-n/ existe également, - d'où /kubar-u-n/ -, mais il est employé généralement avec l'article : /ʾal kubar-u/. Voir az-Zažžâž, *Mâ yanṣarifu wa mâ lâ yanṣarifu*, p. 41.

/'ara:qim-u/ = «serpents variés»

pluriel de /'arqam-u/, = «varié», dit par métonymie du serpent dont la peau est variée, de racine $\sqrt{}\,C_2$-C_3-C_4 = $\sqrt{}$r-q-m.

Et il s'est étendu également aux noms faits de quatre consonnes qui peuvent être représentées ainsi : /$R_1R_2R_3$-C/ - /C-$R_1R_2R_3$/ - /$R_1R_2R_3R_4$/.

Un tel pluriel efface la différence entre les consonnes qui sont radicales et celles qui ne le sont point.

Exemples repris:

/sulta:n-u-n/	>	/sala:ti̱:n-u/	= «sultans», de racine $\sqrt{}$s-l-ṭ
/maṭlaṭ-u/	>	/mata:liṭ-u/	= «groupes de trois», de racine $\sqrt{}$ṭ-l-ṭ
/jaᶜsu:b-u-n/	>	/jaᶜa:si:b-u/	= «reines des abeilles, chefs», de racine $\sqrt{}$j-ᶜ-s-b

Il est remarquable que l'affixation à ce schème, /$C_1aC_2a{:}C_3i({:})C_4$/, du suffixe /-t/[48], qui le transforme en /$C_1aC_2a{:}C_3iC_4$-t/, fait de lui un schème triptote; cela sans doute en raison de la rupture que ce suffixe établit avec le premier schème [49]. Exemple :

/tilmi:d̲-u-n/ > /tala:mi:d̲-u/ / tala:mid̲at-u-n/ = «élèves»

Semblablement sont diptotes les pluriels à «suffixes du féminin», /—a:/, /-a:'/, formés à partir de *modus*. Mais alors que les singuliers féminins ont pour schèmes /fuᶜl-a:/ et /faᶜl-a:'/, ces pluriels ont pour schèmes /faᶜl —a:/, /fuᶜal-a:'/ et /'afᶜil-a:'/.

Exemples:

/qati:l-u-n/	>	/qatl-a:/	= «tués»
/ᶜa:lim-u-n/	>	/ᶜulam-a:'-u/	= «savants»

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[48] Ce suffixe, /t/, semble être un autre signifiant de la *res* générale, /m/, en sorte que les pluriels qui le reçoivent devraient nommer des classes. Toutefois l'usage n'y reconnaît pas un pluriel de classe. Voir A. ROMAN, *La grammaire de l'arabe*, p. 36.

[49] Les pluriels dont la quatrième consonne est instable ont été traités comme des unités à trois consonnes ou à quatre consonnes. Leurs pluriels sont triptotes dans le premier cas, diptotes dans le second. Exemples : /fatw-a:/, = «*fatwa*, consultation juridique», qui a pour pluriels /fata:w-a:/, pour les trois cas, et aussi /fata:w-i-n/, pour le «nominatif» et le «génitif», /fata:wij-a/ pour l' «accusatif»; /ṣahr-a:?-u/, = «sahara», qui a pour pluriels /ṣaha:r-a:/, pour les trois cas, et aussi /ṣaha:r-i-n/, pour le «nominatif» et le génitif, /ṣaha:rij-a/ pour l' «accusatif». L'on voit qu'à l' «accusatif» la consonne instable, conditionnée, est régulièrement réalisée /j/; or [j] est «son de passage» entre la voyelle syntagmatique [i] et la voyelle casuelle [a]; [j], «son de passage» entre [i] et [a], est stable, d'où le traitement constant de la forme à l' «accusatif» comme une forme à quatre consonnes et donc comme une forme diptote, et le traitement des deux autres formes casuelles comme des formes à trois consonnes et donc triptotes : **/fata:wij-u-n/ > */fata:w-i̱:-n/ > /fata:w-i-n/; */ṣaha:rij-i-n/ > */ṣaha:r-i:n/ > /ṣa:ha:r-i-n/.

/ṣadi:q-u-n/   >   /'a-ṣdiq-a:'-u/   =   «amis»

Là encore les pluriels obtenus sont des pluriels de noms.

VIII. CONCLUSION

L'origine de la diptosie est bien à rechercher dans les «noms propres», ces «noms généalogiques» nommant des êtres humains en leur qualité de membres d'une communauté à laquelle les «noms propres» manifestaient leur appartenance en se détachant du *tanwîn* /n/, signifiant du «lieu général».

Et la diptosie, son origine oubliée, s'est étendue à des «noms communs» et à des «adjectifs» qui présentaient des ressemblances formelles avec des surnoms devenus des «noms propres».

Translations of Aramaic Old Testament Sections in the Kralice Bible

Stanislav SEGERT

Following the example of our teachers Karel PETRÁČEK devoted his attention to the knowledge of the Near East as reflected in Czechoslovakian culture. The most important and still most influential part of our common heritage is the Old Testament translated from Hebrew and Aramaic by the Unitas fratrum, in the Moravian town of Kralice. Four volumes containing canonical books of the Old Testament, published in 1579, 1580, 1582 and 1587, were followed by the fifth volume containing Apocryphs, in 1588. And in 1594 the translation was completed by the publication of the New Testament volume.

This first edition was provided with notes, many of them referring to the expressions in the original. Entire Bible was reprinted in 1596. A slightly revised edition from 1631 was the last one issued by the Unity of Brethren. This translation was reprinted many times and is still being published.

The importance of Kralice Bible as a model for the revival of Czech literary language in the beginning of the 19th century was carefully studied by many competent scholars, but less attention was devoted to its translation technique and art. Jan KARAFIÁT and Jaroslav KONOPÁSEK wrote detailed studies on the New Testament translated from Greek. As the Brethren themselves derived their teaching primarily from the New Testament, Josef Bohumil SOUČEK in his excellent synthesis of the theology of the comments of the Kralice Bible deals mostly with New Testament matters.

Two detailed analyses are devoted to apocryphal books of the Old Testament, translated from Greek. Slavomil DANĚK, the first Professor of Old Testament Studies at the John Huss Evangelical Theological Faculty in Prague, presented at his inauguration to the office of the Dean in 1929 a lecture on the Greek sources of the Kralice Apocryphs, concentrating on the Third Book of Ezra. František M. DOBIÁŠ, Professor of the same institution, continued the work of his teacher in his article on the Third Book of the Maccabees, published in 1948.

Both these scholars took also into consideration also older Czech translations of these books, which were effectively used in the Kralice version. Luděk BROŽ also demonstrated the role of these older Czech versions in 1949, mostly on New Testament examples.

Two articles were devoted to Psalms, both stressing the role of Jiří STREJC as a poet. In 1967 Timoteus POKORNÝ wrote about the participation of STREJC in the formulation of the translation. In 1949 Mirjam DAŇKOVÁ dealt with his poetic paraphrases of Psalms for singing, published in 1958, reprinted many times and used until recently.

The study of translation of the Old Testament from its original languages, Hebrew and Aramaic, by the Kralice Brethren remains a challenge. While working in early 1950s on the excerption and revision of the material from the passages translated from Aramaic for the Czech Bible Concordance edited by Miloš BIČ and Josef Bohumil SOUČEK, this writer considered to compare the Czech version to the Aramaic original. The following lines are only a small contribution to this project: within limitations of the time and space only some samples are presented.

While most members of the translation team working in Kralice were native of Moravia, both of its experts in Hebrew came from the North. Nicolaus ALBERT à Kamenek was born in Chrapkovice (Krappitz) in Silesia. He studied Hebrew with Hieronymus OPICIUS at the Wittenberg University, where he received the degree of Magister artium in 1571. Lukáš HELIC came from a Jewish family from Poznań in Poland which had joined the Unity of Brethren. Since 1564 he began preparing himself for service in the Unity. Both of these experts in Hebrew were ordained to priesthood in the Unity in 1581, and both served as preachers in German congregations of the Unity. ALBERT was also a rector at various schools, and eventually from 1611 to his death in 1617, Professor of Hebrew at the Charles University in Prague.

ALBERT has opportunity to learn Aramaic in Wittenberg, HELIC perhaps brought some knowledge of this language from his Jewish background. No specific information about translation of Aramaic passages of the Old Testament is available in the sources.

No Aramaic text serving as source for these passages in the Kralice Bible is expressly mentioned. As the Antwerp Bible is indicated as the base text for the translation of the Apocryphs, it can be supposed that this Polyglot Bible, published in eight volumes in 1569-1572 under the auspices of the King of Spain Philip II., was used also for the translation of the canonical books of the Old Testament. Among the contemporary Latin translations the one by Immanuel TREMELLIUS and Franciscus JUNIUS, published in 1575-1578, was apparently considered helpful.

The sixth volume of the Antwerp Polyglot contains a Syro-Chaldaic dictionary by Guido Fabricius BORDERIANUS and a Syriac vocabulary by Andreas MASIUS, which could have been consulted for the translation of the texts in Biblical Aramaic.

The Books of Ezra and Daniel are presented in the Antwerp Polyglot in somewhat simpler form than the other books of the Hebrew Bible, which are accompanied by Aramaic versions, Targums, the role of which in the Kralice translation was studied by Jan HELLER in 1960. The Books of Ezra and Daniel in the Antwerp Polyglot have on the left pages the Aramaic original text and the Latin Vulgate, on the opposite right pages in the right columns the Greek Septuagint, its rendering in Latin in the left columns.

As samples the following Aramaic passages were selected: Two words in Genesis 31:47; the verse Jeremiah 10:11; from the books of Ezra (4:8 - 6:18; 7:12-26) one sample from a historical narrative (6:13-18) and one from an official letter (7:12-17); from the Book of Daniel (2:4b - 7:28) a conversation (2:4b-11) and a royal decree with liturgical content (3:31-33), and from the vision in chapter 7 two samples (7:1-4 and 13-15).

Two Aramaic words in Genesis 31:47 are simply transcribed in the Kralice version: *Jeǵar Sahadutha* - without using the opportunity to indicate the length of the vowels in the second word -, and the translation *hromada svědectví* is given in the note; cf. *cumulus testimonii* in the translation by TREMELLIUS and JUNIUS.

In Jeremiah 10:11, the Czech *říkejte* does not follow the Aramaic imperfect *tē'm^{e}rūn* too closely nor the future *dicetis* of the Vulgate, but rather the *dictitote* of TREMELLIUS and JUNIUS. But their *perituri sunt* is not accepted: *necht'zahynou* reflects better the jussive of the original, as does Vulgate's *pereant*. As a kind of parallelism can be seen at the end of the verse *necht'zahynou* and *necht'jich není pod nebem*, it is perhaps an original attempt to express the final pronoun *'ēllœ* by the Czech pronoun *jich*, cf. *ipsi* in the TREMELLIUS and JUNIUS version. The repetition of the volitive particle *necht'*has no support in the original or any compared version.

In Ezra 6:13-18 and also in other passages translated from Aramaic the close rendering is indicated in the notes by the abbreviation *Kal.* for *Kaldejský*, "Chaldean" i.e. Aramaic. In 6:13 the Czech translation *rozkázal* follows the *praeceperat* of the Vulgate, but a close rendering of Aramaic *š^{e}lah, poslal*, is given in the note. While Vulgate and the Czech Melantrich Bible of 1570 translate the first verb in Ezra 6:15 by active plural form, Kralice Bible retains the singular, but uses passive genre *dokonán jest*, following *finita* of TREMELLIUS.

Before the discovery of many Aramaic letters preserved mostly from the 5th century B.C., the formulas in the Aramaic letters of the Book of Ezra presented many difficulties to the translators. This can be seen in Ezra 7:12. The word *g^{e}mīr* "completed" indicated the end of the introductory formulas. But it was understood in the Vulgate as an adjectival attribute pertaining to the scribe Ezra, *doctissimo*. In the Kralice version this interpretation is stressed by adding the substantive noun

before the adjective *muži zachovalému* "to the blameless man". In the note the Chaldaean original is rendered *dokonalému* i.e. "perfect".

The final words *ū-kᵉ-ʿænæt* mean "and now" (-so TREMELLIUS-), they mark the beginning of the message of the letter. In Vulgate another formula is used, *salutem*, followed in the Czech Bible of 1570, *pozdravení*. But the rendering in the Kralice Bible *i Cheenetským* is based on the understanding of these words as pointing to additional addressees.

While the Aramaic term *sāpar* as the corresponding Hebrew *sōpēr* means "scribe", - translated in Czech as *písař-*, the use of adjective for "artful" *umělému*, in Ezra 7:12 can be explained by reference to Ezra 7:6 where *sōpēr mahīr* indicates an experienced and competent scribe.

The sample from the message of the letter, Ezra 7:13-17, shows that the Aramaic original was closely rendered in the Kralice version; in the rendering of nominal clauses by verbal constructions Vulgate served as model.

In translating the name of the language *ʾᵃrāmīt* in the Hebrew introduction of the Aramaic direct speech, in Daniel 2:4, as *Syrsky*, the Kralice translators followed *Syriace* of the Vulgate, imitated after *syristi* of the Greek Septuagint.

In the sample from Daniel 2:4b-11 some additions in Italics, serving better understanding, mostly pronouns and conjunctions, can be observed in the Kralice translation. For similar reason the general term *millᵉtā* "word, speech" and also "matter" is rendered by more specific word for "dream", Czech *sen* (cf. 2:5 and 8), cf. the note of TREMELLIUS *excidit mihi e memoria somnium*.

The verse 2:5 contains two difficult words. The Persian loanword *ʾazdā* "certain" was explained by the ancient translators with the help of the Aramaic verb *ʾ-z-l* "to go out". Kralice translators follow the Septuagint and Vulgate - *recessit* - and specify it - also in 2:8 - by the addition of an adverbial modifier: *ten sen již mi z paměti vyšel* "that dream already went out of my memory". For rendering the Aramaic noun *nᵉwālī* by Czech plural *záchody* the Kralice translator probably used the dictionary by FABRICIUS, which gives as Latin equivalent the word *latrina*.

In Daniel 2:8 the Kralice translation *času odtahujete* and the rendering in the Melantrich Bible *časem prodléváte* attempt to express the phrase "to redeem time" of the Aramaic original and of the Greek and Latin versions by easier comprehensible equivalents.

In Daniel 2:10 the Kralice translators by *král, ani kníže nebo pán* probably followed TREMELLIUS and JUNIUS, who in their translation *rex princeps aut dominator* understood all three nouns of the Aramaic original, *mælæk rab wᵉ-šallīt*, as substantive. They were led to it perhaps by the rendering of the last one

in the Septuagint as *archōn*: the Vulgate understood more correctly two later nouns as adjective: *magnus et potens*. But in the following verse, 2:11, Kralice translators used the version of TREMELLIUS and JUNIUS more effectively: their *habitatio* corresponding to Greek *katoikia* expresses Aramaic *m^e dār-* more correctly than *conversatio* of the Vulgate. For their rendering *bydlení* the Brethren could have used also the Latin equivalent *habitaculum* in the FABRICIUS dictionary.

In the section 3:31-33 (3:98-100 in the Vulgate, 4:1-3 in the version of TREMELLIUS and JUNIUS) two translations can be mentioned. In 3:32 the Aramaic *š^e par q^o dāmāy* is adequately rendered in the note, *slušné bylo přede mnou*, corresponding to Vulgate's *placuit mihi*, but the main text has *vidělo se mi za slušné* "it seemed to me as proper". In 3:33 it reads *od národu do pronárodu*, with note according to the Chaldaean original, *s národem a národem*; the Melantrich Bible has *v národu i v národu*. These Czech probably archaizing translations (cf. Colossians 1:26 in the Kralice Bible) do not express the Aramaic phrase *^c im-dār w^e -dār* as clearly as Latin in *generationem er generationem*.

The introduction (7:1) to the Daniel's vision (7:2-28) is provided in the Kralice Bible with notes pointing to the Chaldaean original: both mentions of the Aramaic word for "head" are given there, which are expressed in the text as *svá* and *krátkými slovy*, similar to Vulgate's *brevi sermone*. The words *jej zavřel* at the verse end could be influenced by *comprehendit* in the version by TREMELLIUS. The form of the name in this version, *Beltschazaris*, can explain the Kralice form *Balsazara*, against Vulgata's *Balthasar*.

From the first sample of the vision, 7:2-4, the last verse deserves attention. The Kralice translators attempted to connect coordinated clauses by pronouns and particles, *křídla její, jimiž se vznášela od země, takže ... státi musila*; apparently TREMELLIUS served as model: *quibus efferebatur a terra*. But the Aramaic original and Vulgate which follows it describe the sequence in better way: The beast was lifted *n^e ṭīlat, sublata est -*, and was set on two legs - Aramaic dual *ragláyin* - like man.

The vision of the Son of Man in 7:13-14 expressed in liturgical formulas was translated closely to the original. The active causative in plural with the subject not expressed was rendered as such in the note, but this last word in 7:13 *haq-r^e būhī*, was translated - since the subject was not indicated - by a passive form *postaven byl*, probably according to TREMELLIUS *(ut) sisteretur (ante eum)*. Can this translation, for which some manuscripts of ancient Theodotion's Greek version could serve as model, be understood as an attempt to avoid the interpretation that some beings performed this action?

The last verse of this sample, Daniel 7:15, is provided with no fewer than four notes pointing to the Chaldaean original. Two read *hlavy mé* "of my head", the later correctly relating to simpler translation by a possessive pronoun *má*, the former erroneously mentioning "head", while the main text renders correctly Aramaic *rūḥī* "my spirit" by *duch můj*.

A few rather general observations can be added to those oriented to renderings of individual words and constructions with respect to the Aramaic original and its Latin translations used apparently by Brethren, the old one by HIERONYMUS and the recent one by TREMELLIUS and JUNIUS. Some of the following general comments are prompted by differences of the structure of the source language and that of the target language.

In Semitic languages the terms of kinship are often used in such functions for which some other languages have indefinite or similar pronouns. Aramaic *bᵉnē gālūtā* in Ezra 6:16 is rendered closely as *filiorum transmigrationis* in Vulgate, and also in the note pointing to the Chaldaean original *synové přestěhování*. But the Kralice translation reads *kteříž byli přišli z převedení* "who had come from the exile", an idiomatic rendering.

Aramaic genitival attributes can be well expressed by prepositional constructions. One attested in the Kralice Bible is *král nad králi* "king upon kings" in Ezra 7:12. Aramaic original has *mælæk malkayyā*, and the Vulgate follows this title rendering it *rex regum*.

Various nominal constructions of Aramaic original are expressed by verbal constructions in the Czech translations. Czech forms of the verb meaning "to be" are supplied, often in italics marking an addition to the original. As examples *jest* in Ezra 7:15 and *byla* in Daniel 7:4 can be mentioned. The nominal construction in Ezra 6:18 is rendered by a verbal construction already in the Vulgate, *sicut scriptum sit*, and then in the Kralice Bible *jakož psáno jest*. The nominal construction in Ezra 6:16 is exactly translated in the note *činili posvěcení*, but in the text the verbal construction better fitting Czech language and style is given: *posvětili* "they dedicated".

Czech language is suitable for expressing verbal aspects and moods, but these opportunities are not always exploited in the Kralice translation. In Ezra 7:16 the Aramaic imperfect *tᵉhaškaḥ* is appropriately rendered by Czech conditional *bys dostal*, which indicates the possibility of realization as conveniently or even better than Latin futurum exactum *inveneris* of the Vulgate and TREMELLIUS.

The verbal aspect can be expressed in Czech by inflectional and by lexical means. Aramaic formula *hāzē hᵃwēt* "I was beholding" is well rendered by the verb indicating duration, *hleděl jsem*, in Daniel 7:4, but not as well by a verb of rather punctual character, *viděl jsem*, in verses 2 and 13 of the same chapter. In the

TREMELLIUS version, the aspects are of opposite kind: *videbam* in 7:2 and 13, *vidi* in 7:4.

Selective observations presented here above can elad only to partial and preiliminary conclusions. The translators of Kralice devoted due attention to Aramaic passages in the Old Testament. Notes pointing to the exact wording of the original seem to be more frequent than those in Hebrew texts. The Latin translation by Immanuel TREMELLIUS and Franciscus JUNIUS was used for both the Czech translations and the notes. It seems that the Kralice translators consulted also the Czech Bible edited by Melantrich in 1570. Some readings of the Vulgate could influence the Kralice version through this or other older Czech translation, some perhaps directly.

A few suggestions for further research of the Kralice Bible can be added. A comparison of the translation techniques of Aramaic and Hebrew sections within the same book would be helpful. An extensive study of verbal forms in the original and their Czech renderings could bring interesting results. Aramaic participles which often serve as predicates are especially suitable for evolution of Czech translations. Because of the small extent of Aramaic passages of the Old Testament their exhaustive analysis is feasible. Its results and methods can be then effectively applied to the study of the Hebrew Old Testament texts in the Kralice Bible. Competent researchers in this field will be rewarded by significant results which will be gratefully used by those interested in the Kralice Bible from other viewpoints.

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Power symbolism and political culture in Nanun, Northern Ghana

Petr SKALNÍK

Since the publication of the founding volume, *African Political Systems* (FORTES & EVANS-PRITCHARD, 1940), there have been fifty years of development of political anthropology. This is an epoch, and contemporary research on power symbolism and political culture is its logical outcome. If one realises that APS was a de facto reaction to ENGELS' 1884 book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* and other evolutionist writings on politics and the state, the path towards the present is even longer. Among the recent milestones in the development of political anthropology are phenomenological applications in the form of folk models anthropology, Althusserian Marxism and its application in French structuralist anthropology. The persisting dogmatism of Durkheimian positivist sociology and of Marxist determinism have today called forth another extreme - an obsession with ritualised, non-material, non-rational and other ideological subjects. Realising the dangers of such extremism, I nevertheless contend that the roles of symbolic and cultural factors in politics have not been adequately grasped. That does not mean that no attempts were ever made.

Early on, RADCLIFFE-BROWN admitted that "social solidarity" rests on the sharing of a symbolic system. But he did not draw a practical conclusion from this sound statement. He was a rationalist reductionist who through his vision of a "social anthropology" wished to study only those social phenomena which were susceptible to analysis in the natural science mode. Later, BERGER & LUCKMANN discovered and discussed the whole process of social construction of reality (1966). This process was found to be both objective and subjective. BOURDIEU (1979) made even more plausible statements in the sense that symbols are instruments of knowledge and communication, that they are instruments of social integration and make *consensus* on the meaning of the social world possible. FOUCAULT proposed theories of the power of language and knowledge. Luc DE HEUSCH has, since the end of the 1950s, undertaken an extended study of central African mythology and made important contributions to the understanding of symbolic and cultural foundations of power.

Abner COHEN (1974) made a valuable contribution to the study of the relationship between "two major variables": symbolic action and power relationships. He not only considers this relationship the "central theoretical problem in social anthropology"; he also tries to explain it on the data from contemporary complex

societies. However, he obscures the crucial fact that modern society is in its consciousness oriented towards the rational cognitive approach, whereas archaic societies are primarily orientated towards a non-rational, non-scientific, normative approach to reality. The emergence of a rational, scientific approach to reality, i.e. Cartesian logic of analysis, is the major divide in the history of humanity. By it, humans declared their rebellion against the rules of nature and/or God. In archaic polities, there emerges no such question of tearing off the natural order from society.

Pierre CLASTRES (1974) pointed out the wider implication of the powerless power in stateless societies. He discovered a mechanism through which no permanent antagonisms in society could emerge. Recently, several French-speaking anthropologists have published detailed books which take up the symbolism of power in Africa (MULLER 1980; ADLER 1982; IZARD 1985). Parallelly, Stanley DIAMOND, an anthropologist wellknown for his critical, creative development of Marxist methodology, has charged that there is no Marxist explanation of domination and exploitation. He accused dogmatic Marxism of hyperrationalism which is not interested in the sacred, mystical and metaphysical in human society. According to DIAMOND, there is "no mystery in the Marxist universe". Marxism promotes cultural anesthesia resulting in the failure to grasp the intricacies of relationships between nations and states and "the congruence of the pragmatic and the mystic in primitive society" (1985:4).

My own work reacts to these theoretical directions. It reacts to Marxist and neo-Marxist discussions about determination and domination (GODELIER 1984), it takes into account the culturalist approach of GEERTZ (1980) and pays respect to the concerns of DE HEUSCH. My admiration for the work of ADLER, IZARD and MULLER is great. Without repeating their arguments, I have to stress that they could not liberate themselves from the concept of power as such. Through the medium of my research in Nanun of northern Ghana, I became convinced that it is necessary to discard the conceptual confusion created by the indiscriminate use of concepts like the state or 'power'. That is why I refuted the usefulness of the concept of the state as applied to centralised polities other than the nation-state (SKALNÍK 1983; 1987). Consequently, relying on the data of the abovementioned authors and from my own research on Nanun, I am now refuting the usefulness of the concept 'power' for political relations other than those based on violence or the threat of it. Terminological confusion means conceptual confusion and analytical sterility. By coining specific concepts, in the realisation that we must vindicate our discoveries of archaic indigenous polities and symbolic political relations in them, we are making a real and significant break with the Eurocentrist approach to the reality of political pluralism in the world.

Nanun is one of the Voltaic polities portrayed in the literature as based on the complementary opposition of the immigrant-chiefly and the autochthonous-earth cult elements. The analyses of Meyer FORTES (1945; 1949) are classic examples of this equilibrium image. FORTES logically concludes that Voltaic polities are of a politico-religious nature. His student, Susan DRUCKER-BROWN, studied ritual aspects of *naam* (chieftancy) in MAMPRUGU (1975) but without making any conclusions about the nature of Mamprusi society. I am not rejecting the dualist picture altogether, but as far as the Nanumba polity is concerned, the case is more complex. During seven fieldwork periods in Nanun, I was privileged to witness the complexity of Nanumba political institutions. Without pretending that I have grasped all the intricacies and meanings hidden behind appearances, I will present what I have learned[1].

To an outsider, Nanun appears to be an indigenous polity, represented by a paramount chief, the Bimbilla Naa (chief of Bimbilla), who resides in a palace at the capital of Bimbilla, surrounded by his wives, children, courtiers, elders and subordinate chiefs. *Naam,* often translated as chieftaincy, appears as the politico-religious principle and basic value around which the life of the Nanumba people revolves. The Bimbilla Naa is normally surrounded by a number of courtiers and elders whose functions vary. Some assist him in running his daily routine, but others meet him on matters of importance that have to be decided or acted upon. Such important decisions and actions, of customary or modern nature, must be corroborated by the religious specialists. These are the earth-priests (*tindanima,* sing. *tindana)* and Muslims led by the *liman* (imam). *Tindana* pours libations and the *liman* prays for the success of the matter. So it goes in ordinary times, rarely leading to serious disagreements or crises.

The problem arises with succession to the chieftaincy. According to *kali* (tradition), the Bimbilla Naa cannot be deposed: he ceases to be chief only on his death. That, however, is not exactly true. Though he is buried almost immediately after his physical passing away, he is not considered dead by other Nanumba until his ritual funeral is performed according to complex and obligatory rules. During

the period of interregnum, which as a rule lasts as long as one year (in specific cases even longer)[2], his eldest son acts as regent (*gbonlana,* litt. custodian of the skin). *Naakuli* (ritual funeral) is closely followed by another cycle of ritualised activities which end in *namyibu,* the outdooring ceremony for the new Bimbilla Naa. The crucial importance of succession is underlined by the fact that *naam* is being passed not only from a person to a person but from one chiefly house to another. Alternation of *naam* between two houses, Gbuxmaili (lion's house) and Banyili (bangle house), has been a rule for the last two hundred years. Although nobody in Nanun questions the rightfulness of this alternation, the *naabihi* (chiefly descendants) of the deceased chief accept with great reluctance that their house has to vacate.

In real terms, the palace of one chiefly house will be vacated by widows and orphans and left to fall apart. The incoming Bimbilla Naa from the other chiefly house will build his own palace on the ruins of the previous palace on their traditional site. The sussession is not a smooth affair, however, because of another factor, i.e. competition among the eligible candidates from the one chiefly house. The conflicts are usually between incumbents of gate *naam* and most senior members of the house who do not necessarily occupy an important 'gate' naam. At any rate the *naam* of Bimbilla must be won in a contest and not by automatic succession of the European type. The German, British and Ghanaian authorities tried hard to regularise the succession, but never succeeded (cf. SKALNÍK 1975). Nevertheless, most of Nanumba would agree that the incumbents of the *naam* of Nakpaa (for Gbuxmayili) and of Dakpam (for Banyili) are strongest in their bids for the *naam* of Bimbilla. The mechanism of succession between the two houses has to be analysed historically, case by case; that, however, is not the purpose of this paper (cf. SKALNÍK 1987).

There are remarkable factors in the succession process, which make it apparent that *naam* is under the effective control of dignitaries and institutions that do not seem to be part of it. Among these are ritual specialists from the sacred villages of Dalaanyili, Ponaayili, Binda and Duuni, electors and skinmakers of the Bimbilla Naa whose collective name is *naakpamba* (chief's elders), earthpriests and warriors. What unites these four categories is their real or putative claim of autochthonous origin. This suggests that the influence the autochthons exert on *naam* can be related to a past arrangement between the immigrant holders of *naam* and the conquered autochthonous inhabitants. A dualist image? Not really. An analysis of oral tradition and of the mythical charter of Nanun shows that the

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[2]The Bimbilla Naa Dasana died on 31 May 1981, his *naakuli* completed 31 Jan 1983.

confrontation of the incoming, mounted warriors led by Nmantambu with the autochthons who were partly Nawuri-speaking was violent only in some localities. In most places it was a peaceful meeting.

The mythology, common to much of the Voltaic area, contains the story of the north-eastern origin of *naam* holders. The crucial mythical personalities are Tohajie (the red hunter), Kpoghnumbo and Naa Gbewaa. From them the Voltaic polities of Gulma, Tenkudugu, Moogo, Yatenga (and other smaller Mossi polities) as well as Mamprugu, Dagbon, Nanun and Wa derive their origin. Naa Gbewaa's existence is semi-mythical. According to oral traditions, he arrived at Pusiga in today's Kusasi country and built a court there. Gbewaa's grave can be seen in Pusiga today. His sons Tohagu, Sitobu and Nmantambu are believed to be the founders of the polities of Mamprugu, Dagbon and Nanun respectively. Nanun, the name of which is derived from the words for chief *(naa)* and hand *(nuu),* was allegedly established by Nmantambu following a disagreement with his brother Sitobu, founder of Dagbon. As a result, Sitobu pointed with his hand to the south-east and Nmantambu with his following left in that direction to find his domain in present-day Nanun. There are no graves for Tohagu, Sitobu or Nmantambu. They are believed to have disappeared after their deaths into a lake called Baxri which is located near Karaga in Dagbon.

Belief in the common origin of the Voltaic polities is shared not only by the chiefly houses but also by all other population groups who recognise the chiefs as their superordinates. There has never been war between any of the Voltaic polities as it was ritually abhorrent to use violence and shed blood in the fight against a brotherly people. The chiefs kept contact, and sent gifts and delegations to each other. To some extent they even considered themselves one people. This is certainly true for some sections of Dagbon and Nanun whose languages are very close. The distinct ethnic identity of the Dagbamba and the Nanumba seem to have been forged only recently because of differential experiences in the colonial and post-colonial period. The Nanumba-Konkomba conflict was one of such experiences (cf. SKALNÍK 1986).

As far as Nanun is concerned, Nmantambu entered present-day Nanun at the place now called Duuni, which is in the charge of special custodians of local, autochthonous origin. Duuni is now a sacred settlement because it is also the place of Nmantambu's death before his supposed disappearance into Baxri lake. (A Bimbilla Naa travelling near Duuni must not see the room in which Nmantambu died and has to be blindfolded). The Duuni people and the inhabitants further in the interior received Nmantambu and his people on condition that he respected their customs. The most important was that he could 'rule' only if he was confirmed in office by earthpriests and that he, as chief, submitted himself to mor-

tuary rites and enskinment rituals (the Nanumba, as other northern chiefs, sit on skins instead of thrones or stools). Thus, the deceased Bimbilla Naa is not dead, and the *naam* cannot continue in the body of a new paramount chief without performance of the *naakuli,* a ritual funeral. This ceremonial cycle, which lasts over one week, is almost solely in the hands of a ritualists from the sacred villages of Dalaanyili, Ponaayili and Binda (those first visited and inhabited by Nmantambu). My data comes from observing the *naakuli* for Naa Dasana in January-February 1983, and from research on an earlier *naakuli* for the previous Bimbilla *naanima.*

As I observed: the ritualists from autochthonous villages had to come on invitation from the regent to open the grave in the darkness of the night and to proclaim the Bimbilla Naa truly dead. They performed a series of secret ceremonies which involved killing (and eating) a horse and a little bull provided by the *kubihi* (the mourning children of the chief). The Dalaanyili people used ritual 'blackmail' towards the *kubihi,* e.g. they protracted their arrival for the funeral in order to extort money or goods from the regent's representatives. On Wednesday night, the Daalana (Yidana), chief of Dalaanyili, came to Bimbilla after long haggling and delaying. Then he sent for the Kpandixli of Ponaayili. The Kpandixli is male co-custodian of the god of Ponaayili. The co-custodian is Ponaa, a female chief who also plays an essential role in the *naakuli.* A Dalaanyili boy instructed the regent to receive Dalaanyili people well. The Daalana asked why they had called him. Gbonlana answered: "O goya, o chan puuni"- meaning "he (the chief) has travelled, he went to farm". Only then did the Dalaanyili people together with the Kpandixli open the grave, after a special fire sacrifice was performed in front of the door to the grave (the Bimbilla Naa was buried in a round room, in a special underground space dug inside the room). Nobody was allowed to enter the palace; nobody could use any light, it was pitch dark everywhere.

On the decisive day of the *naakuli,* which is the following Thursday, the Kpandixli, holding a special hooked stick and dressed in thick coat and cap decorated with cowries, together with similarly dressed people from Dalaanyili and Binda, sacrificed a red cock and a male goat. There was a *baa* (dog) sacrifice as well. Dalaanyili people sang, calling a dog to come in front of the chief's palace. A dog invariably came, was strangled and dragged around the palace until dead. The dog is supposed to symbolise a human being who was sacrificed in this way in earlier times. The ritualists made the regent and mock regent perform a special jumping dance. They, followed by a large crowd of *kubihi,* performed this kind of jumping dance three times circling the palace (*yil gilgu)* The dancers were tailed by the Ponaa and her relatives in cowrie head dresses. On yet another day a ritual with a hoe was performed by the Kpandixli and the Dalaanyili people, which

had to be watched by the regent and the mock regent. In all these ritual activities the role of people from the sacred villages was paramount and the *naakuli* was unthinkable without them. There were also other rituals like mock battles and going for water (widows simulating their daily household activities) in which other dignitaries from among the autochthons also participated. But the role of the autochthons from the sacred villages is crucial. They actually kept the whole polity in tension during the time of the ritual funeral. Everybody feared them, and their behaviour was indeed fearful.

To make the 'rule' of the Bimbilla Naa socially valid, every paramount chief must go to Ponaayili to bathe in a sacred metal pan which is kept in a sacred room there. No metal sound is allowed in Ponaayili. The pan has to be taken out of the sacred room. If the pan (*ashili tahle*) expands and cannot be taken out of the room, the chief will die and will not be recognised as a chief. If the pan can be taken out and the chief can bathe in it, he will live but will have no more children. The fear of the power of the Ponaayili pan is such that, for example, the late Bimbilla Naa Dasana (1959-1981) did not go to bathe in it until shortly before his death. There were even rumours that he never went. Some people believed that he caused the Nanumba-Konkomba conflict because he was selected for chief in spite of the diviners' advice to the contrary. Naa Dasana feared infertility; he was known as father of many children and indeed four children were born after he died.

The following incident illustrates the symbolic power of the Kpandixli: during the interregnum in 1982, which overlapped with the first months of the new Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) regime, a report was received by the police that weapons were hidden both in the grave room and in the sacred room in Ponaayili. Because it was soon after the bloody Nanumba-Konkomba war of 1981 (cf. SKALNÍK 1986), the information was taken seriously. However, the police did not dare to open the grave door or the Ponaayili shrine door. Neither did the family of the deceased chief. It had to be the Kpandixli, who was called to Bimbilla and then opened the grave room. The same procedure was followed in Ponaayili. Nothing was found in either case.

The selection of the new Bimbilla Naa follows almost immediately after the full cycle of *naakuli* is completed. The role of electors is taken by *Naakpamba* (litt. chief's elders), chiefs who are *naam* incumbents in several villages to the east and south of Bimbilla. These chiefs receive *naam* from the Bimbilla Naa but cannot themselves ever aspire to the *naam* of Bimbilla. They are not members of either the Gbuxmayili or Banyili chiefly houses, and thus have no direct descent from Nmantambu. But some of them are maternally related to either chiefly house. Their real roots are in the autochthonous society met by Nmantambu in Nanun.

Naakpamba are addressed by the Bimbilla Naa and other Nmantambu chiefs as *yaba* (grandfather), whereas they call the Bimbilla Naa and other members of Nmantambu houses *yanga* (grandchild). The relation of the Bimbilla Naa and other Nmantambu chiefs to the rest of the population is that of father to children. People (and lower chiefs) call the Bimbilla Naa *m'ba* (my father). It is widely believed that the *naakpamba* chieftaincies are older than the Nmantambu (i.e. Gbuxmayili and Banyili) chieftaincies. The most important of the *naakpamba* is the Juo Naa, but the Wulehe Naa is believed to be extremely powerful because of his command of the Naapaxa (litt. chief's wife) shrine, a god residing in an earthenware pot within the confines of his palace at Wulehe. Also powerful is the Lanjiri Naa, another elector of the Bimbilla Naa, who besides being a chief of the Kukuo village, is a custodian of the Malizugu god. Old women come to Kukuo to neutralise their alleged witchcraft potential by drinking potions from the Malizugu god. The Nakpayili chief, the Dibsi Naa, can also be a priest chief. In brief, the electoral college of *naakpamba* is more sacred and feared than the paramount chief they are selecting. This challenges the usual ideas about sacred chiefship or kingship which centre around the sacrality of the ruler.

The selection itself (*naam babu,* litt. holding *naam)* symbolises best the subordination of the Bimbilla Naa and thus of the whole Nmantambu chiefly stock to the sacred authority of the autochthonous *naakpamba.* On the night of the selection, the substance of the relationship between the electors and the Nmantambu chiefs is revealed. The Juo Naa sits in the old palace in the *paani* (senior wife) room whereupon the Lanjiri Naa and the Gambux Naa hold the selected chief tight and present him with the words "Ti baya a bla la" - We captured your slave. The Juo Naa answers "A yanima n'sona. A banima n'sona" - "Ancestors (grandfathers) will help you. Fathers will help you". The Jilo Naa, the Dibsi Naa and the Chichax Naa wait outside. All other witnesses are chased away. Then, in the presence of the Juo Naa, Lanjiri Naa and Gambux Naa as well as the chief court ceremonialist Kpatihi, the candidate is bathed in special powerful herbs and the Kpatihi eventually puts on him the *kparbu* - chiefly gown and cap. The moon must be high during that night.

The enrobed chief is then led secretly, in the middle of the night, to a house where he will be confined for a week. He walks through Bimbilla, now totally deserted, alongside a donkey, his hand on the donkey's back. According the tradition he should ride on the donkey. During the last selection in February 1983, the Gbuxmayili *kubihi,* sons of the deceased Naa Dasana, tried in vain to prevent at the last moment the enrobement and enskinment of Naa Abarika to the *naam* of Bimbilla because they preferred the Sakpe Naa on the Bimbilla skin. Ironically, the Sakpe Naa is the son of the Bimbilla Naa Salifu, the same who

humiliated the grandfather of the *kubihi,* Naa Dasana's father Naa Abudulai (by taking a horse from him which Naa Abudulai bought for an elephant tusk belonging to Naa Salifu).

The new paramount chief stays a week in seclusion before the ceremony of *namyibu* (outdooring of a chief) can follow and all the people can see their new Bimbilla Naa sitting in state with all his paraphernalia. The same day or soon afterwards, the new chief still must go to Dalaanyili to submit himself to the *damli* (sceptre) selection ritual and some other ceremonial procedures. He is first blindfolded and then enters a sacred room where the *damli* of all previous Bimbilla *nanima* are kept. He reaches for one while moving backwards. It is believed that the length of the *damli* shows the length of the reign and thus of the life of the new chief.

After this the Bimbilla Naa is free from the dictates of the autochthonous ritualists. He will rely more on his councillors *(nayilkpamba)* and the town Muslims whom he can consult any time but who invariably come to pay their allegiance to the chief every Friday and sometimes on Mondays. The trend today is to turn to the Muslims for ideological (and symbolic) corroboration rather than to the *tindana* of Bimbilla whose command over the chief has declined. The Muslims participate on a daily basis in town activities and their economic might is obvious. But that does not mean that the paramount chief could be Muslim or could convert into one. Some of the less important chiefs are Muslims who on becoming chiefs push their Islamic belief into the background. It is quite acceptable to combine Nanumba religious beliefs with Islam.

Conclusion

The *naam* in Nanun is highly conditioned by the symbolic authority of the autochthons from the sacred villages and the *naakpamba,* mostly autochthonous chiefs or priest chiefs. The former are crucial for the *naakuli,* the ritual funeral of the paramount chief and the latter are decisive in the *naam babu,* the selection and ritual making of the new chief. Thus, the critical moments of succession are controlled by people who have no direct stake in the competition for chieftaincy. In Nanun there is no monopoly of power such as in modern states. Authority is diffused in a symbolic network of checks and threats with ritual sanction. Sharing the belief in *kali* (tradition) makes the social integration of the Nanumba people possible and a consensus about the procedures of *naam* is achieved and permanently renewed. This sharing, forged by the common recognition of values and roles by groups of people with different origins, is the secret of Nanun as an archaic polity. The chiefs obey the rules set by the autochthons and they fear their breach; on the other side the autochthons give Caesar what's Ceasar's by perfor-

ming the rituals of *naam* and respecting the chiefs in normal times, between the installation of a chief and his death. For his part, the chief can never afford to abuse his office because his whole rule and his chiefly house is under the potential threat of punishment by the forces controlled by those who are responsible for his ritual funeral. The *naakuli* properly performed shows the chief to have been fully recognised and, at the same time, a socially legitimate ancestor.

In Nanun legitimacy is not only a question of the recognition of a Bimbilla Naa or his chiefly house. It is equally a recognition by the chief and his people of the authority of the autochthonous symbolic forces which allow them to become chiefs. Thus in Nanumba political culture, there is no grabbing and legitimizing of power as in most states; there is no power in the sense that it can be seized. A sophisticated balance of various institutions and groups of different origin is made possible by a shared symbolic universe of threat, fear and ritual recognition. It is however, no classical equilibrium of British functionalism (which existed, anyway, only in the heads of some anthropologists). Neither is it an unbalanced monopoly of power in which a few rule and most must obey.

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Armazian Script

Konstantin TSERETELI

1. In 1940 during the archaeological excavations in the district of Armazi, not far from Mtskheta, the old capital of Georgia, two tomb-stelae with inscriptions were found. One of them is the monolingual Aramaic inscription, while the second one is the bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription. Aramaic inscriptions were studied by G. TSERETELI, who established a previously unknown type of Aramaic script, which he called "Armazian" after the place the stelae had been found (G. TSERETELI 1943:51). Though, according to G. TSERETELI, inscriptions with this script are also found outside Armazi (namely in the village of Bori, West Georgia), "...but inasmuch as Armazi is the centre of the ancient Iberian culture... it is convenient to call the peculiar Georgian-Aramaic writing, disclosed by these monuments, by this name" (G. TSERETELI 1943:51, note 1). In the same work we read about the Aramaic writing: "... we have full grounds for separating it off as an independent branch of Semitic writing and to add to the terms "Palmyrene writing", "Nabatean writing" etc., used in science, the new name "Armazian writing" (G. TSERETELI 1943:51).

G. TSERETELI describes in detail the Aramaic signs of the bilingual inscription, comparing it with similar signs of other inscriptions and establishes peculiarities of the Armazian writing (G. TSERETELI 1943:53-55). In the same work exact stelae dating is given: the Armazian monolingual inscription is dated from the first century, while the bilingual inscription - from the second century A.D. (G. TSERETELI 1943:56-57). It was found out that the inscription on a silver dish from the village of Bori was written also with Armazian characters. This allows the scientist to use the terms "Georgian-Aramaic" or "Ibero-Aramaic" along with "Armazian" (G. TSERETELI 1943:51, note 2), but as is noted by the author, "the first, although convenient, may cause a somewhat incorrect idea of the Armazian writing" (ibid.).

For description of the Armazian script the Aramaic inscriptions found in Garni and Sisian (Armenia) are of particular importance. Garni inscription was found in 1961 and like the Armazian bilingual inscription was attributed to the second century A.D. (PERIKHANYAN 1964:126). Another Aramaic inscription, made on a silver bowl, was found later, in 1970, not far from Sisian, and may be attributed to the first century B.C. (NAVEH 1982:80). In Armenia Aramaic inscriptions of the earlier period were also found (the second century B.C.), but it is impossible to consider them as the source of the inscription from Garni (PERI-

KHANYAN 1964:126). The same should be said about the Sisian inscriptions. Besides, the writing of the inscription from Garni is paleographically the most similar of all Aramaic scripts to that of the Armazian inscription. Moreover, inspite of some distinctions between certain letters of these scripts (*g, s, r*) it should be regarded as the same, i.e. Armazian script. A.G. PERIKHANYAN was the first to establish this similarity. It should be noted that later the Armazian origin of this inscription was never open to question. And this is quite reasonable. And the fact that 3 of 12 letters of the Garni inscription differ from the corresponding Armazian letters is not striking at all. Two of them display a similarity to signs (e.g. *s* is similar to *s* from Sari and Hassan-Kef, and *r* with a point is similar to that of Palmyrene inscriptions. Besides just the same sign, but without point exists in the Palmyrene and other abovementioned inscriptions from Sari and Hassan-Kef). It should be noted that the languages of the texts, written on stelae from Armazi and Garni are also very similar.

After the discovery of the Aramaic inscription in Garni it became clear that the Armazian script is characteristic not only of Georgian reality. It is also met in neighbour Armenia. This suggests that the inscriptions on the Armazian stelae and the dish from Bori as well the Garni inscription are written in the same script, i.e. Armazian. These monuments show chronological limits of Armazian script usage: the first-third centuries (the Armazian monolingual inscription - the first cent. A.D., the Armazian bilingual and Garni inscriptions - the second cent. A.D., the inscription from Bori - the third cent. A.D.). The same holds true for other scripts related to Armazian. In this connection NAVEH writes, that in the second half of the third century (and naturally later) the North-Mesopotamian type of writing has already disappeared (cf. NAVEH 1982:141). But NAVEH might have not taken into account the Armazian monolingual inscription: "all these inscriptions (from Hatra, Sari, Hassan-Kef, Armazi, Garni - K.Ts.) belong to the second half of the second century and the first half of the third century A.D." (ibid.). A definite resemblance to the Armazian writing is observed in the writing from Sisian (PERIKHANYAN 1971), whose script can be conventionally referred to as "Early Armazian" (see below). Here the so-called "Late Armazian" script (spätarmazisch) can be mentioned, the term used by FR. ALTHEIM and R. STIEHL for the inscriptions on the bowls, found in Mazenderan (Iran). The inscriptions are made in Middle-Persian and according to the abovementioned scientists belong to the eight-ninth centuries (ALTHEIM & STIEHL 1968:89). But these inscriptions do not reflect the Armazian script as a whole, since along with letters, peculiar to Middle-Persian, there are letters, which display a certain relation to those of the Mtskheta-Armazi inscriptions.

2. G. TSERETELI noticed the resemblance of the Armazian script with other types of the Aramaic writing ("Some signs bring it near to Pahlavic, others to Parsic and to Palmyrene" - G. TSERETELI 1943:56). But establishing the interrelations between different types of the script better accuracy is required. Pahlavic (or rather Parthian) and Parsic (Middle-Persian) are not similar to Palmyrene from the paleographic standpoint. Therefore G. TSERETELI'S statement that "the general character of the writing is original to such an extent, that we have a right to separate it off as an independent branch of Semitic writing" (G. TSERETELI 1943:56) requires refinement. The scientist is quite right when he uses the term "Armazian writing" together with "Palmyrene writing" or "Nabatean writing" (G. TSERETELI 1943:51), but none of them can be treated as an independent branch of Semitic writing, as is noted by A. PERIKHANYAN (1964:127, note 11). Though later (G. TSERETELI 1948a: 95, 1948b:53), TSERETELI speaks about the origination of the Armazian writing from Aramaic, he nevertheless separates it off as an independent branch of the Semitic writing (G. TSERETELI 1948b:53). In fact, the Aramaic writing is a branch of Semitic writing, which in its turn divides into separate varieties grouped on the basis of their interrelations. A. PERIKHANYAN, while analysing the Garni inscriptions, indicates the similarity of the inscriptions from Garni and Armazi to Syriac Estrangella, Hatra, Assur and Hassan-Kef inscriptions as well as to Palmyrene script, to the script of Manichaean documents and inscriptions on magic bowls from Nippur. North Mesopotamia was recognized to be the origin of these writings (PERIKHANYAN 1964: 127). It is very difficult to agree with G. TSERETELI (1948a:99-100) that the Armazian alphabet is "mixed" since "... one part of Armazian signs is attributed to Pahlavic and the other one - to Parsic". (Though he notes that by the term "mixed" a really existing situation rather than genetic aspects is meant [1948a:101]). But in these cases it cannot be regarded as a "mixture" of both Aramaic writings, used for Iranian languages only due to the fact that some letters of the Armazian writing display resemblance to letters in the Aramaic script of Parthian type or to the later Parsic writing.

In 1972 NAVEH specially discusses this problem in the paper "The North-Mesopotamian Aramaic script-type in the Late Parthian period" (1972). The author notes that the Aramaic writing, used in Assyria, Babylon and Persian empire was the official writing and did not represent a group of local writings, developed later in remote provinces, part of which was created only in the first century B.C. (NAVEH 1972:293). Basing on the available material NAVEH gives the classification of Aramaic scripts. In the West 2 scripts were created: Jewish and Nabatean, while the East Aramaic script was more developed, forming 4 principal types of writing: (1) Palmyrene and Syriac, which were spread in Syria and North Mesopotamia. The scientist attributes the writing on magic bowl from Nippur to these scripts, treating it as an ancestor of Manichaean writing; (2) North-

Mesopotamian branch, involving the scripts of the inscriptions found in Hatra, Assur, Sari and Hassan-Kef, as well as in some regions of the Upper Tigris. This (Armazian) type of script was witnessed in Armenia and Georgia; (3) South-Mesopotamian branch, including the scripts, used in Elymais and Khuzistan as well as by the Mandaeans; (4) Parthyan type (the ostraca from Nissa) (NAVEH 1972: 294). Thus the Armazian script of interest, according to NAVEH's classification, forms one type of writing - North-Mesopotamian (A. PERIKHANYAN joins the Palmyrene and Syriac scripts to them, grouping them as "North-Mesopotamian" (cf. NAVEH 1972:294, note 151).

NAVEH compared North-Mesopotamian writings with the unified Old Aramaic writing and arranged them according to the degree of their distinction from the latter. Hence in the top of the table there are the inscriptions from Hatra and in the bottom - those from Armazi (including the inscription from Bori). Thus the script of the Armazian inscriptions shows the greatest deviation from Old Aramaic among the members of this group. In the table the Armazian inscription is preceded by the inscription from Garni. The author tries to explain the local variations in the script: the script migrated from one region to another, and those, who adopted it, used to make some alterations to distinguish between similar letters (NAVEH 1972: 298). Basically, these alterations include the addition of two or three bars to a letter on the right (NAVEH 1972:300). The Armazian script prefers Parthian letters $š$ and p, rather than North-Mesopotamian forms of these signs (NAVEH 1972:300, note 30). And here the author notes that after adoption of this type of script in Armenia and particularly in Georgia dissimilar forms were created. E.g. the letters r and d were distinguished by a diacritic point (evidently under the influence of Syriac): in Armazian insriptions d has another form, while in North-Mesopotamian the both signs - d and r have one and the same form (NAVEH 1972:300). And further he writes that in spite of local variations, as far as the majority of letters of North-Mesopotamian inscriptions are of the form peculiar to this type, they should be considered to belong to one and the same branch (ibid.). Later NAVEH recurred to the same problem and described the process of development of North-Mesopotamian type of the Aramaic script (NAVEH 1982:138-143).

This interpretation of the Armazian script's development ($\leftarrow$ the North-Mesopotamian branch, group) is supported by J. OELSNER (1973), the German Semitist, who states that a single type of writing was used in all the provincial offices of the Persian Empire alongside with the cursive. After abolishment of these offices cursive forms with their writing traditions prevailed. For development of local forms some time is needed, and it begins approximately in 250 B.C. (OELSNER 1973:9). According to NAVEH the script of Ashoka inscriptions (the third century B.C.) might have been the early ancestor of North-Mesopotamian type from the

viewpoint of its development (1982:143). As far as the history of the writing is concerned, the period from this time on up to 150, according to OELSNER, can be regarded as a transitional one (OELSNER 1973:9). Unfortunately, as stated by PERI-KHANYAN (1964:127), very few Aramaic monuments of that time are left, and it is very difficult to find the Armazian script in the available material.

3. The general paleographic review of the Armazian monolingual inscription is given in G. TSERETELI'S report at the 25th International Congress of Orientalists (G. TSERETELI 1962). He noted that "... an engraver did not try to give to every letter its peculiar form or to follow size proportions" (1962: 375). Some letters unlike the bilingual inscription have little (if any) distinction from each other: cf. *k, n* and *r; b, n* and *y;* ' and *š; m, q* and *s; t* and *y; ḥ, h* etc. (ibid.). These are not the only pecularities of the monolingual inscription in contrast to the bilingual one, where almost every letter has its definite form, dissimilar to other letters. The matter is that in the monolingual inscription each letter undergoes stronger varia-tions compared to letters of the bilingual inscription of an Aramaic text. E.g. the letter ✔ ' (*alef*) in the monolingual inscription has 5 versions: ✔,ᴊᴄ,ᴊˢ,ᴊᴄ,Ⅹ, only one of which is found in the bilingual inscription (✔). Sometimes the same hap-pens with other letters (cf. *w:* in the monolingual inscription ₁,(,₁ and the bilin-gual one - ₁). There is a clear distinction between *s* and *p* of the monolingual and bilingual inscriptions (*p:* mon. ᴨ, bil. ᴛ; *s:* mon. ᴨ,ᴧ,ᴨ and bil. ᴢ). But all these distinctions are observed within a unified writing system and do not affect the identicity of scripts of monolingual and bilingual inscriptions. This suggests that the Aramaic bilingual inscription has more perfect writing than that of monolin-gual, and besides there are almost no cases of letter mixing. As G. TSERETELI states the script of monolingual inscription is likely to be more archaic than that of the bilingual inscritpion, whose script presents the next step in the Armazian script development.

4. The inscriptions on the dish from Bori and on the Armazian stelae differ mainly in the script style. "The inscription from Bori shows a certain tendency to man-nerism and stylization. The lines are broken and in the break places sharp angles are formed..." (G. TSERETELI 1948a:93). It should be noted that this graphic style of inscriptions is met on other objects as well, which is also due to material (me-tall) of which these inscriptions are made. E.g. according to G. TSERETELI the letters of the inscription made on a gold bracelet tend to cursive. The lines are broken, in the junction of horizontal and vertical lines sharp angles are formed beyond which the lines are sometimes prolonged (*s, š, ṣ*; ibid); cf., e.g., ᶌ .

5. In Georgia many objects (bowls, dishes, decorations, fragments of pitchers, fragments of temple capitals) with Aramaic inscriptions were found at different times. It should be noted that most of them were written in Armazian script (cf. G.

TSERETELI 1948b:54). Unfortunately up to now not all of these inscriptions have been published (some information about them can be met in reports of archaeo-logical expeditions and in archaeological investigations), except for a dish with Aramaic graphical inscription found in Mtskheta-Samtavro in 1985 (K.TSERETELI 1990) and the inscription on a pitcher fragment from Urbnisi (K. TSERETELI 1989), Uplistsikhe (K. TSERETELI 1991), and Dedoplis Mindori (K. TSERETELI 1993) and 3 inscriptions from Zguderi (East Georgia) (CHELIDZE 1991). Reading and publication of Aramaic inscriptions presented a problem due to their frag-mentariness, scarcity and damaged state. Often these inscriptions were represented only by one word, making reading and understanding of the text more difficult. Nevertheless, the study of the script of these inscriptions suggests that this is a script of the same type, i.e. Armazian script, which up to now has been known only through the inscriptions on the Armazian stelae, the dish from Bori and the stela from Garni.

5.1. The longest of the abovementioned inscriptions is the inscription scrabbled on a gold bracelet (except for Aramaic inscriptions on the temple capital in Dzalisi, East Georgia, preserved in fragments, but yet no conclusion can be made). The bracelet was found in one of the tombs in Armaziskhevi (Armazi), which is dated by archaeologicsts from the sixth century A.D. (MTSKHETA 1955:119-120). It was shown to G. TSERETELI, who revealed that the words on the bracelet were scrabb-led in Armazian script (ibid, cf. also 1948a:941). In the inscription there should be 48(?) signs including 15 different letters, but until complete deciphering this assumption is open to question. Most letters are similar to the Armazian and Bori inscriptions (e.g. cf. 𐌷 , mon. 𐌷 - *m*; 𐌼, bil. 𐌼- *s*;) mon.), bil.) - *l*; 𐌲, mon. 𐌲, bil. 𐌲, Bor. 𐌲 - *z*; 𐌲, mon. 𐌲- *ᶜ* etc.). However, there are characters, whose identification is still difficult. But on the whole, the general character of the script is beyond any doubt - this is the Armazian script. Dating of the inscriptions on paleographical basis will be possible only after its complete deciphering, but still it seems that the inscription might have been made not later than in the third century A.D.

5.2. According to G. TSERETELI the inscription scrabbled on the fragment of a pitcher was written in Armazian bilingual script. It was discovered during the archaeological excavation near the village of Urbnisi (East Georgia). The infor-mation on this fact was published by the chief of the expedition L. CHILASHVILI (1964). Thus this inscription is also written in Armazian script and comes closer to the bilingual inscription than other "Armazian" monuments (cf. *d*: Urb. 𐌶 and bil. 𐌶 ; *r*: Urb. 𐌾 and bil. 𐌾 ; *w*: Urb. 𐌾 and bil. 𐌹). This suggests that the inscri-ption is written in the second century A.D. (perhaps, by one and the same person - K. TSERETELI 1989.

5.3. Among the latest discoveries of Aramaic graphical inscriptions the abovementioned inscriptions on the temple capital in Dsalisi and the "playing plates" with hunting scenes and animals found in Dedoplis Mindori (Field of King's Daughter) in Kartli, as well as in West Georgia, should be noted. On seven plates in the top left angle and sometimes in the bottom above and under the mentioned pictures there are inscriptions, whose script is similar to the Armazian writing (cf. ✦ and bil. ✦ - '; ⟩ and ⟩ - *b*; ʍ and mon. ᴡ - *h*; Ꞁ and mon. ꞁ -*s*; ⵈ and bil. ⵈ - ᶜ etc.). It should be also noted that the script of the inscriptions has some distinction from that of other "Armazian" inscriptions, which can be definitely stated after their complete deciphering.

6. The Armazian script experienced rather a long process of development. Like all North-Mesopotamian scripts it originates from the Aramaic writing of the Archaemenid epoch (so-called Official or Imperial Aramaic). Later on, after the fall of the Persian Empire the local scripts are created, which develop into different types of writing during the Hellenic-Rome period. One of them might have been formed in the Georgian-Armenian region on the local basis, which was most clearly reflected in the Armazian inscriptions and together with the scripts of the inscriptions from Hatra, Assur, Hassan-Kef and some others, formed a North-Mesopotamian type of script, which is the most similar to so-called Parthian type of the Aramaic writing used during Arsacides and Sassanian epoch (the third cent. B.C. - fifth cent. A.D.) for Middle-Iranian languages. Proceeding from the pecularities of the Armazian script the scientist states that it is a script, which experienced a long and specific process of development (KUTSCHER & NAVEH 1970:307, cf. OELSNER 1973:429).

From the viewpoint of history of Aramaic script the most attention should be paid to the inscription from Sisian, which is dated by A. PERIKHANYAN from the first cent. B.C. (1971:80). The inscription contains 16 letters, half of which is completely similar to the Armazian script (𝕬 - '; ⟩ - *b*; ⟩ - *l*; 𝗞 - *m*; ⟩ - *n*; ꞁ - *s*; ꞁ - *q*; ᴛ - *t*) and part of the rest is similar to other types of North-Mesopotamian script; some of them (*k, p, r, h*) are of older (archaic) type (cf. MTSKHETA 1955:811). The inscription from Sisian represents mainly the signs peculiar for the Armazian script. Its genetical relation with other scripts of North-Mesopotamian type and their common "ancestor" - the Old Aramaic script, represented in the writing monuments of the Achaemenid period (the fifth-fourth cens. B.C.) is also evident. Here we think that the script of the Sisian inscription as well as the script of the inscription on a pitcher from Dedoplis Mindori (K. TSERETELI 1993) can be regarded as a previous stage in the development of the Armazian script in the Georgian-Armenian region, namely as "Early Armazian script". Therefore the time of formation of the Armazian script in this region which according to OELS-

NER is the first centuries A.D. should be shifted backwards. Hence the Armazian script is a variety of North-Mesopotamian type of Aramaic writing, whose formation started in the first century B.C. (and perhaps earlier) and might have been completely finished in the first century A.D. (the Armazian monolingual inscription).

In Georgia as well as in Armenia, the Armazian script had been used before their own scripts were introduced (the fourth cent. A.D.), which must be due to the official approval of Christianity in these states. This script also might have been originated from Mtskheta, the capital of Iberia, from which it spread to other regions (including, perhaps, West Georgia and a part of Armenia). (According to R. STIEHL 1964:78 "the Armazian alphabet might have been created in Old Iberia"). This explains, perhaps, the fact that greater number of inscriptions in Armazian script was found in Georgia. Only new discoveries of Armazian inscriptions in Georgia and Armenia can either argue against this statement or introduce some corrections.

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Some Semantic Characteristics of Verbs of Physical Coercion in Modern Literary Arabic.

Lali V. Tsotskhadze

In modern linguistics there is a tendency towards deeper and fuller study of semantic peculiarities of verbal lexemes as special class units which characterize the features of things and their relationships. In the classification and description of action verbs, besides the common categorial meaning of action (dividing into action itself and condition), attention is drawn to such signs as activity, dynamic character, the subjective/objective orientation of action as well as to grammatical categories of verbs. An important part in semantic and grammatical classification of action verbs is assigned to the sign of transitivity.

Traditional semantic differentiation of Arabic verbs into the verbs of action, condition and quality[1] is essential, but insufficient: being very abstract this classification does not touch upon the material meaning of verbs - the pecularities of the semantic structure of verbal lexemes, their semantic valency and others. Noting the specificity of verbal lexemes CH. BALLY wrote: "... processes are generally perceived together with the subjects, which are unseparable from them. Conditions are perceived by us as immediately following the movement... It is undoubtable, though, that the verbal notion is often too vague and too complicated to be reproduced".[2]

"The universal feature of a verbal name, conditioned by the relations of man with objective reality is represented by the fact that the nomination of an action or condition is given according to two major material spheres - the sphere of the subject and the sphere of the object[3]. In this connection the following semiological verbal classes are singled out: subjective, objective, subjective-objective and objective-subjective[4].

The verbs of physical coercion, dealt with in the present paper, belong to the objective-subjective class, they are bi-directional, since their lexical meaning is

[1] Б.М. ГРАНДЕ. Курс арабской грамматики в сравнительно-историческом освещении. Москва, 1963, с. 69.

[2] Ш. БАЛЛИ. Общая лингвистика и вопросы французского языка. Москва, 1955, с. 52-53.

[3] Аспекты семантичецких исследований. Москва, 1980, с. 75.

[4] ibid., p. 77.

simultaneously oriented on the object and the subject of the action[5]. In Arabic the nucleus of the verbs of physical coercion is formed by the units, denoting actions, performed by the animate subject (a person), the so-called "agential subject"[6] upon the object, causing the qualitative and/or quantitative changes of the latter ("action verbs" in Lyons' terminology[7]). The meanings of concrete actions, directed at a material object, are united into groups which could be nominated according to their common semantic sign. The actions causing qualitative changes only, are expressed by the verbs with the archiseme "to fill up": *ḥašā* "to fill, staff, load", *dahaqa* "to pour into, fill", *zakaba* "to fill up", *šaḥana* "to load, fill", *faᶜama* "to overfill", *mala'a* "to fill up" (*bi-*), etc. The objects, by which filling is carried out, experience quantitative changes. Objects or things undergo qualitative and quantitative changes as a result of the actions, denoted by 3 lexico-semantic verbal groups: the verbs of creation, separation/division and destruction. The verbs, expressing qualitative changes only, form the subgroup of "surface coercion" verbs.

A particular place in differentiation of the verbs of physical coercion is occupied by the semantic sign of "purposefulness" which is included in categorial semantics of all the verbs of the analysed group (compare the verbs *bara'a, daraba, ḥaraba*, etc.).

Substantival characteristics of the verbs of physical coercion are studied by the theory of valency[8]. As verbs designate relationships between substances[9], their "semantic roles" or actants of actions are to be studied[10]. The number of actants and their roles in situations, denoted by verbs, are "programmed" by verbs themselves. The plane of content of verbs of transformative physical coercion is formed by the following semantic signs, common to all verbs of the given group:

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[5] А.А. Уфимцева. Типы словесных знаков. Москва, 1974, с. 125-126.

[6] Семантические типы предикатов. Москва 1982, с. 111.

[7] J. Lyons, Semantics. Vol. 1-2, Cambridge-London-New York, 1977, p. 483.

[8] The theory of valency has been widely worked out in linguistics, see: L. Tesnière, Eléments de syntaxe structurale. Paris 1959, p. 108, 238-244; Ch. Fillmore, Types of lexical information. In: Studies in Syntax and Semantics. Dordrecht 1969, p. 109-137; W. Chafe, Meaning and the Structure of Language. Chicago 1971; С.Д. Кацнельсон. Типология языка и речевое мышление. Ленинград 1972; Ю.Д. Апресян. Лексическая семантика. Синонимические средства языка. Москва 1974, etc.

[9] Б.Г.Гак. Высказывание и ситуация. Проблемы структурной лингвистики. Москва 1972, с. 361.

[10] Г.Г.Сильницкий. Семантические типы ситуаций и семантические классы глаголов, ibid, p. 373, etc.

1. purposefulness of action, 2. the mode of accomplishing the action, 3. character of the object, 4. the instrument and means of action, 5. result of the action, 6. intensity of the action. These actants occupy different positions in the semantic structure of the verbs and arrange theselves into a certain hierarchy.

The present paper is a tentative to reveal some common and distinctive semantic and grammatical features of verbs of physical coercion in Modern Arabic, using the method of componential analysis, the theory of categorial and differential semantic signs and the method of distributional analysis. We have studied 675 verbal lexemes (picked out from H.K. BARANOV's Arabic-Russian Dictionary, Moscow 1977, 1989) and analyzed their major meanings, as most fully revealing semantic content of the group.

Lexico-semantic group of creative verbs.

The common basis of all the verbs of action (activity) is the relation to active processes of action and activity. They are unified by the common meaning "to carry out a process of action" which is expressed in nuclear verbs like ʿamila, kadaḥa, ḥadima, mahafa, kasama "to work, labour, toil", baraʾa, ḍaraʾa, ḥalaqa "to create, make", ǧaʿala, ṣanaʿa, ǧabala, faʿala "to do, make".These verbs are the identifiers of the lexico-semantic group of creative verbs. The group also includes the following verbs: badaʿa "to invent", faḥaṣa "to investigate, study", ǧabala "to do, create, make"; verbs with the secondary "potential" (or associative) seme of intensity: daʾaba "to work hard, work with zeal", ʿalafa "to work hard, work strenuously", kadda "to toil, labour", waẓaba "to persevere in, to continue", ḥafada "to do quickly"; verbs with the nuclear seme "to create, build, construct": banā "to build, construct", šāda "to build up", naṣaba "erect, raise up, set up", rahaṣa "to lay the foundation", ǧasara[2] "to construct a dam, a bridge, to embank", ʿaraša [1] "to make a shed, a summerhouse", etc. The mentioned verbs contain the generalized meaning of creation which is essential for these verbs and coincides with the categorial seme - "the aim of action - to create". The other verbs may acquire various shades of meaning, e.g. the idea of action presented as occupation: taǧara "to trade", ḥasaba "to count, calculate", kataba "to write", raqaša "to paint, variegate", qaraʾa "to read", ṭabba "to treat, cure", karaza "to preach", ḥalaba "to milk", ṣāda "to hunt, fish", etc. Such verbs constitute the transitional zone between the vebs of creation with generalized meaning and the verbs denoting concrete creative actions. For verbs with the concrete meaning of creation the creative component is the most important feature in their semantic structure and is lexically manifested by the character of a noun, rendering the direct object.

Verbs with the concrete meaning of creation describe situations in which various articles, products and material objects are produced by means of different instruments, machines and devices. Such verbal lexemes convey the causative

meaning as well (*harata* "to plough", *tabaᶜa* "to print, stamp", *harata* "to turn, form in a lathe", *dalaqa* "to sharpen, whet", *sahara* "to fuse, smelt", *hasada* "to reap, gather in", etc.). The seme "aim of action" plays an important role in the plane of content of creative verbs with concrete meaning. It is present in all the examined verbal lexemes and is supplemented with the differential semes which specify the mode, means and material of action, as the implement applied to it.

According to the character of the mode of action, the lexico-semantic group of creation is divided into the following subgroups:

1. Verbs denoting creative processes of formation of material objects by means of treatment of their surfaces. These are the so-called "verbs of treatment", e.g. *zaraᶜa* "to sow, plant", *bazara* "to sow, seed", *ǧarasa* "to plant", *'akara* "to till the soil, cultivate", *harra* "to furrow, plough", *'arasa* "to till the soil", *ᶜazaqa* "to loosen, hoe, dig up". In these examples "land, soil" is the object, subjected to treatment. The subgroup also contains verbs possessing specialized objects - *damala, damana, dabala* "to manure, fertilize" and verbs with the nuclear seme "to dig", e.g. *fahata, fahara, karā, qāba, qaᶜara*, etc. Sometimes the aim and the result of action are included in the semantics of the verb itself, e.g. *ba'ara* "to dig a well", *daraha* "to dig a grave", *kanaza* "to bury, hoard, treasure up in the ground", etc.

The verbs of treatment also comprise such verbs as *rasafa* "to pave", *hadala*[2] "to roll a road, make smooth", *ǧalā* "to polish", *ǧalaha* "to whet, grind", etc. These verbs have the accessory seme "to make the surface of the object even, smooth".

A certain part of the subgroup is formed by lexemes with the included object actant: *hatta* "to draw a line, to sketch", *rasama* "to draw a line, to draw", *satara* "to line, draw lines", *hatama* "to seal, stamp", *basama* "to stamp, print, brand", *naqaša* "to engrave", *wasama* "to brand, mark", *wašama* "to tattoo", etc.

Paradigmatic series is made up of verbs meaning "to cover, coat the surface with smth.". Such units have included actants which denote the means and material of coating, e.g. *dahana* "to oil, grease", *zāta* "to oil, butter", *ᶜasala* "to coat with honey, sweeten", *maraha* "to embrocate, anoint", *malata* "to plaster", *sabaǧa* "to dye, color", *kahala* "to paint the eyes with antimony", etc. The peripheric members of the group are represented by the verbs with the meaning "to adorn, decorate" (*habara, halā, dabaǧa, zāna, wašā* and so on).

2. The verbs which denote the processes of manufacturing of various articles by means of deformation of material objects. Deformation of material objects usually occurs as the result of physical force exerted upon the object, applying: a) a certain instrument, b) circular movement or rotation, c) thermal treatment, changing the structure of the processed material.

A) *harata* "to turn, lathe", *rahafa* "to whet", *tarra, sanna* "to whet, sharpen", *dalaqa* "to sharpen, strop, whet", *naǧara* "to plane (wood), *nahata* "to hew, cut, carve (a stone) with a cutter or a chisel", *qāna* "to forge (with a hammer)", *našara* "to saw", etc.

B) *damaka* "to twist compactly, twirl", *lawā* "to twist, bind", "to wind, twine, spin", *fatala* "to twist, plait, spin, twine, weave", *barama* "to twist, twirl, weave, spin", *radana* "to spin", *ġazala* "to spin", *wašaʿa* "to wind (a thread)", etc.

C) *tabaha* "to cook food", *salaqa* "to boil, cook", *lafaha* "to burn, scorch", *qalā*[1] "to fry, roast", *taǧana* "to fry", *salā* "to roast, broil", etc. Besides the resultative seme these verbs are accompanied by another component of meaning - "to make ready for application".

D) In some cases water is the means of treatment of objects, causing the change in their microstructure, e.g. *balla* "to wet, moisten", *bāša* "to wet, soak", *taʿana* "to wet, ret, steep", *rahha* "to dilute with water", *māta* "to soak, steep, dissolve", etc.

3. The third subgroup is built up by verbs, expressing coercion upon an object aimed at its full or partial separation/removal from another object. The lexemes with the first meaning render human occupations, e.g. *hasada* "to reap, harvest, gather in", *hašša* "to mow, cut down", *qasala* "to mow", *halaqa* "to shave, shave off", *ǧamaša* "to remove hair, shave", *ǧalata* "to shave the head". The second meaning is conveyed by the verbs with the included object actant: *karida* "to card (wool)", *mašaqa* "to comb (hair, wool)", *halaǧa* "to gin cotton", *safata* "to scale (fish)", *ʿaraqa* "to peel of (meat), pick a bone". These verbs of "rectification" adjoin this group, e.g. *natala* "to clean, sweep a well", *hamaʾa* "to clean, dredge (canal, well)", *satafa* "to wash, wash well, rinse (linen)", "rinse out (the dishes)", *ġasala* "to wash", *kanasa* "to sweep", etc.

4. The fourth subgroup embodies the verbs which designate the processes of manufacturing of articles by joining up their parts, e.g. *hāta* "to sew, sew up", *daraza* "to stitch finely", *lafaqa* "to whip, hem", *laǧama* "to sew, stitch", *hāka* "to knit, weave", *nasaǧa* "to weave", *habaka* to weave well, tightly, knit (stockings)", *saraǧa* "to plait, tack", etc. Verbs, identified by the meaning "to mend, patch" also enter the group: *rafaʿa* "to finedraw, sew up", darn, mend (e.g. stockings)", *raqaʿa* "to patch", *rataqa* "to patch, mend", "sew up (a dress)", *hasafa* "to repair, mend (shoes)", *ramma*[1] "to repair", *lahama* "to repair, mend, join, fasten".

The semantic group, identified by the seme "to join, unite into one whole", is rendered by the following verbs: *wasā* "to join with" (*bi-*), *rabata* "to bind, tie, fasten", *rassa* "to tie together, bind, stack", *zamma* "to tighten, tie together, bind to, fasten, clamp", *ʿakama* "to bundle, tie up", *ʿaqada* "to tie, knot, bind", etc. The instrumental component is expressed implicitly in the plane of content of such

verbs, while in the following verbal units the meaning of implement is manifested in their lexical items: *habala* "to fasten, bind with a rope", *šatana* "to fasten with a rope", *galla* "to handcuff", *kamma, ka͑ama* "to muzzle"; the other verbs contain indication of the object: *wakā* "to tie (wineskin, fur)", *katafa* "to pinion the arms behind the back", *ra'ama* "to dress a wound", *damada* "to bandage or dress a wound". In the following examples the manner of action is specified: *'araba* "to knot, tie a knot", *šanata* "to make a knot, tie in a bundle", *hazama* "to knot, tie up, pack", *gakala, zarra* "to do up, button up" and so on. An antonymic group is formed by the verbs, expressing the separation of parts(see below).

As it was already mentioned, the nominative meanings of different subgroups within the lexico-semantic group of creation contain such semes as the manner, instrument, means of action and the result of involvement of the object into the action, which finds its expression in implicit (and sometimes explicit) indication of the semantic object.

The verbs with generalized meaning of creativity, such as *fa͑ala, ǧa͑ala*, etc., possess the widest semantic structure and have the following syntagmatic parameters: S-V-O, where S is animate and O is a material noun.

The formula of syntactic combinability of concrete creative verbs can be expanded by other actants: 1. S-VO+Inst (*bi-*) (*fahara, falaha, harra, ǧalaha, harata, rahafa, naǧara, qāna, halaqa, wasā*, etc.), 2. S-V-O with the specialized object (*hatta, basama, habaza, safata*, etc. and other verbs of "rectification" -; *karida, dabaga, halaǧa, hasafa, wakā, raǧafa*, etc.) 3. S-V-O+means of action (*damala, damana, dabala*, and other "verbs of coating"; *šawā, sāga, balla, marasa, našata*, etc.) 4. S-V-O-Res. (*hasada, naqaša, tabaha, sabaka, sahara, habaka, saraga, dafara* and other verbs of "repair". In a number of cases the phenomenon of "syncretism in expressing valency" is noticed. It takes place when several actants are expressed simultaneously (conjunctively)[11]. The valencies of a) and object and an instrument (point1), b) an object and a result (p.4), c) an instrument and means of action (verbs denoting joining of parts) are expressed syncretically.

Lexical compatibility which unites all the concrete creative verbs could be represented according to the names of different articles, produced as the result of corresponding action. For instance, for the verbs *hāka, habaka, gazala, tabaha, šawā* and the like, semantic objects are united according to the feature of functional application of the articles (shoes, food, clothes, etc.). For the verbs *qāna, nasara, dabaga, ǧalaha* the concretizing nouns are grouped in accordance with the material character of an object, used in processing of these materials.

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[11] Yu. Apresyan, ibid, p. 140.

Creative verbs with generalized meaning oppose the other verbs of the lexico-semantic group by their abstract content. These verbs do not form single paradigmatic series with the verbs of concrete meaning of creation. Their relations could be characterized as generic-specific. Concrete actions appear as specific notions in relation to the verbs of higher level (having generalized meaning), thus forming privative oppositions.

The lexical (proper) synonyms in paradigmatic series are rather rare. We had attested the following synonymic pairs: *bara'a, dara'a* "to create, make", *ratala, razana*[2] "to weigh on the hand", *kamma, ka'ama* "to muzzle", *damala, damana, dabala* "to manure, fertilize", *zara'a, bazara* "to sow", *mahā, rahafa* "to whet, sharpen", *hamasa, tağana* "to knot a rope, tighten a knot". These examples show that the given synonyms contain two identical root consonants. More often paradigmatic series are built up by means of quasisynonyms[12] some of which are characterized by identical consonantal root structure, e.g. *bara'a, dara'a* "to create, make", *halaqa* "1. to create, make, 2. to invent"; *da'aba* "to labour, work hard", *kadda* "1. to toil, work hard, labour, work strenuously, 2. to strain, exert oneself"; *karaza* "to preach", *wa'aza* "1. to preach, say sermons, 2. to exhort, warn"; *bazara* "to sow", *badara* "to sow, disseminate", *zara'a* "to plough, till the soil, cultivate", *falaha* "to cultivate, till, 2. to succeed, be succesfull"; *halla* "to thin out", *harra* "1. to furrow, 2. plough," *fahata* "to dig", *fahara* "1. to dig, 2. to engrave", *hafara* "to dig, dig out, 2. to engrave, carve, cut out, 3. to drill"; *karā* "1. to dig, 2. to play", *rakā* "to dig, 2. to stay", etc. The following verbs contain similar biconsonantal cells in their root structure: *wasama* "1. to brand, mark, 2. mark off (bi-)", *wašama* "1. to tattoo, 2. to mark off (bi-), *rašama* "1. to make a mark, note, 2. to seal up, 3. rel. to make the sign of the cross", *basama* "1. to stamp, brand, 2. to print, make an offprint"; *'alaba* "to make a mark, a sign, a notch, to brand", *'alama* "to make a sign, a mark"; *ğalā* "to polish, grind", *ğalaha* "1. to whet, grind, 2. to strop". The other quasisynonyms of creative verbs are: *hadaba* "to dye, colour", *sabağa* "1. to dye, colour, 2. to dip, immerse" (bi-), *talā* "1. to twist, plait, spin, twine, 2. to spin", *qalada* "to spin, twine, twist", *barama* "to twist, twine, spin, 2. to verify, ratify, 3. to rotate, move"; *ğabaša, māsa, wasā* "to shave", *halaqa* "to shave, shave off", *ğamaša* "to remove hair, to shave", *ğalata* "1. to shave the head, 2. to graze, gall" and so on.

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[12] "Quasicategories are considered such pairs of words, whose coinciding part of meaning is not less than the sum of their semantic distinctions". YU.D. APRESJAN. Ю.Д. АПРЕСЯН. Лексическая семантика. с. 158, 235.

Lexico-semantic group of verbs of separation and division.

Verbs, denoting separation from something, are bound together by the categorial lexical seme which determines the aim of action - "detachment of a part from the object, breaking up its integrity".

The analyzed verbs are differentiated into subgroups according to two characteristic features - "separating a part from an object" and "separating smth that was joined before". The first subgroup is larger than the second. It includes such verbs as a)*ǧaza'a* "to divide, part", *fadā* "to divide, detach from smth." (*min, ʿan*), *faraza* "to separate, set apart", *qataša* "to separate a part, a piece" which render the meaning of separation of a part from the whole without instrumental indication; b) *batala* "to separate, cut off", *bataka* "to cut off", *hadaʿa* "to cut off", *ǧazza* "to shear, cut off", *hasama* "to sever, cut apart", *ǧazala* "to cut off, shorten", *qataʿa* "to cut, cut off, break off, amputate", *qarama* "to nibble food, bite", *qadaba* "to curtail, cut off, prune", *baraša* "to grate, grind (on a grater)", *hakka* "to rub, chafe, scrape off", *saʿala* "to clear away, to level, smooth (with a file)", "to plane", *hatta* "to rub off, scrape off". In these examples a part is detached from the whole by means of a certain instrument (scissors, knife, teeth, etc.). In some verbs the potential seme "additional action, being the condition of accomplishing the detaching action" is revealed, e.g.: *batara* "to separate, cut off, amputate", *ǧadda* "to cut off, chop off", *sadama* "to sever, chop off", *ǧadaʿa* "to sever, cut off, to maim". No less substantial is the indication of the character of an object. The lexical items of some verbs include the part of an object which is being detached, e.g.: *halaba* "to dock, pull out hair (from the horse's tail)", *salama* "to tear off, cut off (an ear)", *ʿabala* "to trim, prune", *qatta* "to trim, cut off (nails)", *hadaba* "to prune, lop off", *ǧalama* "to shear (wool)", *bašara* "to strip, peel, skin, scrape off", *kašata* "to skim (milk), scrape out, scrape off", etc. The semantic structure of such verbs generally contains the resultative seme (detached part as the result of the accomplished action).

The second subgroup embodies the verbs which express detachment of an object which was joined to another by the preceding action (the basic verb is "to detach, disjoin"), e.g.: *faǧā* "to open", *fataha* "to open, open up", *faššā* "to unlock without the key", *halla* "to unbind, untie, undo, unscrew", etc.

A number of creative verbs enter the lexico-semantic group of separation. They express the process of creative activity, carried out by means of detaching one object from another. Such verbs form the third subgroup of verbs of creation (see here above).

The analysis of the lexico-semantic group of separative verbs brings forth the conclusion that the group is built by the verbs lining up in quasisynonymic series with the common meaning of: a) to separate, detach (*ǧaza'a, fadā, faraza*), b) to cut off (*bataka, batala, batta, hadaʿa, ǧazza, hasama, ǧazala, kamaʿa, ǧadda,*

ǧaḏama, ǧadaʿa, qataša), c) to sever, amputate (qabba, qaṭaʿa, kašama, halaba, badaʿa), d) to prune, trim (qalama, ʿabala, šaḏaba, qaṭṭa, haḏaba, naqaʿa, qaḏaba), e) to scrape (qahaṭa "to clear off, scrape off", kašaṭa "1. to skim, 2. scrape out, scrape off", salaḥa "to skin, flay, gall, graze", qalafa "to strip the bark from", qarafa "1. to peel off, 2. to suspect", waqasa "to skin; reproach, blame", laḥā "to skin", etc.). The proper synonyms are rare, e.g.: haḏada, haṣara "to break, break off", qarama "to bite, bite off, nibble food", qaḏama "to gnaw, nibble at".

The quasisynonyms have similar root structure, i.e. they possess "biconsonantal cells"[13]. Thus the meaning of detaching and cutting off is expressed by the following consonantal cells: I, II - bt, ǧz, qt, ḥs, II, III - lm, ḏb, the meaning of scraping off - I, III - qt, kt.

Lexico-semantic group of verbs of division (disjoining).

The lexico-semantic group of separation is closely related to the lexico-semantic group of division. The categorial seme of divisive verbs expresses the physical coercion of a subject upon an object aiming at breaking the integrity of the latter by disjoining its parts, e.g. faṣala "to separate, divide, cut off", barra "to separate, part, draw apart", faraqa "to separate, part from", qasama "to divide, separate", etc. The verbs of division group up into the following quasisynonymic series: a) with the common meaning "to split, break apart", e.g. šarama "to split, cleave, cut", šaqqa "to split, tear, rend, rip, cut open, punch, pierce", šalaqa "to split", sadaʿa "to break, crack, cleave", saraha[2] "split, splinter", ʿaqqa "to cleave, tear", falaqa "to split, cleave", falaʿa "to split, cleave, splinter, cut open", falaǧa "1. to split, cleave, 2. to beat, defeat, 3. to cultivate, plough, 4. to have a headache"; b) with the meaning "to tear", e.g. faraṣa "to cut, tear, asunder, slash", fazara "to tear through, sever, cleave; cause to burst", fadaġa "to break, crack (e.g. nuts)", farā "1. to split, break, crack (nuts); 2. to slander", etc. Some verbs denote division into two parts, e.g.: naṣafa "to halve, divide into two equal parts", saṭara "to divide, intersect, to halve", fašaḥa "to split into two, divide into two", the others - splitting into several parts, e.g. šaṭaba "to slit, slash", qaṣaba "to cut, cut to pieces, divide", habara[1] " to cut, cut to large pieces (meat)", etc. The content of these verbs includes the indication of the tool of action (a sharp object). Most of the mentioned verbs also contain the seme of intensity.

Another subgroup unites verbs which express disjoining of an object into many parts under intensive physical coercion, resulting into destruction of the

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[13] This phenomenon was noticed by ancient Arab grammarians who have marked out a series of two consonants with cognate root meanings. See Б.М. ГРАНДЕ..., c.49; И.М. ДЬЯКОНОВ. Языки древней передней Азии. Москва, 1967, c. 199-200.

material object. The semes "intensity" and "the result of the action" are the constituents of the plane of content of these verbs, e.g. *haṭara* "to break, crash", *kasara* "to break", *qaṣama* "to smash, violate, destroy", *qaṣafa* "1. to break, 2. roll, thunder, 3. bombard", *qaṣama* "to snap, break short", *haššă* "to mow, smash to pieces", *hašama* "to smash, break", *fadaha* "to break, fracture", *fadaša* "to crash", etc. In these examples the object of the action is a solid matter. In the verbs *fataqa* "to rip, tear, rend", *mazaqa* "to tear, rend", *nasara* "to tear, lacerate", *hataka* "1. to rip open, tear, rend, 2. to disgrace, ravish (a woman)", *harata* "to tear, rend", *harada* "to tear, rend (garments)" the object of coercion is represented by soft (tearable) material (e.g. fabric). The examined verbs are also the members of the lexico-semantic group of destruction.

A few quasisynonyms conveying the meaning of splitting possess two identical consonants in the morphologic structure of the root, e.g. *falaqa, falaᶜa, falaǧa;* the verbs meaning breaking; *fadaha, fadaša, fadaǧa; qaṣama, qaṣafa, qaṣaba, waqaṣa; harata* and *harada* "to tear, rend (e.g. clothes)" are synonyms.

The verbs of the two studied lexico-semantic groups of separation and division enter privative and equipolent oppositions as within their own groups, so with the members of the other group. Thus, the basic verbs of detachment form privative oppositions with other verbal subgroups of the group: *ǧaza'a, fadā : bataka, ǧazama, qataᶜa* (to separate by cutting): *qarama* (to bite). Similarly, the basic verbs of division *badda, faraqa, faṣala* form privative oppositions with the other subgroups of lexico-semantic group- : *faǧara, saraha, falaqa, fatara* (to divide by splitting) : *hatara, kasara,* etc. (to divide by breaking) : *mazaqa, fataqa, nasara* (to divide by tearing). Between themselves these verbs form equipolent oppositions.

Lexico-semantic group of verbs of destruction.

A large group of transitive verbs constitutes the lexico-semantic group of verbs expressing destructive exertion on an object. Their categorial meaning renders concrete processes of physical coercion on an object, resulting into partial or complete breaking of its integrity. The plane of content of destructive verbs is formed by the semes which make up the following hierarchy: 1. purposefulness of action, 2. the mode of accomplishing the action, 3. the character of an object, 4. the instrument of coercion, 5. result of the action, 6. intensity of the action. According to manifestation/non-manifestation of the seme "the mode of accomplishing the action" in the semantic structure of destructive verbs, the latter are divided into two subgroups:

1. Verbs with the generalized meaning of destruction. The semantics of these verbs do not point directly to the definite manner or the implement by which the given action was accomplished. E.g.: *haraba* "to ruin, demolish, devastate", *talla*

"to destroy, subvert", *qāda* "to demolish", *haǧǧa* "to destroy, break down (a building)", *hadama* "to demolish, pull down, destroy, ruin", *kabata* "to beat, crush (the enemy)", *dahara* "to rout, defeat", *hazama* "to defeat, overthrow", *ramata* "to break", *fatta* "to break into crumbs", *harama* "to crumble, mince", etc.

2. Verbs whose semantic content idnicates the mode (and sometimes the tool) of coercion. Such lexemes form the following quasisynonymic series: a) with the nuclear seme "to slay, slaughter" - *naha𝑐a* "to knife, kill", *nahara* "to kill, slay, slaughter (an animal)", *ǧazara* "to slaughter, kill (cattle)", *dabaha* "to slaughter, kill, slay, murder"; b) with the meaning "to strike, beat, hit", *latama* "to slap, strike", *lata𝑐a* "to slap, beat, hit", *laqafa* "to beat, break", *lahaba, habaǧa* "to beat, strike (*bi-*)", *habada* "to beat, hit", etc. often the instrument of action is shown together with the manner of accomplishing the action (syncretic valency), e.g. lexemes which convey the meaning "to strike, punch" - *lakka, lakaza, lakama, wakaza, rabasa,* also "to give a smack", e.g. *latata*, "to strike, beat with a stick" - 𝑐*ašā, latta, harā* "to stab" (i.e. with a sharp object) - *sāfa* "to strike with a sword", *waǧa'a* "to stab (with a knife), to punch", *ramaha* "to spear, lance", also: *sāta* "to lash, scourge", *ǧalada* "to whip, lash, slash", *raǧama*[1] "to stone (a deviless or a fornicatress)", *habata* "to hit, strike, knock, rap", *taraqa* "to knock at, strike, hammer", *rahafa* "to whet", *sanna* "to whet, sharpen", etc.; c) with the nuclear seme "to prick, pierce", e.g. *hazza* "to prick, pierce (*bi-*)", *hazaqa* "to pierce into, tear", *harama, harata* "to pierce, perforate, bore", *haraza* "to bore, pierce", *taqaba* "to make a hole, pierce into, drill", *taǧara* "to make a gap in, to make a breach" = *talama*, etc.; with the meaning "to bite": *hamaša, darasa, naǧada, daǧama, qatama* and 𝑐*adda*, etc.; d) with the major seme "to press, squeeze": 𝑐*assa* "to press, squeeze", *hazaqa* "to strain (clothes, shoes, etc.)", *zanaqa* "to tighten, strain", *zaǧada* "to press", *zahama* "to crowd, press", *kabasa* "to press, squeeze (𝑐*alā*)", *daǧata* "to press, squeeze", etc. The members of this group enter privative oppositions with the members of the first group.

Depending upon the quality of disintegration of the object, te destructive verbs are differentiated into 3 subgroups:

1. The first subgroup unites the verbs whose semantic structure contains the integral sign "to turn to ruins", i.e. to destroy completely, e.g. *haraba, talla, nasafa, qāha, tabara*. When the object is an animate noun, then destructive verbs convey the meaning "to kill", "to take somebody's life", e.g.: *fataka, qatala, mahaqa, baha𝑐a,* 𝑐*āra, hassa*[3]; "to smother, strangle": *za𝑐ata, zarada,* etc.; "to beat till death": *waqaza, damaǧa* "to hit on the head, break, destroy"; "to kill, slaughter (an animal)": *nahara, ǧazara, dabaha, farasa*[1], also *našaqa* "to hang", *rassa* "to crush, run over (e.g. a tram and the like)". The result of such actions is complete destruction of the object.

2. The second subgroup is built by the verbs, possessing the differential seme "to destroy, changing the structure of an object". Depending on the quality of breaking up the object, the verbs are divided into 3 subgroups:

a) to destroy something, disintegrating it into small parts, e.g. *raḍḍa* "to bruise, crush, pound", *radaha* "to break, smash to pieces", *rafata* "to pound, splinter", *dahaka* "to mash, knead", *mahaka* "to mash, pound", *nahaza* "to shatter, pound", *dakka* "to demolish, crush", *sahana* "to pound, smash, pulverize", *sahana* "to pound, powder", *sahaka* "to grind to powder, pound", *latta* "to pound, powder", *darasa*[3] "to grind", *tahana* "to grind, mill", *dašša* "to crush, bruise, pound", *tarada* "to sop", etc. Most of the nouns which combine with verbs are solid objects. The increased amount of the constituent parts of the object as thè result of coercion point to the resultative meaning of such verbs.

b) to destroy, making holes, e.g.: *harama, harata, haraqa, taqaba, qadda, talama, tagara, bazala, bahaša (bi-), bataqa, haraza, sarada, nahara,* etc.; quasisynonyms with the meaning "to bite": *hamaša, darasa, nagaza, ʿagama, dagama, karama;* "to bite, sting": *lāša, ladaʿa, ladaʿa, lasaʿa* and "to open up": *baʿaga, baqara, batta,* etc. The objects which combine with the given verbs are generally made of soft materials; coercion is local and only a part of the object is subjected to agential action.

c) to exert force, changing the physical shape of the object - quasisynonyms, conveying the meaning "to bend": *'atara, ʿasala, ʿataqa, hanā, hagana,* etc.; "to press, squeeze": *dagata, fasaʿa, ʿasara* (see above); "to beat, knock": *habata, taraqa, daqqa;* "to whet, sharpen": *šahada, tarra, sanna,* etc.

In some cases the transformed object is mentioned directly in the lexical item of the given verbs and represents the included actant, e.g.: *safaʿa* "to slap in the face", *wagaha* "to hit, slap in the face", *lahama* "to box somebody's ears", *yafaha* "to hit on the crown of the head", *gabaha* "to strike the forehead", *qahafa* "to hit, strike on the head", *šāba* "sport. to kick the ball", *ragama* "to stone (a deviless, fornicatress)", *kasaʿa* "to kick smb. on his back (with a hand or a leg)", *tarada* "to sop", *fasada* "to cut the vein open", *ʿafaqa* "to press (strings while playing)", *nahala* "to hew, cut, carve (a stone)", *nagara* "to shave or smooth wood", *qāna* "to forge", etc.

The resultative component is closely related to the categorial seme "purposefulness of action". Thus, for verbs of destructive action, the result of coercion on an inanimate object is revealed by its complete demolition, whereas in case of an animate object, the result is death. When the object is subjected to physical coercion and is disintegrated into small parts, then the common meaning of the anticipated result will be "augmentation of the constituent parts of the object". When there is concrete indication to the character of disintegration of the object, then

coercion has local manifestation - only a part of the object is subjected to coercion.

The contentual valency of the lexico-semantic group of destruction is represented by 2 formulas: S-V-O (animate, inanimate)-R for verbs with the generalized meaning of destruction and S-V-O (inanimate)-Inst-R for verbs with concrete destructive content. The last group forms privative oppositions with the verbs of generalized meaning and are related to the latter as specific to generic (*ḥaraba : dabaḥa, qatala : zaᶜaṭa*, etc.).

Among the studied subgroups of destructive verbs, a series of quasisynonyms have similar root composition, namely 2 identical "consonantal cells". Thus, the meaning "to beat, strike" is conveyed by consonants *sf, ṣf*, e.g.: *safaᶜa, safaqa, ṣafaqa, ṣafaᶜa, ṣafana*; *lt: laṭṭa, laṭaṭa, laṭaša, laṭasa, laṭaᶜa, laṭama*; *lk: lakka, laka'a, lakaza, lakama* and *ḥb: habağa, habada, habata*. The content "to perforate, pierce, make a hole" is rendered by the consonants *ḥz: ḥazza, ḥazaqa; ḥr: ḥarata, ḥaraza, ḥarama, ḥaraqa*, also *ṭabaqa and baṭaqa* with metathesis; *nahara* "to eat, gnaw" and *nahaza* "to prick, pierce". The meaning "to break to pieces, shatter" is portrayed by the verbs *radda, radaha* "to crush, grind", *sahana, sahana* "to pound, grind", *harasa* "to grind, pound, shatter" and *darasa*[3] "to grind", the meaning "to press, squeeze" is rendered by consonants *ᶜs: ᶜassa, ᶜasara, ᶜasara*, the meaning "to sting, bite" by *ladaᶜa, ladaᶜa*; "to bite, gnaw, sting" by *qaraḍa, qarasa* The similar root structure is attested among the lexemes of different subgroups, e.g.: *bahaᶜa* "to kill", *nahaᶜa* "to kill, slay", *zaᶜaṭa* "to strangle, smother", *zaᶜafa* "to kill on the spot", *kabata* "to rout, defeat (the enemy)", *habata* "to give a hard blow, to strike strongly (*bi-*); *naqafa* "to hit, break", *naqasa* "to ring a bell "; *hadama* "to demolish, pull down", *hazama* "to defeat, overthrow", *harama* "to crumble, mince"; *ğahaza* "to kill (*ᶜalā*), *lahaza* "to hit, kick", *waqaza* "to beat till death", *wakaza* "to punch"; *fataka* "to assault, kill, murder", *fatara* "to pierce, bore"; *fataqa* "to rip, tear, rend", *fatta* "to break into crumbs".

Synonymic verbs are rather rare, e.g.: *laṭaṭa, laṭasa* "to hit, beat, slap", *farama, qaraṭa* "to break into crumbs, cut to small pieces", *ᶜasala, hağana* "to bend".

Root similarities are also revealed among the representatives of different lexico-semantic groups of the analyzed verbs that points to the intersecting character of these groups. For instance, the verbs of destruction and separation: *qaraṭa* "to break into crumbs" and *qarama* "to bite, nibble"; *qatama* "to bite, lop off", *qadama* "to nibble" (other verbs with *qt* roots); *tabara* "to beat, defeat, demolish" and *batara* "to separate, cut off, amputate" (metathesis); the verbs of destruction and division: *farasa*[1] "to seize and devour (about an animal, beast)" and *farasa* "to cut, tear, cleave"; *fataqa* "to rip, tear, rend" and *fatala* "to kill, demolish", etc.

It should be mentioned that the semantic structures of destructive verbs are connected with those of verbs of division and separation. Distinction between them is that the resultative character of destructive action is revealed in breaking of the integrity of the object till its complete demolition. While for the other two groups the mode (manner) of performing the action is essential.

Some destructive verbs, due to their polysemy enter the lexico-semantic group of creative activity, e.g. *dalaqa, tabaqa, harata, lafaha, sahara, tahana, kabasa*, etc. In such verbs the creative action is rendered by destructive physical coercion. The lexico-semantic group of destruction opposes the lexico-semantic group of creation by its categorial seme, hence, the members of these two groups behave as antonyms. This is especially true for verbs with the generalized meaning of creation and destruction.

The interrelations and intersecting character of the analysed lexico-semantic groups of verbs is corroborated by cognate roots with biconsonantal cells.

Literarische Texte aus der Mastaba des Ptahschepses in Abusir

Břetislav VACHALA

"Bevor der Mensch tot zwischen die Steine fällt, in der Ecke des Zeltes hin-
scheidet oder sich den durstigen Mund mit dem brennenden Sand der Wüste füllt,
dieser schrecklichen Fata Morgana, bleibt ihm noch allerlei zu tun auf dieser Welt.
Sei er nun ein König, ein einfacher Mann oder ein Dichter." Mit diesen Worten
Prof. PETRÁČEKS möchte ich an seine große Persönlichkeit und sein außergewöhn-
liches Werk erinnern, das es ihm auf dieser Welt zu schaffen gelungen ist. Diesem
meinem Lehrer, der sich eingehend für die Sprache[1] und Literatur des alten Ägy-
pten interessierte, widme ich in Ehrerbietung diesen bescheidenen Beitrag.

Zum Höhepunkt der Reliefausschmückung privater Gräber des Alten Reiches
gehören mit Sicherheit die hieroglyphischen Inschriften und Szenen an den
Wänden der Ptahschepses-Mastaba in Abusir[2], die aus der Mitte der 5. Dynastie
stammt. Bei der systematischen archäologischen Erforschung dieser Grabanlage
durch die Expeditionen des Tschechoslowakischen Ägyptologischen Instituts der
Karlsuniversität wurde unter anderem auch eine größere Menge an Fragmenten
der Reliefausschmückung[3] gefunden. Unter den zahlreichen Inschriften konnten
auch einige literarische Texte identifiziert werden, die neue Belege für zwei
literarische Gattungen darstellen: die Biographie und das Hirtenlied.

Die biographische Inschrift, die einen wichtigen Teil der Ausstattung der
Ptahschepses-Mastaba darstellte (ähnlich wie bei der Ausschmückung anderer
Gräber bedeutender Würdenträger und hoher Beamter der 5. und 6. Dynastie[4]),

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[1] Die Struktur der altägyptischen Wurzelmorpheme mit Glottalen und Pharyngalen, ArOr 37
(1969), 341-344; Zur Stellung des altägyptischen Verbalsystems im Rahmen des Hamitosemi-
tischen, BSEG 6 (1982), 83-101; Zur Stellung des Altägyptischen in der hamitosemitischen
Sprachgruppe, Mélanges linguistuques offerts à Maxime Rodinson, Paris 1985, 279-286; Alt-
ägyptisch, Hamitosemitisch und ihre Beziehungen zu einigen Sprachfamilien in Afrika und
Asien, Praha 1988.

[2] M. VERNER, Abusir. The Mastaba of Ptahshepses. I. Reliefs. Text, Plates. Prague 1986.

[3] B. VACHALA, Abusir.The Mastaba of Ptahshepses. IV. Fragments of Reliefs. (im Druck).

[4] E. SCOTT, Die Biographie des *Ka-em-Tenenet*, In: J. ASSMANN et al., Fragen und die altägyp-
tische Literatur, Wiesbaden 1977, 443-461; H. ALTENMÜLLER, Lebenszeit und Unsterblichkeit
in den Darstellungen der Gräber des Alten Reichs, in: J. ASSMANN, G. BURKARD (Hgg.), 5000
Jahre Ägypten. Genese und Permanenz pharaonischer Kunst, Nußloch 1983, 75-87; J. ASS-
MANN, Schrift, Tod und Identität, in: A.u. J. ASSMANN (Hgg.), Schrift und Gedächtnis (Beiträge

ist und leider nicht vollständig erhalten geblieben. Beim Studium der Relieffragmente gelang es nur, ihre Reste festzustellen, von denen die drei folgenden am wichtigsten sind:

1) Teil einer biographischen Inschrift, geschrieben in drei Spalten von rechts nach links[5]:

1. ... ⌐*n kdt iw in*⌐
2. ... ⌐*in igr sš-kd(wt)*⌐
3. ... ⌐*ir.n.j ʿnh m 3ht*⌐
4. ... ⌐*ḥmww nb(w)*⌐

1. "... das Schaffen (das Bauen) ...
2. ... ferner auch [6] ein Zeichner (ein Maler)
3. ... ich habe das Leben auf den Feldern gesichert (erhalten)
4. ... alle Handwerker ..."

Unter diesen Spalten sind in einer waagerechten Zeile, von rechts nach links geschrieben, zwei Titel und der Name des Grabeigentümers aufgeführt:

⌐*H3tj-ʿ, ś*⌐ *mr wʿt[j], P* ⌐*th-šp*⌐ *[śś]*.

"Der Graf, der einzige Freund, Ptahschepses."

2) Teil einer biographischen Inschrift, geschrieben in vier Spalten von rechts nach links[7]:

1. ...*[śmśw]* ⌐*śnwt*⌐, *[ḥrj]* ⌐*śšt3*⌐ ...
2. ... ⌐*Nj sp irj(.i) ḥt nb(t) dw(t)*⌐ ...
3. ... ⌐*h3w*⌐ [8]...
4. ...(?)

1. "... Ältester des *śnwt*-Hauses, Geheimrat ...
2. ... Niemals habe ich etwas Böses getan[9] ...
3. ...
4. ..."

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zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation), München 1983, 64-93.

[5] Fragmente A 385 + 885 + 892 + 906.

[6] E. EDEL, Altägyptische Grammatik, II, Roma 1964, §§ 830-831.

[7] Fragmente A 388 + 857 + 880 + 1127.

[8] E. EDEL, op.cit., § 817.

[9] Zur Konstruktion *nj sp* + *śdm.f* (Negation des Perfekts) s. E. EDEL, op. cit., I., Roma 1955, § 474. Zur Negation ⌐⌐= ⌐ s. E. EDEL, MDAIK 13 (1944), § 59, S. 80ff. Zu ⌐ *irj(.i)* s. E. DORET, BSEG 7 (1982), 27-28.

Die erste Spalte enthält also die Reste zweier Titel des Ptahschepses, während die zweite die übliche, häufig in biographischen Inschriften erscheinende Formel beinhaltet[10].

3) Teil einer biographischen Inschrift, geschrieben in Spalten von rechts nach links. Erhalten blieben Teile von 10 mit vertikalen Linien abgetrennten Spalten[11]:

1. *[Mr] ⌐r⌐ [nśwt p] ⌐w ḫrj-ḥbt⌐ [i] ⌐wt.f r⌐*
2. *[is pn] ⌐r⌐ irt.n ḫt 3ḫ(t) ḫft sš pf*
3. *⌐š⌐ [t3] ⌐n mdw nṯr n ś ... n⌐ ... ḥtp md3t.f ᶜpr*
4. *... ḫt ... ⌐i ... i⌐ ... ḫt ᶜpr ⌐3ḥ⌐*
5. *⌐iẘ r ...¹² m mdẘ nṯr.'Iw ï⌐ ...*
6. *... ᶜ3 ... ⌐w3wt nb(t) ḥppt im3ḥw⌐*
7. *... ¹³ [št3] nb n ⌐ḥwwt⌐*
8. *... ⌐'Γ⌐ r rmt ⌐nb⌐*
9. *... ⌐ḥ⌐ r nṯr ⌐m⌐*
10. *... ⌐w m ḥwt-wrt⌐ ...*

1. "Ein Geliebter des Königs wird der Vorlesepriester sein, der
2. in dieses Grab eintreten wird, um die Verklärungsriten zu vollziehen
3. gemäß jenes geheimen Buches der Worte Gottes[14] ... seine Papyrusrolle, mit der er ausgestattet ist, zufriedenstellt (?) ...
4. ... die Riten, mit denen ein Verklärter ausgestattet ist
5. ... in Worten Gottes ...
6. ... alle Wege, auf denen die Versorgten schreiten
7. ... alle Geheimnisse der Paläste
8. ... Wenn irgendein Mensch
9. ... bei Gott
10. ... beim großen Gerichtshof[15] ..."

In allen drei Fällen treffen wir Wendungen an, die für die biographischen Inschriften der 5. Dynastie charakteristisch sind: "Ich habe das Leben auf den

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[10] E. EDEL, MDAIK 13 (1944), § 28, S. 37.

[11] Fragmente A 869 + 881 + 884 + 887 + 888 + 893 + 895 + 994 + 1025 + 1026.

[12] Wahrscheinlich stand hier *iw rḫ.k(wi)*.

[13] Wahrscheinlich stand hier *ḥr.śn ḫr nṯr-ᶜ3* (oder: *nśwt*).

[14] Eine Analogie zum Beginn der Inschrift ist die Nimaatre-Inschrift aus Giza: E. EDEL, MDAIK 13 (1944), § 56, S. 74-78.

[15] Zu den Funktionen und der Organisierung von *ḥwt-wrt* s.: N. STRUDWICK, The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom. The Highest Titles and their Holders. London 1985, 188-198.

Feldern erhalten" (im ersten Falle), "niemals habe ich etwas Böses getan" (im zweiten Falle), und "Ein Geliebter des Königs wird der Vorlesepriester sein, der in dieses Grab eintreten wird, um die Verklärungsriten zu vollziehen gemäß jenes geheimen Buches der Worte Gottes" (im dritten Falle am Anfang).

Neben diesen üblichen Wendungen sind allerdings aus dem ganzen Lebenslauf des Ptahschepses leider nur wenige Ausdrücke erhalten, die ahnen lassen, daß sie Teile waren:

- einer Behauptung, daß und wie Ptahschepses die Handwerker, die seine Grabanlage gebaut und ausgeschmückt haben, versorgte (im ersten Falle),

- einer Erklärung über den Vollzug der Riten für den "verklärten und geehrten" (d.h. verschiedenen) Ptahschepses (im dritten Falle),

- einer Warnung an mögliche Grabplünderer, mit denen Ptahschepses bereit sei, ein Gericht vor Gott zu führen (im dritten Falle am Ende).

Ein weiterer literarischer, auf den Relieffragmenten aus der Ptahschepses-Mastaba identifizierter Text stellt einen Beleg für das Hirtenlied dar, das von Männern gesungen wurde, die eine Schafsherde über ein vom Nil überflutetes Feld trieben. Die Herde trat dabei das Korn in den Boden. Lediglich in einem der uns bekannten Fälle sangen die Männer dieses Lied auf der Dresche, wo die Schafsherde das Korn aus den Getreideähren heraustrat. Die abgebildeten Schafstreiber halten in der Regel Stöcke und Seile in ihren Händen. In der Ti-Mastaba wendet sich einer von ihnen den Schafen zu und ruft: "Haltet euch bei mir!" Es scheint, daß der Text dieses einfachen Liedes, bestehend aus Anrufung, Frage und Antwort, von den Treibern ständig bei ihrer Tätigkeit wiederholt wurde. Trotz aller seiner Einfachheit hat der Text des Hirtenliedes einen tieferen Sinn, der in der ägyptischen Mythologie zu suchen ist[16].

Bisher sind uns insgesamt 6 Belege für das Hirtenlied aus der Zeit der 5. und 6. Dynastie bekannt[17]. Zu diesen ist allerdings noch einer hinzuzufügen, der

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[16] P. SEIBERT, Die Charakteristik. Untersuchungen zu einer altägyptischen Sprechsitte und ihren Ausprägunen in Folklore und Literatur, I, Wiesbaden 1967, 57-67; P. KAPLONY, Das Hirtenlied und seine fünfte Variante, CdE 44 (1969), 27-59; ders., Hirtenlied, Harfnerlied und Sargtext-Spruch 671 als verwandte Gattungen der altägyptischen Literatur, CdE 45 (1970), 240-243; H. ALTENMÜLLER, Bemerkungen zum Hirtenlied des Alten Reiches. CdE 48 (1973), 211-231. Neue Deutungen bei: H. ALTENMÜLLER, Kälberhirte und Schafhirte. Bemerkungen zur Rückkehr des Grabherrn, SAK 16 (1989), 1-19; G. MEYER, Das Hirtenlied in Privatgräbern des Alten Reiches, SAK 17 (1990), 255-284.

[17] Ti: H. WILD, Le Tombeau de Ti, II (La Chapelle), Le Caire Pl. CXIII.
Mereruka: P. DUELL, The Mastaba of Mereruka, II, Chicago 1938, Pls. 169f.
Sechemanchptah: W.K. SIMPSON, The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-ankh-ptah in the Muesum of Fine Arts Boston, Boston 1976, Pl. D
Anonym: J.E. QUIBELL, Excavations at Saqqara (1908-09, 1909-10), Le Caire 1912, 146.

unter den Relieffragmenten aus der Ptahschepses-Mastaba gefunden wurde[18]. Es handelt sich dabei um einen Teil des vierten Verses, geschrieben in einer waagerechten Zeile von rechts nach links:

... ⌐n^c r, ś ⌐ [nbb.]f ⌐ḥ⌐ [n]^c ⌐ḥ3t⌐

"...[Er spricht mit] dem Wels und unterhält sich mit dem Mormyrus".

Obgleich es sich nur um den Rest eines Verses handelt, ermöglicht uns dieser Beleg, zu einem philologischen Problem Stellung zu nehmen: zur strittigen Lesung des Fisches Mormyrus im Hirtenlied (wḥ^c t/ḥ3t) [19].

Wir haben gesehen, daß auch Bruchstücke unzähliger und bisher oft übersehener Relieffragmente aus einem altägyptischen Grab interessante Zeugnisse enthalten können - in diesem Falle sogar neue Nachweise literarischer Genres aus der Zeit des Alten Reiches.

Abschließend sei noch ein Text aus der Ptahschepses-Mastaba erwähnt, den Z. ŽÁBA für einen Auszug aus "einem langen Hymnus von der letzten Reise des Verstorbenen" hielt[20]. In Wirklichkeit jedoch handelt es sich nicht um einen Hymnus, sondern um einen der gut bekannten Wünsche und Bitten des Grabinhabers[21]. Der Text dieses Wunsches befindet sich [22] in einer von links nach rechts geschriebenen waagerechten Zeile über den Köpfen von 13 Männern, die die überlebensgroße, auf einem Schlitten stehende Statue des verstorbenen Ptahschepses in die Grabanlage ziehen[23]:

⌐Ḥp nfr, ḥp nfr⌐ ḥr ⌐w3wt nfrt ḥpt im3ḫw(w) ḥr.⌐ śn ⌐ḥ⌐ r ⌐nṯr-⌐^c3, ⌐m ḥtp, m ḥtp⌐!

"Schreite schön, schreite schön über die schönen Wege, die die Geehrten zu Großen Gott beschreiten[24], in Frieden, in Frieden!"

Nebet: H. ALTENMÜLLER, CdE 48 (1973), 212f.

Mehu: H. ALTENMÜLLER, CdE 48 (1973), 212 f.

[18] Fragment C 203.

[19] B. VACHALA, Zur Lesung des Fisches Mormyrus im Hirtenlied, ZÄS 115 (1988), 160-163.

[20] Tesáno do kamene, psáno na papyrus, Praha 1968, 34.

[21] W. BARTA, Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel, Glückstadt 1968, 17, 28; G. LAPP, Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches. Unter Berücksichtigung einiger späterer Formen. Mainz 1986, 51-58.
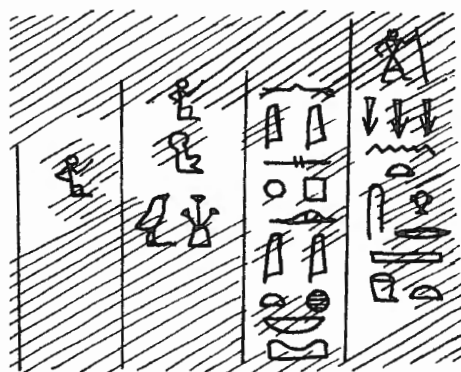
[22] Fragmente 57 (A) + 701.

[23] Diese Szene ist im Verzeichnis ähnlicher Darstellungen aus den Privatgräbern des Alten Reiches nicht enthalten: M. EATON-KRAUSS, The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom, Wiesbaden 1984, 142-173.
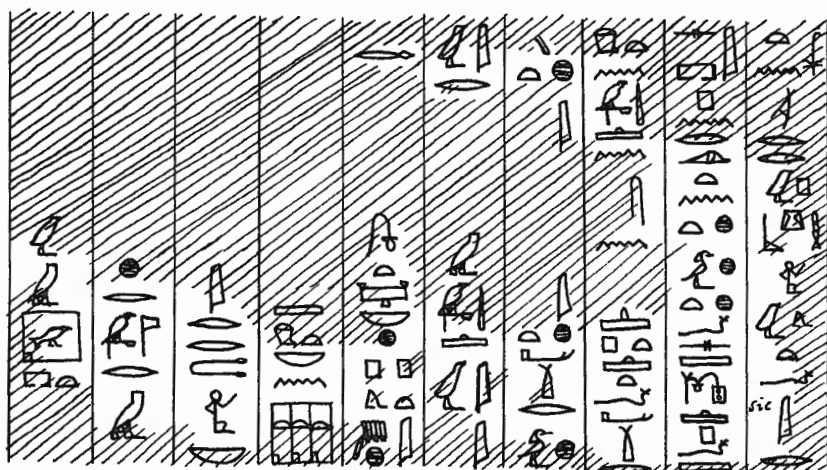
[24] Zur Bedeutung von nṯr-^c3 s. W. BARTA, Das Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers, Berlin 1970, 52-55; zu ḥr nṯr-^c3 ("zum großen Gott") s. A.M. MOUSSA, H. ALTENMÜLLER, Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep, Mainz 1977, Anm. 144 auf S. 61.

Fragmente A 385 + 885 + 892 + 906

Fragmente A 388 + 857 + 880 + 1127

Fragmente A 869 + 881 + 884 + 887
+ 893 + 895 + 994 + 1025 + 1126

Fragment C 203

Fragmente 57(A) + 701

The Linguistic Introduction to Rāzī's *Tafsīr*[1]

Kees VERSTEEGH

In the introduction to his large commentary on the Qur'ān, Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) devotes a large section to the discussion of linguistic issues that are relevant for the study of the Qur'ān. In this paper we shall concern ourselves with this section, and attempt to show that inasfar as the subject matter and the method of exposition are concerned, it is a cross between the so-called *mabādi' luġawiyya* in works on *uṣūl al-fiqh*, on the one hand, and the general linguistic writings that for the first time appeared in the 4th/10th century, on the other. Obviously, Rāzī did not write the introduction to his *Tafsīr* as a treatise on the *uṣūl al-fiqh*, but he remains an *uṣūlī* writer, whose interests in the *uṣūlī* perspective on language are clear. We shall briefly discuss the contents of the linguistic section in the introduction. Then we shall sketch the development of the two disciplines of linguistics and *uṣūl al-fiqh* up till the time of Rāzī, with special emphasis on the 4th/10th century and the role of the *Muᶜtazila* in this development, and finally we shall try to determine Rāzī's examples and sources, and define his place in the development of the two disciplines.

What we have called here the introduction to the *Tafsīr* is actually the commentary devoted to the first sura of the Qur'ān, including its introductory formulas. This whole section is divided into an introduction and three books (cf. *Tafsīr* I, 11). The introduction (*muqaddima*) consists of three *fuṣūl*, in which Rāzī explains that from a few words you can derive a large commentary. This reminds one of what his opponents always maintained, namely that he used to write a lot about everything that came to his mind, thus forgetting the actual text he was supposed to explain (cf. ANAWATI 1965: 754; general information on Rāzī: JOMIER 1977; KHOLEIF 1966). After the introduction there are three *kutub*. The first one (I, 21-107) is devoted to the sciences that may be derived from the introductory words of the first sura, *aᶜūdu bi-llāh*. This first book is divided into two sections: one (I, 21-66) devoted to the *mabāḥiṯ al-mutaᶜalliqa bi-l-luġa wa-l-iᶜrāb*, the section with which we are concerned here; and the second (I, 66-107) devoted to the *mabāḥiṯ al-mutaᶜalliqa bi-l-uṣūl wa-l-furūᶜ*, roughly, the legal and rational questions that may be derived from the introductory words.

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[1] A preliminary version of this article was presented as a paper at the XIV. conference of the U.E.A.I., Budapest, September 1988.

The second book (I, 108-179) deals with the introductory words of the actual *Fātiḥa, bismillāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm*. It is divided into eleven chapters that are mainly devoted to a discussion of the *asmā' Allāh*. The printed text does not indicate the beginning of a third book, but we assume that there is a third book (I, 179-290), devoted to the commentary of the *Fātiḥa*: the first part (not indicated in the printed text, I, 179-266) to a detailed analysis and interpretation of the individual verses of the sura, and the second part (I, 267-290) to a discussion of the sura as a whole.

Within each *bāb* of the introduction Rāzī discusses the subject matter in the form of *masā'il*. He himself explains the use of this method of exposition by saying (I, 20.17-22): *Iˁlam annā idā dakarnā mas'ala wāḥida fī hādā l-kitāb wa dalalna ˁalā ṣiḥḥatihā bi-wuǧūh ˁašara fa-kull wāḥid min tilka l-wuǧūh wa-d-dalā'il mas'ala bi-nafsihā, tumma idā ḥakaynā fīhā matalan šubuhāt ḥamsa fa-kull wāḥid minhā aydan mas'ala mustaqilla bi-nafsihā, tumma idā aǧabnā ˁan kull wāḥid minhā bi-ǧawābayni aw talāta fa-tilka l-aǧwiba at-talāta aydan masā'il talāta, wa-idā qulnā matalan: al-alfāẓ al-wārida fī kalām al-ˁArab ǧā'at ˁalā sittīna waǧhan, wa-faṣṣalnā tilka l-wuǧūh, fa hādā l-kalām fī l-ḥaqīqa sittūna mas'ala, wa-dālika li-anna l-mas'ala lā maˁnā lahā illā mawḍiˁ as-su'āl wa-t-taqrīr, fa-lammā kāna kull wāḥid min hādihi l-wuǧūh ka-dālika kāna kull wāḥid minhā mas'ala ˁalā ḥidda* (cf. for the structure of the *mas'ala* also MAKDISI 1982: 105-152; WEISS 1984a: 88). The method of the *mas'ala* is a good way to discuss all the problems that are connected with the subject matter, but it does not facilitate the analysis of the introduction, since various subjects are more or less arbitrarily patched together, although one gets the impression that within the various chapters groups of connected *masā'il* may be distinguished, for instance the discussion concerning the eternity of speech (chapter II, *masā'il* 10-14; *Tafsīr* I, 38-40) or the discussion on *tawātur* (chapter I, *masā'il* 46-50; *Tafsīr* I, 35-36).

All in all, it is obvious that the entire introduction is a kind of *tour de force*, in which the author shows his ability to expand the commentary on a few words of the texts into a monograph, in which all the sciences of Islam are dealt with. As such, the introduction is nothing more than the framework for a discussion of these sciences. This explains how we can get the impression that it is actually a treatise on, for instance, the *uṣūl al-fiqh* complete with its *mabādi' luġawiyya*, albeit not in a structured way.

Returning to the section on the linguistic sciences, we find that it is divided into seven chapters, dealing respectively with: *kalima; ṣawt/ḥarf*; parts of speech (*ism, fiˁl, ḥarf*); *taqsīmāt al-ism*; generic and derived nouns (*asmā' al-aǧnās; asmā' muštaqqa); iˁrāb; iˁrāb al-fiˁl*. It is obvious that it was not Rāzī's intention to give a complete sketch of linguistic structure, nor was it his intention to write a

complete introduction on linguistic matters for an *uṣūl al-fiqh* work. But his introduction is something in between, dealing only with those subjects that are relevant to the work he has undertaken, from an *uṣūlī* point of view, not from the point of view of a *mufassir*. This is obvious from the fact that he does not deal with morphology at all, although morphological questions often occur in the main body of the *Tafsīr*. On the other hand, he leaves out a lot of questions with which the *uṣūliyyūn*, both at an earlier and at a later period, were concerned, e.g., the problem of *ʿāmm/ḫāṣṣ*, the structure of the imperative, the use of metaphors in speech -subjects that he did deal with in the linguistic introduction to his *uṣūl* work, *al-Maḥṣūl* (see below). At the most, we can say that in his introduction Rāzī wished to show where he stood linguistically, and what his views were on the various problems with which a legal theorist is confronted when he deals with language, without going into the aspect of the relevance of these problems for the study of legal thought. In what follows we shall try to situate the introduction in the history of both *naḥw* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*.

In view of Rāzī's interest in both fields, linguistics and legal theory, it should be noted here that in principle there is a large difference in approach to the study of language between the two disciplines. The linguist studies the structure of language for its own sake, and if he has ulterior motives, it is to facilitate the work of scholars in the other Islamic sciences. For the *uṣūliyyūn*, on the other hand, the study of language is important, because language is the only way to reach the legal contents of the Qur'ān and the Tradition, and without a proper understanding of language one cannot draw the correct conclusions from these texts, or as WEISS (1966: 88) puts it: "Before it can be determined what is established in the realm of law through the sacred texts, it must be determined what is established in the realm of language".

An important difference between the *uṣūliyyūn* and the *naḥwiyyūn* is that for the former the study of language not only included the analysis of the actual corpus, but also the study of language as a phenomenon. For the *uṣūliyyūn* it was essential as a preliminary to their study of legal theory that they clarified their views on the status of language. In order to justify their methods and in order to legitimize their conclusions concerning the legal consequences of the texts, they must define the nature of speech and communication. For the *naḥwiyyūn*, on the other hand, the study of language had always been connected with a corpus, and since the days of SĪBAWAYHI, linguistics meant the description and explanation of observed speech, ideally the living speech of the Bedouin, but in actual practice the language as it was found in the Qur'ān and in pre-Islamic poetry, rather than speech as a communicative phenomenon. At the end of the 3rd/9th century a change took place within the discipline of linguistics, called by GUILLAUME

(1987: 90ff) the "nouvelle grammaire". According to him the most interesting aspect of this change is the transition from the study of *kalām* in the sense of 'actual speech' to the study of *kalām* in the sense of 'language'.

We have seen above that Rāzī participated in the development of both disciplines, and his interest in linguistic matters was not restricted, as it was for most other *uṣūliyyūn*, to those matters that are directly relevant for the study of legal theory. We know that he was interested in grammar as a technical discipline: he wrote a commentary on ZAMAHŠARĪ's *Mufaṣṣal* and the pages of his *Tafsīr* are full of quotations from grammatical writings (cf. JOMIER 1982 for a listing of quotations in one sura). This explains the fact that in his introduction he also deals with items such as the declinability of nouns, a subject never found in *uṣūlī* introductions proper. On the other hand, as an *uṣūlī*, his treatment of the material and his choice of subject differ considerably from traditional grammatical writings, and even in those linguistic matters which were not dealt with by other *uṣūlī* writers, his methods differed from those of the grammarians. As a matter of fact, the main question that emerges after reading Rāzī's introduction is not so much that of his direct sources - these can be ascertained without much difficulty, since he quotes them freely - but that of its place in the development of both grammatical and *uṣūlī* literature in the period preceding Rāzī's *Tafsīr*. In other words, we have to determine the circumstances that could produce a work such as his, almost the only one in which the two disciplines were combined, since most of the *uṣūlī* treatises were concerned with language, but not with grammar.

In a seminal article on the development of *uṣūl al-fiqh* after Šāfiʿī (d. 204/820), MAKDISI (1984) has shown that whereas Šāfiʿī himself remained completely within the context of positive law when he wrote his *Risāla*, which is mostly regarded as the beginning of the *uṣūl al-fiqh* literature, later works in this field contained a wealth of theoretical material, borrowed from the *mutakallimūn*. One of the mysteries surrounding the development of this discipline is that there was a considerable lapse of time between the *Risāla* and theoretical writings such as Ǧaṣṣāṣ' (d. 370/980) *Uṣūl al-fiqh* (cf. BERNAND 1985) or, slightly later, ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's (d. 415/1025) *Kitāb al-ʿumad*, which we know from the description by Abū l-Husayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044). Most of the new theoretical issues center around such points as the division of knowledge and the relationship between philosophical speculations and the production of knowledge.

MAKDISI states (1984: 16ff.): "I believe it [sc. legal philosophy] to have provided the Muʿtazila with one of its inroads into the field of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, and this justifiably". His explanation is that after the fall of the *miḥna* and the 'defection' of Ašʿarī (d. 324/936) the Muʿtazilites lost their powerbase to the anti-rationalists. This applied both to public life and to education, since the new custom to found

colleges with a *waqf* gave the founders the possibility to bar the Muʿtazilites from teaching. Both the extreme Muʿtazilites and moderate Ašʿarites - who can hardly be identified with the founder of their school! - had to find other ways to propagate their doctrines. According to MAKDISI, the only solution for them was to infiltrate the traditional lawschools through the medium of the *uṣūl al-fiqh*, which they achieved in the case of the Muʿtazilites through the Ḥanafiyya, and in the case of the Ašʿarites through the Šāfiʿiyya.

The important point of MAKDISI's article is that he shows how Muʿtazilite ideas and methods after they had been stigmatized by their public disgrace under the reign of Mutawakkil, were rechannelled into the mainstream of Islamic thought by way of the traditional disciplines, which as the result of the Mutazilite intrusion and infiltration underwent an essential change. He concentrates on this development in the field of legal theory that underwent a transition from the positive law approach that we find with Šāfiʿī to a new legal philosophy, which contained many dialectic elements. These were introduced by the Muʿtazilites, who used this opportunity to vent their own ideas and methods in disguise, so to speak, since they had been robbed of other public opportunities to use their inclination for dialectic reasoning.

If we compare this situation with the one prevailing in *naḥw*, the following points may be noted. In earlier studies on the development of grammatical thought among the Arabs it has often been remarked that there is, on the one hand, a remarkable uniformity inasfar as the technical aspect of grammatical analysis is concerned, but, on the other hand, a more or less sharp break at the turn of the third/fourth century with regard to the scope of linguistics and the problems that are included within the field of linguistics. LOUCEL (1963-63) has pointed out, for instance, that the discussions on the origin of speech that we find from the third century onwards, are completely absent in earlier grammatical writing (cf. also WEISS 1966). The origin of these discussions is mostly connected with the name of the Muʿtazilite dialectician ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān (d. after 912/300). This applies to many other subjects that only appeared in the linguistic speculations of this period, and that were almost without exception connected somehow with the status of language as a communicative phenomenon.

One might almost speak of a reorientation of linguistics in this period, were it not for the fact that the technical aspect of grammar remained unaffected by the "nouvelle grammaire", as GUILLAUME calls the new trend, so that we can find one and the same grammarian writing completely conventional technical treatises on syntactic and morphological structure alongside with other treatises dealing with subjects that are completely new in the history of the Arabic grammatical tradition. A good example is Zaǧǧāǧī (d. 337/949), author of both the *Kitāb al-ǧumal*

and the *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ fī ʿilal an-naḥw*. Another example is, of course, Ibn Ǧinnī, who wrote many treatises of a conventional nature, but at the same time composed the *Ḥaṣāʾiṣ*, with its often completely new perspective on many aspects of language.

The appearance of new trends in linguistics, or the transition from grammar to linguistics, as it might also be formulated, has sometimes been attributed to the influx of Greek logic and philosophy in the Islamic world (cf., among others, my own views in VERSTEEGH 1980). There seems to be a consensus that Greek influence in the early period of Arabic grammar is, to say the least, controversial, and besides, this influence did not stem from a conscious perusal of the translations of Greek writings, but from the acquaintance with living Greek culture in the conquered territories in Syria and Egypt. But there is an equally strong consensus that after the period of the Bayt al-Ḥikma, when the Arabic translations of Greek writings had become more or less common knowledge among Arabo-Islamic intellectuals, the development of grammar was influenced by these translations in a direct way. Perhaps the time has come now to reconsider this view, that has always been taken for granted. As GUILLAUME (1987: 128 ff.) points out, there are not many traces of direct contact between the representatives of the "nouvelle grammaire" and the logicians who worked within the newly acquired Aristotelian framework. The only direct and recorded case that comes to mind is that of Ibn as-Sarrāǧ (d. 316/928) and Fārābī (d. 337/949) (cf. VERSTEEGH 1977: 113 ff.).

But even in the writings of those scholars who were accused of mixing logic with grammar, such as the above mentioned Ibn as-Sarrāǧ, as well as Ibn Kaysān (d. 299/911 or 320/932) and Rummānī (d. 384/994) one does not find many traces of Aristotelian logic in its pure form. On the other hand, even in the writings of grammarians such as Sīrāfī (d. 368/979) who vehemently opposed the influence of Greek logic, we find the same elements, definitions, methods and divisions that have been regarded in other writers as signs of Greek influence. HAARMANN (1974) emphasizes the fact that Sīrāfī and others, such as Fārisī (d. 377/987) and, of course, his pupil Ibn Ǧinnī, are exponents of a new trend in linguistics: they set out to free linguistics from the exposure to the direct influence of Greek logic and philosophy, and thus paved the way for later grammarians to engage in speculations on new subjects without being forced to borrow a foreign model directly from the translations of Greek writings.

As a matter of fact, we are now in a much better position to evaluate the writings of the 4th/10th century grammarians than we were ten years ago, because in the meantime many monographs and treatises have come to light or have been published for the first time in a reliable edition: Ibn as-Sarrāǧ's *Kitāb al-uṣūl fī n-naḥw*, Ibn Kaysān's small treatise *Kitāb al-Muwaffaqī fī n-naḥw*, Fārisī's various

collections of *masā'il (Baġdādiyyāt, ʿAḍudiyyāt, ʿAskariyyāt)*, and his treatise *Aqsām al-aḫbār*, and even large portions from Sīrāfī's *Šarḥ* on Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*. They still have not been analyzed satisfactorily, but it is clear from a first reading that these works could only originate in a cultural climate in which the discussions concerning Greek logic and philosophy had become common knowledge. It is equally obvious that there is no sign of direct Greek influence. GUILLAUME (1987) has demonstrated that in the case of one author of this period, Zaǧǧāǧī, all reminiscences of Greek (Aristotelian and Stoic) logic and all the problems and issues normally associated with Greek logic, must be explained by the influence of theological-dialectal thinking in Islam in the preceding period.

There may be even a way to pinpoint this influence more precisely. There is one thing almost all grammarians of the 3rd/4th centuries had in common: most of them are said - or accused - to have been Muʿtazilites. This applies, for instance, to Qutrub (d. 206/821), Māzinī (d. 249/863), Mubarrad (d. 285/898), Fārisī, Ibn Ǧinnī, Sīrāfī, Rummānī, Zaǧǧāǧī (cf. VERSTEEGH 1977: 150). For some authors the Muʿtazilite influence in their thinking is obvious, e.g. for Ibn Ǧinnī (cf. MÉHIRI 1973: 47ff.), Zaǧǧāǧī and Rummānī (cf. CARTER 1984). For others their adherence to the Muʿtazila may be deduced from their doctrines, e.g. Qutrub (cf. VERSTEEGH 1981, but cf. GUILLAUME 1987: 291) or Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/839; cf. LECOMTE 1965). If we analyze the points that are new in linguistic thinking, the new themes that came to be accepted as worthy of the attention of grammarians, we find that all these new subjects belonged to the sphere of interest of the Muʿtazila, so that Muʿtazilite grammarians were strongly motivated to discuss them. To mention only a few examples: the origin of speech, the use of metaphors in speech, the doctrine of the *ʿāmil*, the dichotomy *ism/sifa* (in connection with God's attributes), the nature of speech (in connection with the problem of God's speech and the createdness of the Qur'ān), the discussions concerning the *iʿǧāz al-Qur'ān*. It should also be remembered that the great Muʿtazilites from the period before the fall of the *miḥna* had already displayed their interest in linguistic and philological matters, witness for instance their commentaries on the Qur'ān, such as the one written by Abū ʿAlī al-Ǧubbā'ī (d. 303/915; cf. GWYNNE 1986). This is not surprising, either, since the interpretation of the Qur'ān played an important role in their efforts to conquer the intellectual scene, and do away with the deterministic and anthropomorphic interpretations of some of the Qur'anic verses, that had always been so abhorrent to their way of thinking and their fundamental dogms (on *ḥaqīqa/maǧāz* cf. HEINRICHS 1984).

We have seen above that after the fall of the *miḥna* the Muʿtazilites quickly lost their influence in public life and education (cf. NAGEL 1975: 464ff.). Through their incessant polemics and discussions with opponents, culminating in the

persecution of some of their opponents during the *miḥna* they had lost all sympathy for their cause with the general public. The prevailing attitude had become not so much one of anti-rationalism - since many of their opponents had borrowed from them some of their methods and terminology - but rather one of anti-Muʿtazilism. On the other hand, even after the *miḥna* many intellectuals continued to be drawn to the contents of the Muʿtazilite doctrine, and they found no satisfaction in the increasing tendency on the part of theologians to accept a creed *bi-lā kayfa*. Dialectics as a discipline - or even as a way of life - had become a taboo, so that the only alternative that remained for such thinkers was to infiltrate other disciplines in order to adapt them to their own needs. We have seen above that according to MAKDISI (1984) this was what took place in the field of legal theory and explains the sudden transition in this discipline from a traditional science, mostly concerned with positive law, to a highly sophisticated theoretical science. We believe that the same phenomenon may also be invoked to explain the development in the field of grammar and rhetorics.

Although the locus of infiltration differed for the three fields of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, grammar and rhetorics, the three cases are similar in that in each field the result was that the discipline changed its character, or rather: in each discipline the scope of investigations was expanded so that the new problems introduced by the Muʿtazilites could be accepted. What is more, the three fields became closely connected through their common interest in language. For the Muʿtazilites language had always been a central part of their approach to theology (and law) and now, through their preoccupation with legal theory, grammar and rhetorics, the ties between the three disciplines could be tightened considerably. We find, indeed, in every work on legal theory (Āmidī, d. 631/1233, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, d. 436/1044, and ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār) as a preliminary to the study of the theory of law remarks to the effect that the study of language is essential to the study of God's divine law, since this law was expressed in the language of the Arabs. On the other hand, grammarians from this period stressed the importance of the study of grammar for the Islamic sciences, for instance in Zamaḫšarī's (d. 538/ 1144) *Mufaṣṣal* (2.3ff.) and, even more directly, in IBN ǦINNĪ's *Ḫaṣā'iṣ* (III, 245ff.) where he says that the most important contribution of linguistics is to make people aware of the truth concerning God's unity and justice (cf. also his remarks on the *uṣūl*, I, 48ff.; cf. MÉHIRI 1973: 42ff.).

In the *uṣūl al-fiqh* the original Muʿtazilite contribution centered on the problems connected with knowledge and thought, but the later development of this discipline brought in many other elements from linguistics in the so-called *mabādi' luġawiyya* (cf. WEISS 1984b), even to the point where ǦAZZĀLĪ (d. 505/111) complained about the fact that the treatises of *uṣūl al-fiqh* contained many ele-

ments that did not belong there at all, but were simply borrowed from other disciplines, such as logic and grammar (*Mustaṣfā* I, 10), although he found that he had no alternative but to conform to this habit, so that his own treatises on *uṣūl al-fiqh* contain the same mixture of elements.

In grammar, as we have seen, the new ideas in the 'nouvelle grammaire' were concerned with many subjects, in the first place, of course, the origin of speech (cf. LOUCEL 1963-4; WEISS 1974) but also problems connected with the relationship thought/speech. In rhetorics the most important contribution of the Muᶜtazilites was achieved through the theories connected with the *iᶜǧāz al-Qur'ān*. One of the first authors in this field was Rummānī, who was also a grammarian and a Muᶜtazilite (cf. CARTER 1984). The most influential writer on *iᶜǧāz al-Qur'ān* was without any doubt Ǧurǧānī (d. 471/1078) who aimed at a combination between rhetorics and grammar, that was to include the semantic part of linguistics, which in his view, had been almost completely neglected by the grammarians (cf. BAAL-BAKI 1983). It goes without saying that it was precisely this emphasis on the relationship between *alfāẓ* and *maᶜānī* that attracted the legal theorists to the science of rhetorics (cf. WEISS 1966: 2). Earlier efforts by the logicians to focus in on this relationship had aimed at the isolation of grammar and had, consequently, met with great disapproval on the part of the grammarians. But in the view of authors such as Ǧurǧānī, the ultimate aim must be the combination of the two disciplines, and the expansion of grammar into a veritable science of linguistics. It is, of course, not surprising that these ideas came to be accepted wholeheartedly by the grammarians, since after all most of them were the same Muᶜtazilites whose aim was precisely the unification of these disciplines with legal theory. Thus, we find many of the ideas that originated in these circles in later encyclopaedias such as Suyūṭī's (d. 911/1505) *Muzhir fī ᶜulūm al-luġa*, or in the synthesis written by Ibn Hišām (d. 761/1360) *Muġnī l-labīb ᶜan kutub al-aᶜārīb*.

With regard to the history of linguistics in Islam the question is not, why so many grammarians were Muᶜtazilites, but rather why so many Muᶜtazilites took up grammar in the 3rd/4th centuries, and the answer, we believe, is provided by the aforegoing observations: grammar gave scholars with Muᶜtazilite sympathies an excellent opportunity to get their doctrines accepted through a medium that was closely connected with their own interests, and that was highly relevant for the central tenets of their beliefs concerning the speech of God and the metaphorical interpretation of the Qur'ān. In this way, linguistics became pervaded by the Muᶜtazilite way of thinking, and later scholars, even when they did not adhere to the Muᶜtazila themselves, had no choice but to conform to the framework they had set up for this new discipline.

Rāzī's introduction to his *Tafsīr* is a good example of this development. Although he is not a Muʿtazilite himself, and opposes them on several points (e.g. on their view that words are only meaningful when they consist of two or more consonants, *Tafsīr* I, 29-30; their view that there are conclusive arguments to prove that the relationship between sounds and meanings is conventional, I, 30-31; their view that the words denote the *irādāt* and the *iʿtiqādāt*, I, 34-35; but cf. his protection of Naẓẓām against unjust criticism, I, 27 *wa-aqūlu: an-Naẓẓām kān min adkiyā' an-nās*), their ideas and methods shine through at many places of the introduction, and one could almost say that he acted as a safekeeper of their ideas, which would otherwise have got lost. Perhaps, the best way to demonstrate this is to point out the many parallels between Rāzī's introduction and the writings of such Muʿtazilite grammarians as Zaǧǧāǧī and Ibn Ǧinnī, and refer to his quotations from ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Ǧurǧānī, with whom he shared an interest in the semantic side of speech, that is absent from earlier writings on grammar.

Let us just mention a few of the problems that are dealt with both by Rāzī and by Zaǧǧāǧī and/or Ibn Ǧinnī: the reason why declension is necessary (*Tafsīr* I, 52, cf. Zaǧǧāǧī, *Īḍāḥ* 69f.; the reason why declension comes at the end of the word (*Tafsīr* I, 53, cf. Zaǧǧāǧī, *Īḍāḥ* 76); the relationship between the vowels and the weak consonants (*Tafsīr* I, 54, cf. Zaǧǧāǧī, *Īḍāḥ* 141 and Ibn Ǧinnī, *Ḥaṣā'iṣ* II, 315); the theory of Quṭrub concerning the relationship between declensional endings and syntactic meanings (*Tafsīr* I, 54, cf. Zaǧǧāǧī, *Īḍāḥ* 70f.); the reason for the choice of vowels for the declensional endings (*Tafsīr* I, 60, cf. Ibn Ǧinnī, *Ḥaṣā'iṣ* I, 173), and of course the large attention that Rāzī gives to Ibn Ǧinnī's theory of *al-ištiqāq al-kabīr* (*Tafsīr* I, 21ff., cf. Ibn Ǧinnī, *Ḥaṣā'iṣ* II, 133 and MÉHIRI 1973: 251ff.; VERSTEEGH 1984) and his distinction between *qawl* and *kalām* (*Tafsīr* I, 26-27, cf. Ibn Ǧinnī, *Ḥaṣā'iṣ* I, 5ff.). These are but a few of the obvious parallels between Rāzī and the two grammarians; there are many more general similarities, for instance with regard to the discussions concerning the definitions of the parts of speech, and Rāzī's discussion of the theories of the origin of speech, in which he reaches the conclusion already drawn by Ibn Ǧinnī, namely that there are no conclusive arguments for either of the two theories.

The problem in dealing with Rāzī's introduction is not so much that of his sources, but of its nature. After the preceding discussion we believe to have shown that it may be regarded as a unique treatise by an *uṣūlī* writer who was interested in linguistic matters in a way that differed from his fellow *uṣūliyyūn*. We have seen above that all *uṣūliyyūn* were interested in linguistics (for a general survey of this linguistic interest cf. ʿAbd al-Ǧaffār 1981 and Ǧamāl ad-Dīn 1980), but Rāzī is different in that he includes in his introduction linguistic subjects that are absent from the usual *mabādi' luǧawiyya*, and approaches some of the *uṣūlī* themes from

a linguistic point of view. In this respect he could attach himself easily to those of the earlier grammarians who as linguists had shown an interest in some of the *uṣūlī* problems, such as Ibn Ǧinnī.

If we compare the introduction to the *Tafsīr* with Rāzī's introductory chapters to his *Maḥṣūl*, we find that there is in many respects a similarity. The *Maḥṣūl* is, of course, a work on the *uṣūl al-fiqh* proper, but nevertheless some of the discussions in the introduction to the *Tafsīr* are repeated here, albeit in an expanded form, with more detail, and sometimes with more explicit mention of the sources (a good example is the discussion of the theories concerning the origin of speech, *Maḥṣūl* I, 243-60, where Rāzī quotes Ibn Mattawayh's (d. 469/1076) *Taḏkira*, as well as Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarā'inī (d. 418/1027, both I, 255), or the discussion on *tawātur* (*Tafsīr* I, 25-26, cf. *Maḥṣūl* I, 277ff. and cf. WEISS 1984b: 95-97; 1985).

A comparison between the contents of the introduction to the *Tafsīr* and the linguistic chapters of the *Maḥṣūl* gives an opportunity to find out, which subjects according to Rāzī were linguistically relevant and which ones were relevant for the study of the *uṣūl al-fiqh*. We have seen that some subjects were dealt with in both, but if we take a look at the contents of the chapters of his *kalām fī l-luġāt* in the *Maḥṣūl*, we find that there are additions: ch. I *fī l-aḥkām al-kulliyya li-l-luġāt* (I, 233); ch. II *fī taqsīm al-alfāẓ* (I, 299); ch. III *fī l-asmā' al-muštaqqa* (I, 325); ch. IV *fī aḥkām at-tarāduf wa t-tawkīd* (I, 347); ch. V *fī l-ištirāk* (I, 359); ch. VI *fī l-ḥaqīqa wa-l-maǧāz* (I, 395); ch. VII *fī t-taʿārud bayna aḥwāl al-alfāẓ* (I, 487); ch. VIII *fī tafsīr ḥurūf taštaddu l-ḥāǧa fī l-fiqh ilā maʿrifa maʿānīhā* (I, 507); ch. IX *fī kayfiyyat al-istidlāl bi-ḥitāb Allāh wa-ḥitāb rasūlihi ʿalā l-aḥkām* (I, 539). The most obvious difference is that in the *Maḥṣūl* Rāzī deals with problems such as synonymy and homonymy and metaphorical use of speech, subjects which are not dealt with in the linguistic introduction to the *Tafsīr*. Obviously, Rāzī felt that such subjects had no place in a linguistic introduction proper and had to be reserved for treatment in the *mabādi' luġawiyya* of a real work on *uṣūl al-fiqh*. We may add, though, that even for those subjects he frequently quotes Ibn Ǧinnī in the *Maḥṣūl*.

A second point of reference is Suyūṭī's *Muzhir*, which has a number of quotations from the *Maḥṣūl*. From the choice of subjects in these quotations we can find out what later writers on linguistics regarded as linguistically relevant. Explicit quotations from the *Maḥṣūl* concern: the theories on the origin of speech (*Muzhir* I, 16-20); the *ṭarīq ilā maʿrifat al-luġāt* (*Muzhir* I, 57 and I, 115-18: this concerns the legitimation of linguistic knowledge through *tawātur* and *āḥād*). Other quotations concern the relationship between *alfāẓ* and *ṣuwar ḏihniyya* (*Muzhir* I, 42), the *sabab fī waḍʿ al-alfāẓ* (*Muzhir* I, 38), the status of foreign words in the Qur'ān (*Muzhir* I, 267), and the various kinds of *maǧāz* (*Muzhir* I,

359-61) and *mutarādif* (*Muzhir* I, 402-403). All except the last subject reappear in the linguistic introduction to the *Tafsīr*. That Suyūṭī includes Rāzī's opinion on *maǧāz* is not surprising, because Ǧurǧānī's and others' writings on the semantic side of speech had made this subject part of linguistics as a discipline.

In conclusion we should like to say that Rāzī's introduction to the *Tafsīr* gives us a chance to review the development of various disciplines in the 4th/10th century. In our view this development may indeed be looked upon as a Renaissance, in the sense that the development in the individual disciplines may be regarded as part of one movement. The cultural and scientific effects of the influx of Greek knowledge in the Islamic world are well known, but the way in which this knowledge filtered through in the various disciplines has not yet been thoroughly investigated. One could say that from a global point of view the effect of this influx was a shift in the Islamic world view, a transition from the Damascene provincialism to the Bagdadian cosmopolitanism, grafted onto the existing preoccupation with the linguistic heritage in the case of the grammarians, and the existing need to extract legal *ahkām* from the Qur'ān and the Tradition in the case of the legal scholars. These preoccupations were transcended, so to speak, by the need to get a grip on the language/thought dichotomy that had become a first-rate problem after the acquaintance with Greek logic and philosophy. The discussions on this and similar problems had been initiated by the Muʿtazilites and it was through their efforts that the other disciplines were forced to reconsider their options. In the end, we could say, Greek thought through the good services of the Muʿtazila conquered the Islamic world as well, and Virgil's words *Graecia capta ferum Romanum cepit victorem* seem to be as valid in the case of the Islamic world as it was in the case of Rome.

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Sur le caractère du système administratif ottoman.

Zdenka VESELÁ

Déjà à l'époque de son existence, l'Etat ottoman attirait une attention bien méritée par son système administratif[1]. Les historiens européens décrivaient l'administration ottomane avec un certain étonnement ou avec crainte devant l'ennemi, et plusieurs de ceux-là essayèrent de trouver des raisons de la puissance de ce grand Empire et sourtout plus tard, des raisons de sa décadence. On n'a jusqu'à maintenant certainement pas trouvé une réponse convenable aux questions mentionnées. Les générations suivantes d'historiens ainsi que toutes les écoles méthodologiques qui suivront, reviendront sans doute à ces problèmes, comme à des questions restant toujours intéresantes.

Nous ne voulons quand même pas nous occuper de l'évolution historique de l'Etat ottoman de la même manière assez habituelle qui divise l'histoire en époques différentes, en leur ajoutant une classification, car cette analyse apporte toujours une appréciation forfataire, superficielle. Il y a quelques mois, une conférence sur les problèmes de l'Etat, de la centralisation et de la taxation des trois Empires (Ottoman, Safévide et Moghoul) - Mai 1990 à Munich - a évoqué de nouveau le problème du système de l'Etat ottoman, bien qu'elle ne fut arrivée à une autre conclusion que celle-ci, que l'administration ottomane était beaucoup plus précise et développée que celle des autres Empires traités et que l'étude de ces problèmes peut être basée sur une quantité énorme d'archives, ce qui nous offre la possibilité de découvrir plusieurs détails. Il n'y a que très peu d'historiens dans les pays jouissant d'une historiographie avancée qui ont des possibilités semblables. Les historiens osmanistes peuvent plutôt avoir des difficultés avec la quantité énorme de documents. Ce qui gêne leur travail, ce sont des difficultés pour accéder à ces matériaux et pour obtenir une quantité représentative et capable de témoigner de faits historiques fixes.

Dans notre petite contribution, nous ne voulons pas apprécier le rôle historique de l'Empire ottoman, ni son évolution. Nous voudrions attirer l'attention sur le trait caractéristique qui - d'après notre opinion - contribua pendant des siècles à soutenir la société hétérogène ottomane, à son trait de caractère de mosaïque.

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[1] HAMMER-PURGSTALL, Jos. v.: Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverwaltung, dargestellt aus den Quellen seiner Grundgesetze, 2 t., Wien 1815 (Reprint Hildesheim 1963).

Le système ottoman sortait naturellement de la base de la loi musulmane dont les détails   provenaient des traditions juridiques locales des territoires formant l'Empire. En plus, on ne doit pas omettre les traditions turques, l'héritage des Etats nomades et le régime social des nomades, conservés à la Cour et surtout dans l'armée ottomane[2].

L'organisation de l'armée se composait de même de plusiers groupes selon les armes et le devoir des soldats, entièrement groupés d'après le système numérique. Ainsi, les divers bataillons formaient des subdivisions de la grande mosaïque de l'armée dirigée d'une façon centrale.

On ne peut que regretter le manque d'une analyse solide du système nomade turc en comparaison avec le régime de la Cour et de l'armée ottomanes. Les études sur les commencements de l'Etat ottoman tracent ces questions, mais, étant orientées d'une autre façon, elles ne le traitent pas assez profondément.

C'est pourquoi nous ne possédons pas de base pour une comparaison des traditions pré-ottomanes et ottomanes, de même que nous ignorons leurs caractéristiques en ce qui concerne le caractère d'une société ou les directions de la dépendance interne.

Sortant des connaissances accessibles, nous supposons que c'étaient le caractère des parallèles et une prépondérance des liaisons verticales, prévalant dans la société pré-islamique turque qui influencèrent de même le caractère de la société ottomane. Comme nous le voyons, c'étaient aussi les traits caractéristiques prévalant dans la base de la société ottomane, société pouvant être appelée une mosaïque composée de plusieurs unités, des "cailloux de mosaïque". Quant à ces unités, elles formaient en chaque cas des entités dont les liaisons étaient dirigées le plus souvent vers le centre, tandis que vers les autres entités, elles ne se dirigaient que très rarement.

Une des parties importantes de l'organisation administrative était l'armée. La raison de cette situation se trouvait sans doute dans le fait que l'Etat ottoman s'orientait au service de l'armée qui - au contraire - gardait son existence et donnait des possibilités à son agrandissement. Il y avait un cercle fermé d'influence de l'un à l'autre.

Il est vrai que l'armée formait toujours une partie importante de tous les Etats, les Empires féodaux y compris. En ce qui concerne l'Etat ottoman, nous pouvons suivre l'importance de l'armée dans la structure de l'Etat déjà dans le fait que - au contraire de la situation régnant en Europe contemporaine - l'Etat ottoman possé-

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[2] Pour les idées intéressantes concernant la société des nomades et les commencements de l'Etat ottoman voir E. WERNER: Die Geburt einer Großmacht. Die Osmanen, 1ère éd. Berlin 1966 et les éd. suivantes.

. dait une grande armée professionnelle, soutenue par l'Etat lui-même, tout en étant en même temps un facteur important de l'administration du pays. La méthode de l'administration ottomane répondait pleinement au caractère de mosaïque sociale dont nous parlons aujourd'hui.

Le système de direction de l'Etat ottoman était basé sur des fiefs ou bénéfices administratifs et militaires, comme plusieurs historiens ont caractérisé le systéme des timars. Ce titre du "système des timars" (*timarlı sistemi*), donné à celui-ci déjà par les réformateurs ottomans au XIXe s., nous présente une preuve sur la liaison évidente entre l'armée et l'administration sociale et économique du pays.

Le posseseur du fief (ou du bénéfice), qui était souvent aussi l'officier de l'armée et en même temps un fonctionnaire de l'administration, fut lié aussi à une fonction militaire; donc un officier supérieur exerçait en même temps une fonction administrative qui ne demandait pas de qualification juridique pour l'éxécution de son mandat. En ces deux cas, les fonctionnaires étaient liés en direction verticale vers le centre, tandis que leur liaison vers les autres groupes sociaux du territoire n'était que de seconde importance. Malgré l'existence d'une rotation dans les fonctions, le changement de position d'un fonctionnaire était toujours plus facile dans la direction verticale. Quant aux transmissions en direction horizontale qui pourraient pénétrer à travers les frontières des parties de la mosaïque de l'ordre social, elles étaient presque nules à l'époque de la domination du système des timars; on n'en trouve pas de preuve.

La ligne des "hommes d'épée" et des "hommes de plume" ne croissait pas, malgré une certaine liaison des fonctions exercées. Pour expliquer: non seulement le gouverneur d'une province [la province s'appelait "le drapeau" (*sancak*), ainsi qu'un bataillon de l'armée portait le même nom] exerçait aussi la fonction de commandant de l'armée régulière et des bataillons des fiefs de sa province. Il cumulait ainsi les fonctions civile et militaire. A côté de cela, un *kadi* (un juge) dans la ville - une certaine parallèle du maire dans la ville européenne, était en collaboration avec le gouverneur, mais en tant que personne civile avec formation de juriste et appartenant aux "hommes de plume", ce *kadi* n'exerçait pas de service militaire. Faisant l'intermédiaire entre l'armée et les habitants de la ville, le *kadi* pourvoyait aux besoins de l'armée en utilisant les ressources offertes par les citadins.

Les villes et les communautés (les cités) ne différant dans le milieu musulman qu'en ce qui concerne la grandeur, mais égales d'après l'administration juridique

formaient aussi des unités de la mosaïque administrative[3]. Les villes avaient leurs organisations internes se trouvant au-dessus des divers groupes d'habitants, des groupes divisés du point de vue territorial (d'après la division suivant le travail et le domicile). A l'intérieur d'une telle unité locale, les habitants se groupaient d'après leurs professions dans les corps de métiers. Le systéme des corporations était compliqué et il évoluait de même pendant l'époque du développement de l'Empire. Il montrait plusieurs qualités semblables à celles des corporations européennes, comme par ex. les degrés de qualification, de l'apprenti au maître. Ce qui était tout à fait différent, c'était sa dépendance de l'Etat.

Les corps de métiers étaient liés à l'Etat par le *kadi* déjà mentionné. Il dirigait non seulement les métiers importants pour la vie quotidienne et ceux qui pourvoyaient aux besoins de l'armée, mais aussi, suivant la situation sociale, tous les autres métiers et professions. Le *kadi* influençait le niveau des prix et le niveau et le caractère de la production en ville ainsi que la direction du commerce.

Dans ce domaine, on peut aussi suivre la liaison du centre de l'Etat avec les unités plus grandes et plus petites de la société du point du vue social et économique. Les villages, comme partie de l'organisation sociale assurant la production agricole, formaient une partie des fiefs - *timars*. Les différents *timars* offrant le salaire, une compensation du service pour le profit de l'Etat (dans l'armée ainsi que dans l'administration, dans les écoles, dans les tribunaux, dans les hôpitaux etc.) étaient composées de parties de caractères différents et localisées sur diverses places, tandis que les villages contribuaient par les résultats de leur production à plusieurs *timars*, étant de cette façon divisés entre plusieurs fiefs. Les villages d'un certain territoire formaient ensemble une unité produisant les bénéfices de la province. Cette unité était liée par l'administration au centre d'une catégorie plus élevée du système administratif.

Nous avons suivi la liaison de plusiers unités locales ou sociales et admininstratives avec le centre. Mais, l'Empire ottoman couvrait un territoire vaste et pendant son évolution historique, il incorporait les régions différant par leur degré et par leur caractère social et économique. C'est pourquoi l'administration du vaste territoire différait d'une partie à l'autre. Plusieurs régions n'étaient pas liées au centre par leurs unités sociales internes, mais formaient elles-mêmes de grande unité. A de telles grandes unités administratives appartenaient par ex. les Etats vassaux liés faiblement à l'Empire. Ces Etats vassaux payaient l'impôt - *haraç* en bloc et n'étaient obligés qu'à tenir une politique extérieure commune avec l'Em-

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[3] S. FAROQHI: Towns and townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia. Trade, crafts and food production in an urban setting, 1520-1650, Cambridge 1984; Z. VESELÁ-PŘENOSILOVÁ: Quelques remarques sur l'évolution de l'organisation urbaine en Empire Ottoman, ArOr 42, 1974, pp. 200-224.

pire. Il s'agissait avant tout des petits pays à la frontière du Monde chrétien (comme la Crimée, la Transylvanie). A côté de cela, c'étaient les provinces régulières de l'Empire dont l'administration est devenue trop difficile à cause des conditions géographiques et autres (comme le Montenégro, les pays arabes trop éloignés). C'était de même l'Egypte qui restait administrée selon la tradition locale prévalante.

Ce qui nous intéresse ici, c'est le fait que ces territoires, bien que très vastes, formaient aussi pendant plusieurs siècles des unités fermées incorporées dans la mosaïque adminsitrative ottomane. Dans leur administration interne, elles différaient des régions administrées par le système des *timars*, ayant gardé dans une certaine mesure une continuité avec passé pré-ottoan[4].

Nous ne pouvons pas éviter un autre "caillou de mosaïque" - les Eglises chrétiennes. Les citoyens de l'Empire ottoman étaient divisés suivant la loi musulmane d'après leur appartenance religieuse. Il s'agissait d'une division plus importante que la division sociale et économique. La division suivant la provenance familiale - comme elle existait en Europe - donnait le pouvoir d'une personne sur l'autre, ce qui n'était pas possible suivant la doctrine islamique: "tous les musulmans sont égaux" et les croyants des autres religions avaient une situation fixée par la position de leur religion dans le pays.

Les chrétiens étaient les citoyens "protégés" en formant des groupes socio-religieux (*millet*) fermés vers la société les entourant. Les Eglises elles-mêmes jouissaient d'une autonomie interne. Dans les affaieres appartenant au droit privé, elles se dirigeaient par leurs lois ecclésiastiques traditionnelles (dans les questions de relations familiales, d'héritage, de donations pieuses etc.).

Quant au rôle joué plus tard - à l'époque des changements sociaux et économiques de l'Etat ottoman - par les organisations chrétiennes, nous nous y arrêterons plus loin.

Les citoyens chrétiens appartenaient aux citoyens obligés de payer les impôts[5]. Celui qui tenait une position exceptionnelle, c'était le clergé chrétien qui portait une fonction administrative appartenant à l'administration d'Etat, en exerçant sur leur membres la jurisdiction et le droit de résolution dans les affaires du droit privé. Ainsi, le rapport du clergé envers les croyants qui régnait à l'époque précédant le gouvernement islamique, restait sans changements. Le résultat

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[4] Parmi les études récentes traitant l'histoire sociale de l'Empire ottoman voir par ex. J. MATUZ: Das Osmanische Reich. Darmstadt 1985 (Az Oszmán Birodalom története, Budapest 1990).

[5] J. KABRDA: Le système fiscal de l'Eglise orthodoxe dans l'Empire Ottoman (d'après les documents turcs), Brno 1968; Z. VESELÁ-PŘENOSILOVÁ: A propos de la protection exercée par le gouvernement ottoman sur le monastère de Ste. Cathérine au Sinaï, ArOr 37, 1969, pp. 326-338.

était donc suivant: Les Eglises comme groupes sociaux formaient ainsi des éléments restant en grande mesure indépendants dans la structure interne, des éléments inclus dans le système social ottoman comme des unités complexes. Et sous cette forme, ces unités des Eglises furent acceptées par l'Etat ottoman, jusqu'à l'époque moderne de l'histoire de l'Empire.

Il nous faut aussi rappeler que les communautés chrétiennes étaient dispersées (d'une façon irrégulière en plus) sur tout le territoire de l'Empire et ainsi, elles formaient des groupes petits ou un peu plus grands des citoyens exclus surtout du point de vue de la jurisdiction privée de la majorité musulmane. De là, elles brisaient l'unité de l'administration judiciaire du pays.

Dans les affaires économiques, les chrétiens jouissaient des privilèges des capitulations comme les étrangers européens.

Malgré cela, les Eglises furent tout à fait intégriées par l'administration ottomane et tout cela surtout grâce à son caractère d'une mosaïque.

Les chrétiens dans la société ottomane, malgré une certaine isolation ou - mieux exprimé - une certaine différence de leur position, avaient pris part dans l'économie du pays en grande mesure. En plus, les Eglises elles-mêmes pratiquaient une certaine activité économique. C'était justement au point de vue de leur activité économique, que les Eglises se rangeaient dans le système social du pays, bien qu'au point de vue administratif, elles gardaient pendant toute une longue époques leur caractère d'un phénomène fermé.

Nous avons mentionné les villes dans l'administration ottomane. En continuant notre bref résumé du régime ottoman, résumé ne pouvant pas éviter une certaine approche globale, nous arrivons à l'époque du changement de caractère de l'Etat ottoman. Cette époque apporte de même le démembrement définitif de la "mosaïque" suivi par des difficultés en ce qui concerne l'adaptation à la situation nouvelle, surtout pour les parties de la société qui ont gardé leur caractère de "caillou de la mosaïque".

Ce furent justement le villes qui contribuaient au changement d'une nouvelle situation. Les villes formaient à l'époque des *timars* florissante aussi leur partie intégrante. Mais, pendant leur évolution historique, les villes commençaient à s'en détacher. L'organisation urbaine passait par grands changements surtout pendant le 18ᵉ s. sur la plupart des territoires de l'Empire. La fonction d'*ayanlık* apportait un certain type de l'administration urbaine avec une forte influence de la nobilité locale et avec une certaine retraite de l'influence de l'Etat[6].

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[6] Voir les travaux de A. SUĆESKA et la bibliographie dans notre article Quelques remarques... cité.

L'influence croissante de la nobilité locale (des ayans locaux) dans le domaine de l'économie et du pouvoir contribuait au rôle d'un des facteurs de la décadence du système des *timars*. Quant à ce fait, il est mentionné par plusieurs historiens. Mais on ne trouve qu'assez rarement un exposé sur la relation entre l'influence croissante des *ayans* et entre le nombre montant des *çiftliks* (grandes fermes) qui apportait dans les villages des changements importants de la structure sociale et de l'économie. En même temps, une nouvelle forme des rapports entre la ville et les villages naissait.

Dans ces événements historiques, nous rencontrons les moments socio-économiques précédant la société moderne, les moments représentant même dans l'Empire ottoman (surtout en Roumélie et en Anatolie) les derniers temps de l'Etat passant encore la prospérité. La structure socio-économique de l'Empire a changé radicalement et avec elle, même l'adminsitration de l'Etat passait par grands changements, bien que la légalisation ottomane retardâ en comparaison avec la réalité.

L'évolution économique du pays demandait depuis longtemps de nouvelles formes de possession. Enfin, lorsqu'au 19ᵉ s., l'administration ottomane fut changée d'une façon radicale, elle gagnait une forme qui ne pouvait plus être caractérisée comme une mosaïque. Les importantes liaisons sociales et économiques étaient non seulement verticales, mais aussi horizontales. Et ce qui différait d'une manière très évidente, c'était le fait que les phénomènes formant le complex de la société n'étaient plus si fermés, comme nous les avons marqués en parlant des phénomènes de l'époque, où le système des *timars* était encore en vigueur. La structure sociale ottomane à l'époque de transition vers la société nouvelle (du féodalisme vers le capitalisme) était moins dépendante de l'Etat et ainsi de même l'administration ottomane répondait à une autre composition de la société.

C'était entre outre la structure interne de l'Eglise qui resta sans changement. L'effort des Eglises chrétiennes pour garder leurs positions constituait un des freins de l'évolution historique. L'exemple du rôle joué par les Eglises nous montre clairement que la façon de caractériser le régime ottoman comme une mosaïque répondait à la réalité. Nous espérons que cette petite contribution aux opinions concernant le caractère du système ottoman pourra aider à comprendre l'évolution de l'Empire dans les péripéties historiques ainsi que différentes questions plus détaillées.

Bibliothek eines ägyptischen Arztes aus dem 16. Jhd.A.D./10.Jhd.A.H

Rudolf VESELÝ

Nicht allzu oft begegnet man unter den unzähligen bis zum heutigen Tage erhaltenen Stiftungsurkunden Verfügungen, die eine Bücherschenkung beinhalten. Doch waren es eben diese Bücherstiftungen, denen wir in erster Reihe die Erhaltung der riesigen Menge der islamischen Handschriften verdanken. Jede Moschee, jede Medrese, jede Derwischenherberge besaß eine kleinere oder größere Bibliothek; große Bibliotheken gab es meistens bei den von Herrschern oder ihren Höflingen gestifteten Kultus- oder Lehreinrichtungen, in welchen die Büchersammlungen vor den Folgen politischer Umwälzungen viel besser geschützt waren als in den Palastbibliotheken, Bibliotheken der Herrscher oder reicher Bibliophilen.

Vor mehreren Jahren schon hat *ʿAbdullaṭīf Ibrāhīm ʿAlī* eine Bücherstiftung unter dem Titel *Maktaba fī waṭīqa* veröffentlicht, die der Scheich ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Abṣādī der Azhar-Bibliothek durch die in seinem Namen i.J. 919 A.H./1513 A.D. verfasste und heute im Archiv von *Maḥkamat al-aḥwāl aš-šaḥṣīya* u.d.Nr 278 in Kairo aufbewahrte Urkunde schenkte[1]. In demselben Archiv befindet sich unter der Nummer 298 (Mappe 45) eine andere etwas jüngere, am 18. *dū'l-qaʿda* 934/4.8.1528 datierte Urkunde, die auch eine Bücherschenkung enthält. Leider ist sie an ihrem Anfang beschädigt[2], so daß wir den Namen des Stifters gleichwie des Richters und den Sitz des Gerichtes, vor dem die Verfügung abgeschlossen worden war, aus dem Urkundentext nicht erfahren. Lediglich in dem sog. *iqrār bi-ğarayān al-amākin*[3] lesen wir, daß es sich um einen gewissen *al-Muḥibbī Abū'ṭ-Ṭayyib Muḥammad* handelte.

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[1] *ʿAbdallaṭīf Ibrāhīm, Dirāsāt fī'l-kutub wa'l-maktabāt al-islāmīya*, al-Qāhira (1962); 2. Studie: *Maktaba fī waṭīqa*. 62 SS.; 5. Studie: *Maktaba ʿutmānīya*. 35 SS. (Bücherstiftung des *Muḥammad bek Abū'd-Dahab* aus d.J. 1188 A.H./1774 A.D.) Über Bücherstiftungen vgl. vor allem Youssef ECHE, Les bibliothèques arabes publiques et semi-publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Egypte au Moyen Age. Damas, PIFD 1967, S. 310-324.

[2] Der Urkunde fehlen wahrscheinlich zwei Bogen, die den Protokoll, die sog. *ṭurra*, bildeten und wo der Text begann. Im heutigen Zustand besteht sie aus 40 Bogen, die im Durchschnitt 42 cm lang und 32 cm breit sind. Die Gesamtlänge der Rolle ist 17045,5 cm. Der Text (22,5 cm breit) beträgt 619 Zeilen.

[3] VESELÝ, R., Die Hauptprobleme der Diplomatik arabischer Privaturkunden aus dem spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten. ArOr 40/1972, S. 339.

Diesen sonst unbekannten Mann können wir dank der Existenz einer anderen Archivalie zuverlässig identifizieren. In seinem Namen wurde nämlich am 18. *rabīʿ at-tānī* 923/10.4.1517 ein Mietvertrag verbrieft, in dem sein Name - obwohl recht schwierig, da der Anfang des Urkundentextes sehr stark abgeschliffen ist - doch aber wahrscheinlich richtig zu entziffern ist. Diese Urkunde wurde für den *al-Muḥibbī Muḥibbaddīn Abū'l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Abī ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. at-Tāǧī ʿAbdalwahhāb* abgefaßt. Aus einer anderen Mieturkunde (datiert am 11. *šawwāl* 925/6.10. 1519), die unter dem Text der vorigen Urkunde geschrieben steht, erfahren wir, daß er ein Bruder eines *ʿAlāʾaddīn ʿAlī al-Qūṣūnī*, eines damaligen ägyptischen Oberarztes, war. Es handelt sich also um ein Mitglied der im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert berühmten ägyptischen Arzt-Familie, der Familie *al-Qūṣūnī[4]*.

Al-Muḥibbī Muḥammad hat durch seine Verfügung eine Familienstiftung (*waqf ahlī*) errichtet, deren Gut aus mehreren Liegenschaften bestand und die - wie es üblich war - zu ihrem Schwerpunkt eine Moschee hatte, die in dem Viertel *al-Haraštaf* im nördlichen Teil des *Zuwayla*-Viertels von Kairo gebaut worden war[5] und die von allen damals gestifteten Gebäuden einzig bis zum heutigen Tage existiert[6]. Nach der Aufzählung und ausführlichen Beschreibungen jener Immobilien folgt als ein selbständiger Posten[7] ein Verzeichnis von 184 Büchertiteln in 239 Bänden.

An erster Stellen werden im Verzeichnis zwei volle Koran-Exemplare erwähnt, eines von ihnen lag in einer Kopie großen Formats vor, das andere im kleineren Format. Daneben wurden für kultische Zwecke noch zwei Bände von Koran-*Rabʿas* gestiftet; die eine umfaßte 30 *ǧuzʾ*, die andere nur vier.

Die in der darauf folgenden Bücherliste angeführten Schriften sind einer mehr weniger traditionellen Reihenfolge gemäß thematisch gruppiert: sie beginnt mit den Religions- und Rechtswissenschaften und führt über die Philologie und Mystik zur Medizin und endet mit der Geschichtsschreibung. Am Ende des Verzeichnisses steht ein umfangreicher Abschnitt, der unter dem Titel *kutub mutafarriqa* (verschiedene Bücher) nicht nur nach dem Inhalt schwierig klassi-

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[4]Dieser Familie hat R. SELLHEIM (Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte, I, 203-213) zum erstenmal Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Der Identifikation von *Muhibaddīn Abū't-Tayyib* (resp. *Abū'l-Barakāt) Muḥammad* und der Genealogie der *al-Qūṣūnīs* widme ich einen besonderen Aufsatz (Oriens).

[5]AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Ḫiṭaṭ* (1270 A.H.), II, 27sq; *ʿAlī paša Mubārak (al-Ḫiṭaṭ at-taufīqīya*, III, 27) lokalisiert diese Moschee in die *Ḫān Abī Ṭabaqa*-Strasse, eine aus *al-Ḫurunfiš*-Strasse sich abzweigenden Nebenstrasse.

[6]Inventar der islamischen Denkmäler von Kairo Nr 48.

[7] Zeile 354 - 411 der Urkunde.

fizierbare Werke verzeichnet, sondern auch vereinzelte Vertreter von Literatur-
gattungen, die in die vorigen Rubriken nicht paßten, wie z.B. Belletristik, Stilistik,
Poesie usw., wie wir weiter sehen werden.

1) Koran-Kommentare:

al-Kaššāf ('an ḥaqā'iq at-tanzīl) des *(Abū'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar) az-
Zamaḫšarī*[8] in sieben Bänden;

(Ṭafsīr al-Qur'ān) al-waǧīz des *(Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī) al-Wāḥidī (an-Nīsābū-
rī)*[9];

Fadā'il al-Qur'ān al-ʿaẓīm des *(Abū'l-Faḍā'il Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b.
Muẓaffar b. al-Muḫtār) ar-Rāzī*[10];

al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Qur'ān des *(Badraddīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b.
Bahādur b. ʿAbdallāh at-Turkī al-Miṣrī az-Zarkašī)*[11];

Tafsīr al-Qur'ān des *Abū'l-Fidā' Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar) Ibn Kaṯīr (b. al-Ḫa-
ṯīb)*[12], von dem nur der erste und zweite Band verzeichnet werden;

Maʿānī 'l-Qur'ān al-ʿaẓīm des *(Abū'l-Ḥasan Saʿīd b. Masʿada) al-Aḫfaš* [13];

Neben diesen identifizierbaren Werken beinhaltet die Liste noch ein *Tafsīr
šarīf min al-Fātiḥa aš-šarīfa li-'āḫir sūrat al-Aḥzāb* in sieben Bänden kleines
Formats.

2) Ḥadīṯ-Sammlungen und Ḥadīṯ-Wissenschaften

(K. al-ǧāmiʿ) aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ des *(Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl) al-Buḫā-
rī*[14] in zwei Bänden und mit Gold verzierten *"fawātiḥ"* (Vorsatzblättern?);

Šarḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḫārī des *(Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī) al-Kirmānī*[15] in vier
Bänden;

Al-Masābīḥ ʿalā 'l-ǧāmiʿ aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ des *(Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr) al-Damāmī-
nī*[16];

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[8] GAL I, 290; GAL S I, 507. In Klammern werden die im Verzeichnis gekürzt angegebenen
Büchertitel und Verfassernamen nach Möglichkeit ergänzt.

[9] GAL I, 411; GAL S I, 730.

[10] GAL I, 414.

[11] GAL S II, 108, Nr. 20.

[12] GAL II, 49.

[13] GAL I, 105; GAS I, 48; *Ibn an-Nadīm, Fihris* (Ed. Kairo, *Al-Istiqāma,* o.J. 57/pu).

[14] GAL I, 158.

[15] GAL I, 158, Nr. 5 (es handelt sich um *al-Kawākib ad-darārī fī šarḥ al-Buḫārī).*

[16] GAL I, 159, Nr 8.

Muqaddimat Fath al-bārī ʿalā 'l-Buhārī des *(Abū'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh) Ibn Haǧar*[17];

aš-Šifāʾ (fī taʿrīf huqūq al-Muṣṭafā) des *(Abū'l-Faḍl) ʿIyāḍ (b. Mūsā b. ʿIyāḍ al-Yaḥsubī as-Sabtī al-Mālikī)*[18] in drei Bänden;

at-Taġrīb waʾt-tarhīb des *(Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdalʿaẓīm b. ʿAbdalqawī) al-Mundirī*[19];

Riyāḍ aṣ-ṣāliḥīn des *(Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā b. Šaraf b. Mirā...) an-Nawawī*[20];

Miškāt al-maṣābīḥ (des *Muḥammad b.ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥaṭīb at-Tibrīzī)* [21];

al-Aḏkār des *(Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā b. Šaraf b. Mirā...) an-Nawawī*[22];

Mašāriq al-anwār (an-nabawīya min ṣiḥāḥ al-aḥbār al-muṣṭafawīya) des *(Raḍīyaddīn Abū'l-Faḍā'il al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad) aṣ-Ṣāġānī*[23];

Ḥāšiyat (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. M. b. Hasan b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā at-Tamīmī ad-Dārī al-Qusṭanṭīnī) aš-Šumunnī ʿalāʾš-Šifāʾ (fī taʿrīf huqūq al-Muṣṭafā) [24];

Alfīya des *(ʿAbdarraḥīm b. al-Husayn) al-ʿIrāqī* [25];

Nūr al-ʿuyūn (des *Abū'l-Fath b. Abī Bakr Muḥammad al-Yaʿmurī b. Sayyid an-nās)*[26];

al-Arbaʿīn hadīṯ (so!) des *an-Nawawī* [27];

ʿUmdat al-aḥkām[28]; unidentifizierbar ist *Fī faḍl az-zauǧāt aš-šarīfa* geblieben ebenso wie *Ahādīṯ šarīfa*, die das Verzeichnis Ibn Haǧar zuschreibt und welches in zwei deckellosen Bänden vorlag.

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[17] GAL I, 159, Nr 12; GAL S II, 75, Nr 71.

[18] GAL I, 369; GAL S I, 630.

[19] GAL I, 367; GAL S I, 627.

[20] GAL I, 397/X; GAL S I, 684/X.

[21] GAL I, 364; GAL S I, 621.

[22] GAL I, 397/XIX. Es handelt sich um *Kitāb hilyat al-abrār wa-šīʿār al-aḥyār.*

[23] GAL I, 361; GAL S I, 613.

[24] Es handelt sich um das Werk *Muzīl al-hafāʾ ʿan alfāẓ aš-šifāʾ.* GAL I, 369, Nr 5/2/d; GAL II, 82; GAL S II, 631/II.

[25] GAL I, 359; GAL II, 66; GAL S I, 612.

[26] GAL II, 71, Nr 1/a; GAL S II, 77.

[27] GAL I, 396, Nr IX; GAL S I, 683, Nr. IX.

[28] Von *Taqīyaddīn ʿAbdalġanī b. ʿAbdalwāhid b. Surūr al-Ǧammāʿīlī* (GAL I, 356; GAL S I, 605) als Auszug aus seinem *K. al-ahkām al-kubrā* unter dem Titel *Kitāb ʿumdat al-ahkām ʿan sayyid al-anām* oder von *Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdalġanī b. Saʿīd b. ʿAlī al-Azdī al-Miṣrī* u.d.T. *ʿUmdat al-aḥkām min kalām hayr al-anām* (GAL S I, 281, r; ibid. 950, r, Nr 5).

3) *Qur'ān*-Rezitationskunst

aš-Šāṭibīya wa'r-Rā'īya (des *Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qāsim b. Firroh ar-Ruʿyanī aš-Šāṭibī*)[29];

Šarh aš-Šāṭibīya des (*Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan) al-Fāsī*[30] in drei Bänden;

Šarh ar-Rā'īya des (*Burhānaddīn Abū'l-ʿAbbās Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar b. Ḥalīl) al-Ǧaʿbarī (ar-Rabaʿī al-muqri')*[31];

al-ʿUnwān[32];

Muhtaṣar at-tibyān (fī ādāb ḥamalat al-Qur'ān) des (*Abū Zakariyā Yahyā b. Šaraf...) an-Nawawī*[33];

Mufradāt (al-qurrā' as-sabʿ) des *Abū ʿAmr (ʿUtmān) Ibn al-ʿAlā' (Saʿīd ad-Dānī)*[34];

at-Taysīr (fī'l-qirā'āt as-sabʿ des *Abū ʿAmr ʿUtmān b.Saʿīd ad-Dānī)* [35];

ʿIqd al-la'ālī li-bad' al-amālī (des *Radīyaddīn Abū'l-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bakrī*)[36];

Al-Ihtidā' li-husn al-adā' des *al-Qastalānī* ist sonst unbekannt geblieben und eine *Maǧmūʿ fī'l-qirā'āt al-ʿašar wa ġayrihā* konnte man keinesfalls identifizieren.

4) Rechtswissenschaft

a) *fiqh šāfiʿī*

Šarh al-Muhaddab[37];

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[29] GAL I, 409-10; GAL S I, 725-26: *al-Qaṣīda aš-Šāṭibīya* heisst auch *Ḥirz al-amānī wa-waǧh at-tahānī. Ar-Rā'īya* ist der *ʿAqīlat atrāb al-qaṣā'id fī asnā'l-maqāṣid* gleich.

[30] GAL I, 409, Nr 3 ohne Titel; GAL S I, 725 Nr 3 u.d.T. *al-La'ālī al-farīda.*

[31] In GAL II, 165 und GAL S II, 134 nicht erwähnt, nur unter Nr 3 daselbst wird der Kommentar zu *Ḥirz al-amānī...* erwähnt.

[32] Vielleicht *al-ʿUnwān fī'l-qirā'āt as-sabʿ* des *Abū Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl b. Ḥalaf aṣ-Ṣiqillī as-Saraqusṭī* (GAL I, 407)?

[33] GAL I, 397, Nr XVII, GAL S I, 685 Nr XVII. Ein Auszug aus dem *K. at-tibyān* wird in Kairo (GAL S I.c.) aufbewahrt.

[34] GAL I, 407, Nr 7.

[35] GAL I, 407, Nr 1.

[36] GAL S I, 764, Nr 15/I, 11.

[37] BROCKELMANN erwähnt zwei Kommentare zu *K. al-Muhaddab* des *Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Fīrūzābādī aš-Šīrāzī*, die von *an-Nawawī,* bzw. von *Abū'l-Ḥasan Yahyā b. Abī'l-Ḥayr b. Sālim al-ʿImrānī al-Yamanī* stammen (GAL I, 387, Nr 1; GAL S I, 669).

Šarh at-tanbīh (fī'l-fiqh) des *Ibn al-Mulaqqin*[38] in vier Bänden;

Šarh al-muhimmāt des *(Zaynaddīn) al-ʿIrāqī*[39] in drei Bänden;

Hāšiyat ar-rauḍa von *al-Bulqīnī* [40];

Šarh al-hāwī (al-qudsī fī'l-furūʿ des *Ǧamāladdīn Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Saʿīd)* von *al-Qūnawī* [41] in drei Bänden;

Šarh at-tanbīh des *(Abū Bakr Ismāʿīl/Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdalʿazīz) az-Zankalūnī* [42] in vier Bänden;

(al-Mantūr fī tartīb) al-qawāʿid (al-fiqhīya)[43] des *(Badraddīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muhammad b. Bahādur b. ʿAbdallāh at-Turkī al-Misrī) az-Zarkašī*;

Hāšiyat al-minhāǧ des *al-Bakrī (as-Siddīqī)* [44];

al-Ašbāh wa'n-naẓā'ir des *(Tāǧaddīn Abū Nasr ʿAbdalwahhāb b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdalkāfī) as-Subkī* [45].

Das Verzeichnis enthält noch drei andere rechtwissenschaftlichen Werke, die ich nicht identifizieren konnte, und zwar: *an-Nukat ʿalā'l-hāwī*[46] eines anonymen Verfassers, welches in einer vierbändigen Kopie vorlag, ein *Šarh al-minhāǧ*[47] eines sonst unbekannten Kommentator, der *al-Hisnī* gennant wird, und ein *al-Fawā'id fī šarh az-zawā'id* genanntes Werk von *al-Anbāsī*[48].

b) *fiqh hanafī*

(Muhtasar des *Abū'l-Husayn Ahmad b. Muhammad) al-Qudūrī* [49] in zwei zweibändigen Kopien;

[38] GAL S I, 670, Nr II, 5 Glosse zu *Kifāyat an-nabīh* des *Ibn ar-Rafa*.

[39] GAL I, 424, Nr 50, c/alfa; GAL S I, 753 ibid.: *al-Mubhamāt ʿalā'l-muhimmāt*.

[40] Vgl. GAL I, 424, wo eine Kritik *al-Bulqīnīs* an *al-Muhimmāt (al-Mulimmāt ʿalā'l-muhimmāt)* erwähnt wird, jedoch kein Kommentarwerk zu *Hādim ar-rāfiʿī wa'r-rauḍa*.

[41] Vgl. GAL I, 378, Nr 25/2, kennt aber keinen Kommentator.

[42] GAL S I, 670, Nr 6.

[43] GAL II, 91, Nr 2.

[44] GAL I, 395, Glossen a).

[45] GAL II, 90, Nr 6; GAL S II, 106, Nr 6.

[46] Unter diesem Titel ist keine Bearbeitung eines šāfiʿitischen *al-Hāwī* [sei es *al-Hāwī as-sagīr fī'l-fatāwī* des *Naǧmaddīn ʿAbdalgaffār b. ʿAbdalkarīm al-Qazwīnī* (GAL I, 394; GAL S I, 679) oder *al-Hāwī al-kabīr fī'l-furūʿ* des *al-Māwardī* (GAL I, 386; GAL S I, 668)] belegt.

[47] Vielleicht handelt es sich um ein Kommentar zu *an-Nawawī*'s *Minhāǧ at-tālibīn*; der Autor ist allerdings unbekannt.

[48] Der Verfasser als auch das Werk sind unbekannt. Ein Werk, dessen Titel mit dem Wort "*zawā'id*" beginnt, behandelt dunkle Stellen im Koran (GAL I, 373).

[49] GAL I, 175; GAL S I, 295-96; GAS I, 451).

Šarḥ (muḫtaṣar) al-Qudūrī von *(Aḥmad b. Muḥammad) al-Aqtaʿ* [50] in zwei Bänden;

al-Yanābīʿ ʿalā šarḥ al-Qudūrī [51];

Šarḥ al-hidāya des *Šayḫ Akmaladdīn (Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Bāburtī)* [52] in vier Bänden;

al-Manẓūma des *(Aḥmad b. Abī'l-Mu'ayyad al-Ḥamīdī) an-Nasafī* [53];

al-Manār fī'l-uṣūl [54];

Muḫtaṣar zubdat al-aḥkām ʿalā'l-maḏāhib al-arbaʿa [55] in einem "kleinem Band";

Uṣūl al-fiqh eines als *Ẓāhir al-Ḥanafī* angegebenen Autors gleichwie eine in broschierter Form vorliegende Kopie eines anonymes Werk *Furūq al-masā'il* konnten nicht identifiziert werden[56]. Das Verzeichnis registriert in dieser Sektion noch einen nur als "ein kleines Buch über Rechtswissenschaft" bezeichneten Band.

5) Erbschaftsrechtshandbücher

Ġāyat al-wuṣūl (des *Šihābaddīn Abū'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Hā'im al-Faraḍī al-Maʿarrī al-Maqdisī)* [57];

Die als *ar-Rāǧīya* benannte Schrift ist es nicht gelungen zu identifizieren.

6) Wörterbücher

al-Qāmūs (des *Abū't-Ṭāhir Muhammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Fīrūzābādī)* im vollen Text von dem *Šayḫ Šihābaddīn al-Qasṭallānī* geschrieben;

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[50] GAL I, 175 a); GAL S I, 296 Nr 1; GAS I, 452, Nr 1.

[51] Vielleicht mit *al-Yanābīʿ fī maʿrifat al-uṣūl wa't-tafārīʿ* des *Rašīdaddīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh Ramaḍān ar-Rūmī aš-Šiblī* identisch? - GAS I, 453, Nr 13.

[52] GAL I, 377, Nr 8; GAL S I, 645, Nr 1 - identisch mit *Kitāb al-ʿināya*.

[53] GAL I, 172, Nr 8; GAL S I, 645 Nr 8; GAS I, 425, Versif. a).

[54] Mit *Manār al-anwār fī uṣūl al-fiqh* des *Ḥāfiẓaddīn Abū'l-Barakāt ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad an-Nasafī* identisch? - GAL II, 196 Nr 1; GAL S II, 263.

[55] Ein sonst unbekannter anonymer Auszug aus *Zubdat al-aḥkām fī iḫtilāf al-a'imma al-aʿlām* des *Sirāǧaddīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Isḥāq b. Aḥmad al-Hindī ad-Daulatābādī al-Ġaznawī aš-Šiblī* -GAL II, 80; GAL S II, 89.

[56] Das erste Werk trägt denselben Titel, den eine von *Ḥusāmaddīn ʿUmar b. ʿAbdalʿazīz b. Māza al-Buḫārī* verfasste Schrift trägt; die Identität ist jedoch kaum wahrscheinlich - GAL I, 374; GAL S I, 640.

[57] GAL II, 125; GAL S II, 155.

das zweite lexikographische Werk, welches als *al-Mutaḥaffiẓ* betitelt ist, blieb unidentifiziert.

7) Grammatik (mit Logik und Rhetorik)

Šarḥ al-alfīya des *(Abū Zayd ʿAbdarraḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ) al-Makkūdī* [58];

Šarḥ al-ǧurǧānīya [59];

al-Kāfiya (des *Ǧamāladdīn Abū ʿAmr ʿUt̲mān b. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥāǧib*) [60];

Ḥāšiyat al-muġnī des *(Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Maḥ-zūmī al-Iskandarī) ad-Damāmīnī* [61];

at-Taudīḥ fī ḥall ǧawāmiḍ at-tanqīḥ (des *ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd b. Tāǧ aš-šarīʿa Maḥmūd b. Ṣadr aš-šarīʿa Aḥmad b. Badraddīn b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Maḥ-būbī al-Buḫārī al-Ḥanafī*) [62];

al-Wāfiya fī šarḥ al-kāfiya (des *Ruknaddīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Asta-rābādī*) [63];

al-Mutawassiṭ [64];

Ḥāšiya ʿalā'l-Mutawassiṭ [65];

Talḫīṣ al-miftāḥ (des *Ǧamāladdīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbdarraḥmān al-Qazwīnī Ḫaṭīb Dimašq*) [66];

Īsāġūǧī fī'l-manṭiq (des *Atīraddīn al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar al-Abharī*) [67];

ar-Risāla aš-šamsīya fī'l-manṭiq (des *Naǧmaddīn ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Qazwīnī al-Kātibī*) [68];

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[58] GAL I, 299, Nr 10; II, 25; GAL S I, 524, Nr 10; II, 336.

[59] Es handelt sich um ein Kommentarwerk zu *Kitāb al-ʿawāmil al-mi'a* des *Abū Bakr ʿAbd-alqāhir b. ʿAbdarraḥmān al-Ǧurǧānī* (GAL I, 287; GAL S I, 503), welches wohl dem *Ḥāǧǧī Bābā b. Ibrāhīm aṭ-Ṭūsiyawī* (GAL II, 223) zuzuschreiben ist.

[60] GAL I, 303; GAL S I, 531.

[61] GAL II, 26.

[62] GAL II, 214; GAL S II, 300.

[63] GAL I, 304; GAL S I, 532.

[64] Vielleicht handelt es sich um ein zweites Exemplar des vorigen Werkes, denn es wurde auch als *aš-Šarḥ al-mutawassiṭ* bekannt.

[65] Diese Glosse blieb unidentifizierbar. Es handelt sich um ein Kommentar zum vorigen Werk, dann also zum *al-Wāfiya*.

[66] GAL I, 295; GAL S I, 516.

[67] GAL S I, 841 - *Kitāb al-Īsāġūǧī* anders als *ar-Risāla al-at̲īrīya fī'l-manṭiq* genannt.

[68] GAL I, 466; GAL S I, 845, u.d.T. *ar-Risāla aš-šamsīya fī'l-qawāʿid al-manṭiqīya*.

Audah al-masālik ʿalā'l-alfīya (des *Ǧamāladdīn Muhammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik at-Tā'ī*)[69];

al-Ǧurūmīya (des *Abū ʿAbdallāh Muhammad b. Dāwūd as-Sanhāǧī al-Āǧurrūm*)[70];

Šarh al-alfīya des (*ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbdarrahmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Hāšimī) Ibn ʿAqīl*[71];

Unnachweisbar blieb ein Werk, welches als *al-Ǧumaysī* in dem Verzeichnis erwähnt wird; in diesem Abschnitt wird auch die erste Hälfte eines sonst unbekannten Werkes mit dem Titel *ar-Ridā wa'š-šawāhid*, dessen Verfasser man als *al-ʿUtbī* [72] entziffern könnte.

8) Mystik

Diese Gruppe enthält drei Werke des *Muhammad b. ʿAlī Ibn al-ʿArabī: al-Futūhāt al-makkīya (fī maʿrifat al-asrār al-malakīya)*[73], *Fusūs (al-hikam fī husūs al-kalim)*[74] und *Šams at-tarīqa fī bayān aš-šarīʿa wa't-tarīqa* [75] und zwei Schriften des *Muhammad b. Abī Bakr Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧauzīya: Kitāb ar-rūh*[76] und *Raudat al-muhibbīn wa-nuzhat al-muštāqīn*[77].

Weiter enthält das Verzeichnis folgende Titel:

ar-Risāla des (*Abū'l-Qāsim ʿAbdalkarīm) al-Qušayrī* [78];

Tahārat al-qulūb (li-ʿallām al-guyūb) des (*ʿIzzaddīn Abū Muhammad ʿAbd-alʿazīz b. Ahmad) ad-Darīnī (ad-Dimayrī)*[79];

at-Tanwīr fī isqāt at-tadbīr (des *Tāǧaddīn Abū'l-Fadl Ahmad b. Muhammad b. ʿAtā'allāh al-Iskandarī aš-Šādilī*)[80];

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[69] GAL I, 298; II, 25; GAL S I, 523.

[70] GAL II, 237; GAL S II, 332.

[71] GAL I, 299; II, 88; GAL S I, 523.

[72] Aber auch als "*al-ʿAynī*", oder als "*al-Ġaytī*".

[73] GAL I, 442, Nr 11; GAL S I, 792.

[74] GAL I, 442, Nr 12.

[75] GAL I, 446, Nr 99.

[76] GAL II, 106, Nr 23; GAL S II, 127.

[77] GAL S II, 128, Nr 43.

[78] GAL I, 432.

[79] GAL I, 452; GAL S I, 810-11.

[80] GAL II, 118, Nr 9; GAL S II, 145.

Manāzil as-sā'irīn (des *ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Anṣārī al-Hara-wī*)[81];

Tafsīl ʿan-naš'atayn wa-taḥsīl as-saʿādatayn (des *Abū'l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Mufaḍḍal ar-Rāġib al-Iṣbahānī*)[82];

Nuzūl al-ġayṯ des *(Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad b. Sulaymān) ad-Damā-mīnī*[83];

Hādī'l-qulūb ilā liqā' al-maḥbūb (des *Muḥammad b. ʿAbdaddā'im b. bint Maylaq b. al-Maʿāli*)[84];

Sifr as-saʿāda[85];

ʿAwārif al-maʿārif des *(Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar) as-Suhrawardī*[86];

Aḥkām al-masāġid des *az-Zarkašī*[87];

an-Nafaḥāt wa-mā maʿahu (des *Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qūnawī*)[88];

und eine Reihe von Schriften, die nach GAL unnachweisbar geblieben sind: *Laṭā'if al-munā*[89], *ar-Risāla al-kubrā* des *Ibn uḫt aš-šayḫ Midyan, Mukātabāt al-auliyā'* und *al-Laṭā'if wa'l-luṭf.* Zu der Sammlung von Schriften über die Mystik gehörten noch zwei Sammelbände, von denen der eine ein Konvolut von Schriften des *Imām al-Ġazzālī (maǧmūʿ li'l-imām al-Ġazzālī wa ġayirih fīh ʿiddat kutub)* und eine Sammlung von Schriften eines *Ibrāhīm*, Schülers *(tilmīḏ)* von *Abī'l-Mawāhib.*

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[81] GAL I, 433; GAL S I, 774.

[82] GAL I, 288-89; GAL S I, 506.

[83] GAL II, 26; GAL S II, 21.

[84] GAL S II, 148.

[85] GAL II, 183, Nr 10. Von *al-Fīrūzābādī* persisch verfasst und i.J. 804/1401 ins Arabische von *Abū'l-Ǧūd Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Maḫzūmī al-Ḥanafī al-Miṣrī* übersetzt.

[86] GAL I, 440; GAL S I, 789.

[87] In GAL sind zwei Autoren mit der *nisba az-Zarkašī* erwähnt, die Werke verfasst hatten, dessen Titel in verkürzter Form gleich wie der im Verzeichnis angegebene Titel lauten könnten: *Muḥammad b. Bahādur b. ʿAbdallāh az-Zarkašī*, der ein *Iʿlām as-sāġid bi-aḥkām al-masāġid* verfasst hat (GAL II, 91, Nr 7; GAL S II, 108) und ein *ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh az-Zarkašī* der Autor des *Iʿlām as-sāġid fī faḍīlat ṯalāṯ masāġid* (GAL S II, 109) ist.

[88] GAL I, 450 erwähnt zwei Werke dieses Verfassers, deren Titel als *an-Nafaḥāt* gekürzt werden könnten: *an-N. al-ilāhīya al-qudsīya* und *an-N. ar-rabbānīya* (Nr 6 und 14).

[89] GAL kennt mehrere Werke mit diesem Titel: GAL S III, 946 s.v.

9) Medizin

Aqrābādīn des *(Abū'l-Munā b. Abī Naṣr b. Ḥaffāẓ) al-Kūhīn (al-Hārūnī al-ʿAṭṭār al-Isrāʾīlī)*[90];

al-ʿUmda (fī ṣināʿat al-ǧirāḥa) des *(Abū'l-Faraǧ b. Yaʿqūb) Ibn al-Quff*[91];

Šarḥ al-mūǧiz des *(Ǧamāladdīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad) al-Aqsarāʾī*[92];

Muḥtaṣar aṭ-ṭāliṭ min al-qānūn des *(Muḥammad b. YūsufʿAlī) al-Īlāqī*[93]; *an-Natīǧa fī'l-kuḥl*[94];

al-Qaul as-sadīd fī'htiyār al-imāʾ wa'l-ʿabīd des *Muẓaffaraddīn(Abū't-Ṭanāʾ Maḥmūd al-ʿAyntābī al-Ḥanafī)*[95];

al-Hāwī aṣ-ṣaġīr fī't-ṭibb (des *Naǧmaddīn Maḥmūd b. Ḍiyāʾaddīn Ilyās aš-Šīrāzī)*[96];

az-Zahrāwī fī'l-ǧirāḥ[97];

Muntaḥab aṭ-ṭibb an-nabawī[98].

Neben diesen Titeln begegnet man im Verzeichnis einigen Werken, die nach uns zugänglichen Handbüchern unidentifizierbar geblieben sind, obwohl sie ziemlich eindeutige Titel tragen. Es sind folgende Werke: *ad-Dastūr* von einem *Ṣafīyaddīn*, und drei anonym angeführte Schriften: *Kitāb al-aʿdād, Mawāzīn al-adwiya fī't-ṭibb* und *Kitāb al-ǧirāḥ* und zwei Bücher werden bloss als *Kitāb laṭīf*

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[90] GAL I, 492; GAL S I, 897. Das gestiftete Werk ist mit dem wohlbekannten Werk *Ibn al-ʿAṭṭārs Minhāǧ ad-dukkān wa-dastūr al-ʿayān*, bzw. mit seiner Kurzfassung *al-Muġnī wa'l-bayān fī'l-ḥawānīt wa'l-bīmaristān* identisch - EI² I, s.v. *Akrābāḏīn*.

[91] GAL I, 493; GAL S I, 899.

[92] GAL S I, 825 sub ee); S II, 328; mit dem *Ḥall al-mūǧiz* identisch.

[93] GAL I, 485; GAL S I, 825, Auszüge aa); es handelt sich wohl um einen Abschnitt des *Iḥtiṣār kitāb al-qānūn*, und zwar um einen Auszug aus dem dritten Buch. BROCKELMANN erwähnt einen Auszug aus dem 1. Buch von *Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Īlāqī* (GAL I, 458; dazu vgl. noch GAL S I, 826, sub c): *al-Fuṣūl al-īlāqīya*.

[94] Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um die *natīǧat al-fikar fī amrāḍ al-baṣar* des *Fatḥaddīn Abū'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUṯmān b. Hibatallāh al-Maqdisī* - GAL S I, 897-98.

[95] GAL II, 82; GAL S II, 169.

[96] GAL S II, 298-99.

[97] GAL I, 239, bzw. GAL S I, 425.

[98] GAL II, 106, Nr 20 kennt nur *aṭ-Ṭibb an-nabawī*, jedoch keine kurze Fassung davon. Vgl. auch GAL S II, 945, Nr 166, wo ein *aṭ-Ṭibb an-nabawī* von einem anders unbekannten *Qaysūnī-zāde* angeführt wird, also einem Verwandten unseres Stifters.

fī't-ṭibb bezeichnet. Ein weiterer Band stellte einen Konvolut von Abhandlungen über Augenheilkunde (*Maǧmūʿ fī'l-kuḥl*).

10) Geschichtsschreibung

Wafayāt al-aʿyān (wa-anbāʾ abnāʾ az-zamān) von *(Šamsaddīn Abūʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm) Ibn Ḥallikān*[99] in vier Bänden;

Taʾrīḫ des *(Abūʾl-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar) Ibn Kaṯīr*[100];

al-ʿIqd aṯ-ṯamīn fī taʾrīḫ al-balad al-amīn (des *Taqīyaddīn Abūʾ-ṭ-Ṭayyib Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Fāsī al-Makkī*)[101];

Taʾrīḫ Tīmūr (von *Abūʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad) Ibn ʿArabšāh*[102];

at-Taḏkira (fīʾs-siyāsa waʾl-ādāb al-malakīya) des *(Abūʾl-Maʿālī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Baġdādī) Ibn Ḥamdūn*[103];

Taʾrīḫ laṭīf liʾs-sulṭān al-ašraf Qāyitbāy von einem unbekannten Verfasser[104].

Ein als *al-Munabbihāt* bezeichnetes Werk als auch ein *Taʾrīḫ al-ḫulafāʾ laṭīf* konnten nicht identifiziert werden.

11) Verschiedenes

Von dieser Gruppe von Werken dürfen wir zur Poesie folgende Titel zählen:

Burda muḥammasa im grossen Format;

Burda šarīfa begleitet mit einem Kommentar und einem Gebet[105];

Bānat Suʿād (des *Kaʿb b. Zuhayr*)[106];

Dīwān šiʿr al-Ḥāḍira[107];

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[99] GAL I, 327.

[100] GAL II, 49.

[101] GAL II, 172; GAL S II, 221.

[102] GAL II, 29; GAL S II, 24.

[103] GAL S I, 493; gestiftet wurde der erste Band davon.

[104] Vgl. das anonyme *Taʾrīḫ al-malik al-ašraf Qāyitbāy* in GAL II, 30, von dem eine Handschrift in Kairo vorliegt.

[105] GAL I, 264; GAL S I, 467; Autor des Kommentar ist im Urkundentext nicht erwähnt.

[106] GAL I, 38; GAL S I, 68.

[107] GAL I, 26; GAL S I, 54.

Dīwān aṣ-ṣabāba (des *Šihābaddīn Abū'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥaǧala at-Tilimsānī al-Hanbalī*)[108];

Dīwān des *Šamsaddīn (Muḥammad) Ibn ʿAfīf(addīn Sulaymān b. ʿAlī at-Tilimsānī aš-šābb aẓ-ẓarīf)* [109];

Šarḥ lāmīyat al-ʿAǧam in einer Kopie, die nur eine Hälfte des Werkes beinhaltete[110].

Als *adab*-Werke darf man wohl folgende Titel bezeichnen:

as-Sukkardān wa's-sabʿīyāt[111] und ein Sammelband, der verschiedene Berichte und Geschichten enthalten sollte. In diese Gattung - obwohl sie sonst unbelegt bleiben - darf man wahrscheinlich auch drei weitere Titel reihen:

al-Ittifāq fī makārim al-ahlāq, Muhtaṣar lubb al-ādāb und *ʿArūd al-hītīya fī kull fann malīh*. Dem schon früher erwähnten *ad-Damāmīnī* schreibt das Verzeichnis - vielleicht falsch - ein Werk zu, welches etwa zwischen den Ḥadīt-Sammlungen und dem Adab steht und den Titel *Faḍl al-hayl* trägt[112].

Sammlungen von frommen Sprüchen und Sprichwörter sind durch eine anonyme Sprichwörtersammlung und ein kleines Bändchen mit Sprüchen des Chalifen ʿAlī vertreten.

Philologie und Epistolographie berührten:

Durrat al-ġawwāṣ (fī auhām al-ḥawāṣṣ) des *(Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad) al-Harīrī* [113];

al-Muhtaṣar (fī ʿilm al-maʿānī) des *(Saʿdaddīn Masʿūd b. ʿUmar) at-Taftazānī*[114];

Tarǧumān bi't-turkī;

al-Wašy al-marqūm fī hall al-manẓūm (des *Diyā'addīn Abū'l-Fath Naṣrallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbdalkarīm al-Ǧazarī Ibn al-Atīr*)[115];

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[108] GAL II, 13; GAL S II, 5.

[109] GAL I, 258; GAL S I, 458.

[110] GAL I, 247; GAL S I, 439-40; den Autor des Kommentars nennt die Urkunde nicht.

[111] Es handelt sich wohl um das *Sukkardān as-sultān al-malik an-Nāṣir* des *Šihābaddīn Abū'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥaǧala at-Tilimsānī* - GAL II, 13; GAL S I, 6.

[112] Ein Werk mit dieser Thematik von *ad-Damāmīnī* ist nicht bekannt. Es handelt sich vielleicht um eine Schrift des *Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdalmu'min b. Abī'l-Hasan b. Šaraf b. al-Hidr at-Tūnī ad-Dimyātī*, dessen *nisba* mit der des *ad-Damāmīnīs* verwechselt wurde - vgl. GAL II, 73.

[113] GAL I, 277.

[114] GAL S II, 304 Nr 7; vielleicht mit seinem *Šarḥ talhīs al-miftāḥ* identisch - vgl. GAL II, 215, Nr 7.

[115] GAL I, 297; GAL S I, 521.

Taṭqīf at-taʿrīf bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ aš-šarīf (des *Taqīyaddīn ʿAbdarraḥmān b. Muḥammad at-Taymī al-Ḥalabī*)[116].

In den Kreis der Religionsthematik gehörten noch folgende Schriften:

Kašf al-fawā'id fī'l-ʿaqā'id (des *Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī*)[117];

al-ʿAqā'id wa-mutašābih al-Qur'ān des *(Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdalmu'min) Ibn al-Labbān*[118];

Manāsik al-ḥaǧǧ des *(Abū ʿUmar ʿAbdalʿazīz b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm) Ibn Ǧamāʿa (al-Kinānī aš-Šāfiʿī)* [119];

al-Milal wa'n-niḥal (des *Abū'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAbdalkarīm aš-Šahrastānī*)[120];

Ǧalā' al-ifhām (fī faḍl aṣ-ṣalāt ʿalā ḥayr al-anām) des *Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧauzīya*)[121].

Neben zwei *maulid*-Büchern, von denen das eine anonym ist und das andere einen *Ibn al-Ḥaṣīb* als seinen Verfasser nennt, befanden sich in der gestifteten Bibliothek zwei Gebetsbücher:

ʿUddat al-ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn (min kalām sayyid al-mursalīn)[122];

at-Taʿlīqa (des *Muḥyīddīn Abū'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Qurašī) al-Būnī*[123].

Unter die Rubrik "Mystik" dürfte man bestimmt noch folgende Titel einordnen:

Dīwān ʿUmar ibn al-Fāriḍ[124];

Šarḥ kalām an-Niffarī fī'l-Mawāqif[125];

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[116] GAL S II, 176. Kritische Ausgabe Kairo 1987, IFAO, Textes arabes et études islamiques, Tome XXVII.

[117] GAL I, 509; GAL S I, 927 Nr 3; S II, 208, Nr 17.

[118] GAL II, 111; es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um *Mutašabbihāt al-Qur'ān*.

[119] GAL II, 72. Wohl handelt es sich um *Hidāyat as-sālik fī'l-manāsik*.

[120] GAL I, 428.

[121] GAL II, 106, Nr 18; GAL S II, 127.

[122] Einen anonymen Auszug aus *al-Ḥiṣn* s. GAL II, 203, Nr 19; GAL S II, 277.

[123] GAL S I, 911, Nr 12.

[124] GAL I, 262; GAL S I, 462.

[125] GAL S I, 358.

Mawāqif al-ġāyāt (fī asrār ar-riyādāt) des *(Muhyīddīn Abū'l-ʿAbbās Ahmad b. ʿAlī al-Qurašī) al-Būnī*[126] und ein Sammelband *(maǧmūʿ)* mit 15 Abhandlungen des *Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿArabī*.

Über Mathematikk handelten zwei Schriften:

Muḥtaṣar al-wasīla (fī'l-hisāb) des *Abū'l-Luṭf al-Ḥaṣkafī al-Maqdisī*[127] und

al-Manīʿ fī šarh al-lumaʿ (al-yasīra fī ʿilm al-hisāb) [128].

Je ein Werk behandelte Musik und Bogenschiessen:

Ġāyat al-matlūb fī ʿilm angām wa'd-durūb (des *Šamsaddīn Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Kurr al-Ḥanbalī*)[129] und

al-Badāʾiʿ wa'l-asrār (fī haqīqat ar-radd wa'l-intiṣār wa-ǧāmid mā'ǧtamaʿat ʿalayh ar-rumāt fī'l-amṣār) des *(Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Aṣbaġ al-Harawī)*[130].

Derselbe letzte Abschnitt des Bücherverzeichnisses enthielt auch einige Bücher über Geheimwissenschaften, darunter ein Traumbuch, *Taʿbīr al-manām*, welches einen gewissen *al-Maqdisī* zum Verfasser hatte, ein Buch über geheime Eigenschaften der Buchstaben und Tier- und Pflanzennamen, *Qabs al-anwār (waǧāmiʿ al-asrār) fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf (wa'l-asrār)* des *(Yūsuf Abū'l-Maḥāsin Ǧamāladdīn) an-Nadrūmī* [131], und ein wahrscheinlich der Geomantie gewidmetes Buch *at-Tibyān wa't-tidkār fī masā'il al-ġubār* eines anonymen Verfassers.

Bei einigen anderen Büchertiteln, die auch meist anonym angegeben werden, ist es schwierig, oder gar nicht möglich, ihren Inhalt zu beurteilen. Es sind folgende Werke:

al-Muhaddab eines *qādī ʿAbdalwahhāb al-Mālikī*, *Tamarāt al-aʿmāl* von *as-Suhrawardī*, *al-Adkiya* des *Ibn al-Ǧauzī*, ein anonymes *ad-Dāʾir wa-fadluh*, ein Werk, welches einfach *al-Ḥudūd* genannt wird, und zuletzt ein als *al-Manhaǧ aṣ-sawāb*[132] bezeichnetes Buch. Hierher gehören auch noch zwei Sammelbände: der eine enthält Schriften eines *al-Iṣfahānī*, der andere wird nur als ein "gebunde-

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[126] GAL I, 497, wo das Werk als *"Mawāqit..."* wahrscheinlich falsch angeführt ist.

[127] GAL S II, 1021, Nr 48.

[128] GAL II, 125; GAL S II, 154.

[129] GAL S II, 173.

[130] GAL S II, 166.

[131] GAL II, 252; GAL S II, 1042, Nr 54. Zu den Varianten der *nisba* s. ibid.

[132] Vgl. GAL S III, 1260 (Nachtrag zu S II, S. 165), Nr 4c: *Nūraddīn ʿAlī b. Abī'l-Fath*, vor 1540/947!

ner Sammelband" erwähnt. Ohne nähere Bezeichnung erwähnt das Verzeichnis ein "kleines Buch".

Einen enzyklopädischen Charakter trug das Werk *Mufīd al-ʿulūm wa-mubīd al-humūm* (des *Ğamāladdīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qazwī-nī*)[133].

Das Verzeichnis enthält auch zwei Posten, über deren Inhalt man nur ganz hypothetisch urteilen kann. Der eine wird *Kitāb rūsīm (!) muṣawwar fī's-ṣināʿa* und der andere *Haykal ḏimn maḥfaza* genannt. Falls man annähme, "*ṣināʿa*" sei als die Heilkunst gemeint und *haykal* solle das Gerippe bedeuten, dürften wir vermuten, es handle sich um ärztliche Hilfsmittel. In einem solchen Falle würde man jedoch erwarten, daß sie unter den anderen, oben genannten, medizinischen Werken stünden. Vielleicht handelte es sich jedoch nur um Behelfe, die einer der Qūsūnīs für seinen eigenen Gebrauch ausgearbeitet hatte und welche als eine private Angelegenheit ohne jede öffentliche Autorität betrachtet unter "Verschiedenes" eingeordnet wurden. Waren es also etwa ein anatomischer Atlas im ersten Falle und im zweiten ein Abbildung des menschlichen Gerippes "in einem Etui"?

Bei einigen Werken nennt das Verzeichnis auch ihre Kopisten. Zweifellos dürften wir die Gedichtensammlung des *al-Ḥaḍira* als eine Bibliophilie betrachten vor allem deshalb, weil sie von dem berühmten Kalligraphen *Ibn al-Bawwāb* geschrieben wurde. Auch Exemplare zweier anderer berühmter poetischer Werke stammten von Schreibern, die es verdienten, daß ihre Namen ausdrücklich erwähnt wurden. Es war ein gewisser *šayh Yāsīn*, der eine Abschrift der *Burda* verfertigt hatte und ein *šayh Abū'l-Faḍl*, aus dessen Feder die Abschrift der Gedichte von *ʿUmar b. al-Fāriḍ* stammte. Die Kopie von *Fīrūzābādī's* Wörterbuch hat ein gewisser *Šihābaddīn al-Qasṭalānī* geschrieben und das sonst unbekannte Werk, *ad-Dā'ir wa-faḍluh*, ein ebenso unbekannter Schreiber *Ibn Abī Fatḥ*. Bei allen diesen Namen dürfen wir voraussetzen, daß es entweder damals berühmte Kalligraphen, wie der allgemein gefeierte *Ibn al-Bawwāb*, oder zuverlässige Kopisten waren.

Wenn wir zusammenfassend auf die gestiftete Büchersammlung zurückblicken, sehen wir, daß es sich um eine inhaltlich ziemlich reichhaltige Bibliothek eines Intellektuellen handelte, in der man die kulturellen und praktischen Bedürfnisse und Interessen ihrer Besitzers deutlich erkennt.

Man findet in ihr nicht nur die für jeden gebildeten Muslim unentbehrliche Religionsliteratur und *Ḥadīt*-Werke, sondern auch relativ zahlreiche Werke über Mystik in Prosa und in Versen berühmter Dichter. Für praktische Zwecke waren die ziemlich vielen rechtswissenschaftlichen Schriften bestimmt. Ein Interesse an

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[133] GAL S I, 914.

der Sprachkultur erkennt man an den philologischen Standartwerken als auch an den wenigen Schriften über Stilistik und Epistolographie. In der Bibliothek eines Arztes begegnet man natürlich den medizinischen Schriften - von der Arzneikunde über allgemeine Medizin zur Orthopädie, Chirurgie und Augenheilkunde. Die Breite des kulturellen Interesses belegen nicht nur die relativ zahlreichen Schriften über die ältere und neuere Geschichte und Prosopographie, sondern auch Schriften über Logik, *adab*-Werke und seltene Werke über Mathematik und Musik. Die Welt der volkstümlichen Frömmigkeit taucht aus den Legendenbücher über Muhammad's Geburt auf, die des Wunder- und Aberglaubens aus den Schriften über Traumdeutung und Sandschlagen. Die neue politische Lage wird vielleicht in dem "türkischen Dolmetscher" widergespiegelt.

Die zuerst erwähnte Büchersammlung des *šayḫ al-Abšādī* war unvergleichbar reicher als die des *Muḥibbaddīn al-Qūsūnī*; sie enthielt mehrere Hunderte von Bänden, während die Sammlung des *Muḥibbaddīn* nur annähernd 240 Bände umfasste. Doch bietet auch sie ein gut strukturiertes Bild einer privaten Bibliothek eines mittelalterlichen Gebildeten. Wenn wir die Bestände beider Sammlungen miteinander vergleichen, sehen wir, daß sie im allgemeinen inhaltlich sehr verwandt sind. Beide stellen ein praktisch übereistimmendes Bild der intellektuellen Welt und der geistigen Bedürfnisse zweier professionell zwar verschiedentlich orientierten, durch die Grundausbildung jedoch praktisch einheitlich formierten Intellektuellen der ausgehenden Mamlukenzeit dar[134].

Es bleiben noch ein paar Worte zu sagen über die Weise, auf welche die Bibliothek *al-Muḥibbī*'s zur öffentlichen Benutzung dargeboten wurde. Die Bücher wurden in einem besonderen Zimmer im Obergeschoß der Moschee untergebracht, welches von dem kleinen *Īwān* zugänglich war[135]. Mit dem Schutz, der Pflege und dem Leihen der Bücher hat sich der Stifter selbst lebenslang betraut; nach seinem Tode sollte diese Arbeit einer seiner Söhne übernehmen.

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[134] In der Sammlung von *Muḥibbaddīn Muhammad*, ähnlich wie in der Sammlung des *šayḫ al-Abšādī*, ist ein auffällig geringer Anteil an Poesie (in der Sammlung des *Muḥibbaddīn* etwa 14,5%) zu betrachten. Ein wesentlich verschiedenes Bild bietet ein Verzeichnis von Büchern, die in einem Nachlass eines osmanischen Provinzbeamten (*defterdār* von Buda in Ungarn) im Jahre 1587/88, also cca 60 Jahre nach *al-Muḥibbī*'s *waqf*-Urkunde, gefunden wurden. In dieser Bibliothek, die etwa 120 Bücher enthielt, war der Anteil der Poesie - Epik und Lyrik in türkischer und persischer Sprache - fast 47% (L. FEKETE, Das Heim eines türkischen Herrn in der Provinz im XVI. Jahrhundert. Studia Historica Acad. Scient. Hung., Bd 29, 1960, Budapest, S. 27-28). Es handelt sich dabei natürlich zwar um eine zufällige und vereinzelte Probe - das sind aber die Bibliotheken beider ägyptischen Büchersammler auch -, doch kann man hinter dieser drei Bücherkollektionen eine verschiedene kulturelle Orientation der arabischen und der osmanisch-türkischen Gebildeten ahnen.

[135] Z. 430-31 der Stiftungsurkunde.

Nach ihm sollte immer ein tüchtiger Mann von seinen Nachkommen zum Biblio-
thekar (*ḫāzin*) der Moschee bestimmt werden. Für diese Arbeit wurde für ihn die
Summe von 5 Silberstücke pro Monat als Lohn festgestellt[136]. Die Klausel,
welche diese Rechte des Bibliothekars in der Urkunde definiert, bestimmt auch die
Regeln für die Benutzung der Bibliothek. Die Bücher durften nur am Ort geliehen
und zum Studium, Abschreiben oder Kollation benutzt werden. Der Bibliothekar
durfte keineswegs zulassen, daß die Bücher gegen eine Garantie, oder ein Pfand
oder mittels irgendeiner List oder Finte das Gebäude der Moschee verlassen
konnten[137].

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[136] Z. 494-498 der Stiftungsurkunde. Dieselbe Summe wurde auch dem Bibliothekar in *al-
Abšādī*'s Urkunde zugesagt. Sie ist im Vergleich zu den Löhnen anderer Angestellten in *al-
Muhibbī*'s Stiftung sehr niedrig: der Prediger in der Moschee erhielt 20 Silberstücke, der Pförtner
10, ebenso der Diener (*farrāš*), der Leuchhteranzünder (*waqqād*) 8, der Diener in dem öf-
fentlichen Brunnen (*muzammilātī*) 6 und der Arbeiter bei dem Wasserrad sogar 40 Silberstücke.
Merkwürdig ist, daß mit der Summe von 5 Silberstücken in *al-Abšādī*'s Stiftung auch der
Verwalter (*nāẓir*) und der Leiter der Stiftung (*mutawallī*) belohnt wurde (ʿ*Abdallaṭīf Ibrāhīm,
Maktaba fī waṭīqa*, S. 36).

[137] Den Regeln und Gewohnheiten des Bibliothekswesens im mittelalterlichen Ägypten widmet
ʿ*Abdallaṭīf Ibrāhīm* eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit in seiner Studie "*al-Maktaba al-mamlūkīya*"
(1. Studie in der Sammelschrift "*Dirāsāt fī'l-kutub wa'l-maktabāt al-islāmīya*"), bes. S. 40-84.

Some Alleged Exceptions to Incompatibility Rules in Arabic Verbal Roots.

Andrzej ZABORSKI

Incompatibility rules in Semitic and in Egyptian roots have been of special interest to Prof. PETRÁČEK who not only devoted to them a separate study (1964) but also considered them in his numerous studies of the Hamito- Semitic root.

Incompatibility rules were discovered by Arab linguists already in the Middle Ages and not by LANDSBERGER and other later assyriologists as pretended by DELLER (1965). They were known to European orientalists at least since ERPENIUS and DE SACY (see KÖNIG 1895: 463). After a not very systematic discussion at GLECS in the late thirties and the first important summary of the results by CANTINEAU (1960: 199-202, originally published in 1946) the next stage was marked by GREENBERG'S 1950 article. GREENBERG used mainly Arabic comparing it with data from several other Semitic languages and he analysed both verbal and nominal roots. He mentions very few exceptions to his rules. In the sixties we had a rather theoretical article by HERDAN (1962) and a detailed study of the incompatibility in Biblical Hebrew by KOSKINEN (1964). A new stage was marked by KURYŁOWICZ (1973: 15-24) who checked GREENBERG'S results applying more rigorous principles. He has excluded concave (secundae *w/y)* roots and denominal verbs not occuring in the 1st class. He did not exclude onomatopoeic roots. His list of roots has been based only on WAHRMUND'S dictionary. In his paragraph on the alleged exceptions to incompatibility rules he lists alleged exceptions (1973: 20 and 22-23) but in his chart (1973: 18) he notes many instances of only one or two examples of a particular combination not caused by a relative low frequency of the particular phonemes without considering them as exceptions though he emphasised, with a good reason, the necessity of "a neat delimitation of accidental empty slots and phonemically pertinent absences" (1973: 19). There is either a misprint or another kind of mistake on p. 22 where he speaks about exceptions to the incompatibility of R2=*t* and R3=*ḥ* but the six examples are all printed with final -*ḥ*. There is a contradiction in his statement here since he does not mention neither *t-ḥ-X* nor *t-ḥ-X* incompatibility though he could find only two examples of the former and one of the latter combination (p.18 and cf. p.17). Therefore in the present article I have undertaken a revision of KURY-ŁOWICZ'S results concentrating mainly on the alleged exceptions to the incom-

patibility of R1 and R2. More alleged exceptions in R2 and R3 will be treated elsewhere.

Some recent studies (VOIGT 1981 on Semitic in general, WEITZMAN 1987 on Arabic, TOBIN 1990 on Hebrew) are mainly of a theoretical interest while LA-SOR'S article (1985) based on Arabic (only HAVA'S dictionary) and ignoring most if not all of the preceding research does not bring anything new.

The combinations of R1-R2:

1. **’ - Q - T** *’aqqata* "to give a time-limit". This is is a denominal verb derived from *waqt* "time" (BDCh 158).

2. **’ - Q - T** *’aqata* "to give *’aqit* to eat". This is a denominal verb derived from *’aqit* "cheese made of skimmed milk, cooked and dried" (BDCh 159).

3. **’ - Q - Y** *’aqā* "to refuse food and drink (sick person)". This is a variant of *q - y - ’* "to vomit, to be saturated" (STEINGASS 865).

4. **T - Ǧ - R** *taǧara* "to carry on commerce" (DCh.1003-1008, WAHRMUND 300, cf. *’aǧara* WEHR 6). This is a loan from Aramaic - see FRAENKEL 1886: 181-182, cf. AEŠCOLY 1937-1940: 55.

5. **T - Ǧ - H** *taǧiha* "to be turned towards" (BDCh 1008, WAHRMUND 301). This is the eighth class with infixed *-t-* of **waǧaha* (*ittaǧaha*) which is denominal i.e. derived from *waǧh* "face".

6. **T - Ḥ - F** *taḥafa* "II to decorate, embelish" (BDCh 1009-1010, WAHRMUND 304). This is most probably a denominal root, cf. *tuḥfa* "ornament, embelish-ment".

7. **T - Ḥ - M** *taḥama* "to weave, to embroider (in brown on a lighter background" (BDCh 1010; AR-RĀ'ID 371, WAHRMUND 305 "bunt und gestreift wirken"). This is a denominal verb - cf. *tuḥma-t-un* "brown/black colour". Cf. *itḥamma* (for *idḥamma*) "to be black".

8. **T - Ḥ - Ḥ** *taḥha* "to rise (dough), to become sour, to rot" (BDCh 1011, LANE 298 "it (dough) became sour, it became soft by reason of too much water; and in like manner clay or mud, so that one could not plaster with it", LISĀN 422, WAHRMUND 40). This may be an Arabic root inherited from Proto-Semitic but it may also be rather a loan from Syriac - cf. BROCKELMANN 1926: 820a and 818b. There is a possibility that there may be a connection (cf. the second part of the explanation provided by LANE which may even point to a second *t - ḥ - ḥ* root) with *tāha/tāha/sāha* (u) "to sink (finger, foot)" (LANE 364, 1460, BDCh 1260, BK 210, 241, 1100).

9. **T - Ḥ - Ḏ** *taḥaḏa, taḥiḏa* "to take" (WAHRMUND 306). This verb is a secondary variant of *’aḫaḏa.* Cf. AR-RĀ'ID 374.

10. **T - Ḥ - M** (1) *taḥama* "to make a limit, set a boundary, fix a frontier" (WAHR-MUND 307, BDCh. 1012). This is a denominal root derived from *taḥm-un* "limit, boundary"which is a loan from Syriac *taḥm-a* (FRAENKEL 1886: 282, PAYNE SMITH 1903: 609).

11. **T - Ḥ - M** (2) *taḥima* "to have indigestion" (WAHRMUND 307, BDCh 1012). The original root is *w - ḥ - m* and the initial *-t* goes back to the *-t-* infix of the eighth class - *ittaḥama.* WAHRMUND 332 provides also a variant *ittaġama* from *w - ġ - m.* Cf. *ġamita* "Magenbeschwerden und Kopfweh haben" (WAHRMUND 363).

12. **T - S - ᶜ** *tasaᶜa* "to subtract the ninth of something" (BDCh. 1046-7) is obviously denominal i.e. derived from the numeral *tisᶜa* "nine".

13. **T - Š - Ḥ** only IV "to shoot at, to pelt" (BK 199, STEINGASS 175). Cf. BDCh 1047 *t-š-ḥ* (VIII?) and *š - ḥ - ḥ* ; *ašaḥa* (for *wašaḥa*) "to be angry" (BDCh 127, WAHRMUND 78) and *tušḥa* "ardour, fury" (BDCh 1047 suppose underlying VIII class verb, STEINGASS 175, WAHRMUND 322).

14. **T - Ṭ - W** *taṭā* "to wrong a person, tyrannize" (LISĀN 433, BK 199, STEIN-GASS 177, WAHRMUND 327). Cf. *ṭaṭa'a* "to hold flat on the ground, immobilize (an adversary)" (BDCh. 1170, LISĀN 480).

15. **T - Q - ᶜ** *taqaᶜa* "to be hungry" (BDCh. 1058). Cf. *taqaᶜ-un* "hunger" (BK 202). Cf. *daqiᶜa* "to live in misery" (STEINGASS 367, LANE 897-8, BK 717), *adqa'* "vehement hunger".

16. **T - Q - N** (1) II "to water with a muddy water, to improve sole with silt" (BDCh 1058) is a denominative from tiqn "mud, muddy water".

17. **T - Q - N** (2) IV (I only in spoken Arabic) "to be put in order, to be straight, to do something carefully, skilfully" (BDCh. 1058-1059, LANE 309, LISĀN 437, STEINGASS 183). This is probably a loan from Syriac (BROCKELMANN 1928: 831, PAYNE SMITH 1903: 609, not mentioned by FRAENKEL).

18. **T - Q - Y** *taqā, taqiya* "to fear, to be devout" (BDCh 1061, LISĀN 431) is originally the eighth class with infixed *-t-* of *w-q-y* "VIII to fear (God)".

19. **Ṭ - T - M** *taṭama* "to rip, tear, to drop excrement, to let out a stream of foul language" (BDCh. 1152, WAHRMUND 372). This verb contains the original biconsonantal root **t - m,* see *naṭama/natama* "talk ribaldry (WAHRMUND 984, STEINGASS 1100, 1101), VIII id., which contains petrified *n-* prefix and which has a variant *naṭala* "to drop excrement" (WAHRMUND 983-4) and *naṭara* "to fall into pieces (clothe)" (WAHRMUND 983). Cf. also *natala* "to speak gruffly, to insult" (BK 1194, STEINGASS 1100).

20. **Ṭ - T - N** (1) *ṭatina* "to stink" (LISĀN 472, WAHRMUND 372) has a variant *ṭanita* "to go bad (meat etc.), to get infected (wound), to swell (lip etc. - cf. *ṭ*

- t - n (2)" and *natana* "to stink" (STEINGASS 1100) which has also a variant *natita* (STEINGASS 1100) probably with an assimilation of *-n* to the personal suffix *-tV.* The medial *-t-* in *t-t-n* would be an infix while the medial *-t-* in *natana* would be due either to a dialect alternation or rather to a despirantization of the original *t-* in **t - n.* There is a partial connection with *t - t - n* (2) which may indicate even an original identity of these roots.

21. T - T - N (2) *tatina* "to be swollen, tumefied (gum, lip)" (BDCh 1152). This is related to *tadina* "to grow thick (body), to become obese (man) (BDCh 1158, STEINGASS 1100, WAHRMUND 982) Cf. also *natā* (u) "to swell" (WAHRMUND 980) and *natta* "to swell or blow with rage (nostrils), boil, bubble, ferment" (STEINGASS 1009).

22. T - Ǧ - W *taǧā* "to remain silent" (BDCh 1155). This is a variant of *saǧā* id. (LANE 1312).

23. T - H - Ǧ (1) *tahaǧa* "to kick, to brutalize someone" (BDCh. 1155, LISĀN 473). Cf. *sahaǧa* "to run, go fast" (BK 1058) and *fahaǧa* "beim Gehen die Zehen gegen einander, die Fersen auswärts kehren" (WAHRMUND 388, BK 574) and *faǧǧa* "to be splay footed, to open the legs" (STEINGASS 775) as well as *fahaqa* (BK 549).

24. T - H - Ǧ (2) *tahaǧa* "to tear, pull strongly, drag along" (LANE 1315, BK 219, STEINGASS 201). This is a variant of *sahaǧa* "to peel, skin, scratch" (LISĀN 473 and 1950, STEINGASS 483, BK 1058).

25. T - H - N to be thick, firm" (BDCh. 1156). This is a variant of *fahuma* id. (WAHRMUND 391).

26. T - D - N "to grow thick (body), to become obese (man)" (BDCh. 1158) Cf. *tatina* "to be swollen, tumefied (see above under *t - t - n).*

27. T - Š - Š *tašša* "to force out the air from a leather bottle" (BDCh. 1170, WAHRMUND 378). This is a variant (most probably a dialect variant) of *fašša* id. (WAHRMUND 412, AR-RĀ'ID 1119), cf. also *fawšaša* "to be empty" (STEINGASS 808).

28. Ǧ - T - T *ǧatta* "to feel, to touch" is a variant of *ǧassa* id. (BDCh. 1315, WAHRMUND 707, STEINGASS 218).

29. Ǧ - S - S (1) *ǧassa* "to plaster, whitewash" is a secondary denominal verb from *ǧiss* < "gypsum" (LANE 428, BDCh 1539-1540, LISĀN 630) which is a loan-word.

30. Ǧ - S - S (2) "to be bound hand and foot, tied up; to stiffle, suffocate" (BDCh 1540) has a variant *ǧadda* (LISĀN 630).

31. Ǧ - D - D *ǧadda* "to swagger in walking, to strut, walk in a nonchalant way, deviate, move away" (LISĀN 630, BDCh 1540-1541, WAHRMUND 438,

STEINGASS 235). Cf. *ğazza* "to strut" (BDCh 1541), *ğawiza, ğāza* (i) "go rapidly, resolutly, step along proudly" (BDCh. 1540-1541, LISĀN 630, STEINGASS 254, WAHRMUND 427) and *ğāḍa* (i) ""to walk in a loose, nonchalant way, strut, turn aside, decline" (BDCh 1982, STEINGASS 257), *ğiyadd-un* proud" (ibid.). BDCh connect also *ğazza* (1) "to drive away" (BDCh 1541, cf. *ğazza* below) and *ğaᶜaza* "to chase, to oppose; to take away" (cf. *ğaᶜzara* "to flee" A.Z.) but this is not clear. Cf. also *ğadā* (i) - "to prevent, not let" (AR-RĀ'ID 505).

32. **Ǧ - Z̧ - Z̧** (1) *ğazza* "to bring down, knock down, push back, drive away brutally" (BDCh 1541, STEINGASS 235) has variants *ğ - y - ḍ* III "to push away, back" (BDCh 1982) and *šazza* "to drive away" (WAHRMUND 985), *ğadā* (i) "to prevent, not let" (AR-RĀ'ID 505) and perhaps also *ğaᶜaza* "to take, chase" (BDCh 1982 - cf.1384 *ğadda* "to tear something away from somebody"). Cf. the preceeding item. Cf. *dazza* below.

33. **Ǧ - Z̧ - Z̧** (2) *ğazza* "to be gluttoonous, bulky, short and fat, to be arrogant, insolent" (BDCh 1541, LISĀN 630, STEINGASS 235, WAHRMUND 438). Related form: *ğawwāz* "arrogant, churlish, brutal (see *ğ - z - z* 1 above); glutton, pot bellied (man)" (BDCh 1934) and *ğaᶜzarī* "stout, gluttonous" (BDCh 1551). Both *ğ - z - z* (1) and (2) are either related or there is a certain secondary overlapping.

34. **Ǧ - Q - Q** *ğaqqa* "to drop excrement (bird)" (BDCh 1586, LANE 230, BK 307, STEINGASS 230) can be related to *daraqa/zaraqa* "to drop excrement (bird)" (WAHRMUND 906, 830) ?

35. **Ǧ - K - R** *ğakira* "to offer something for sale, to try to buy by badgering" (BDCh 1586), DOZY I, 202 I "se mettre en colère, III taqiner, faire piquer, faire enrager, pointiller"; WAHRMUND I, 444, "zudringlich sein; beleidigt, pikiert sein, grollen, zürnen", BK 307 "avoir besoin de", LISĀN 646-647 and MATN AL-LUĠA as well as AL-QĀMŪS and AS-SAYAĠĪ consider it as denominal from *ğukayra* (deminutive of *ğakara* ??) "quarell".

It is, according to BELOT and HAVA, 93 typical of Syria. Cf. DENIZEAU 1960: 86, *žakar* "1. se fâcher, s'irriter, s'indiguer, 2. être offensé, piqué; BARTHELEMY 1935-1954: 137. It is a loan from Turkish - see CLAUSON 1972: 410, who considers it to be an original Turkic root: *çakir* "to call out, shout", cf. RADLOFF 1960: 2110 "to shout, call, invite, announce". It is not clear whether Modern Persian *ğār* "to shout (of vendor), to announce loudly, proclaim" can be considered also as a Turkish loan-word.

36. **Ḥ - ᶜ - ᶜ** *haᶜᶜa* "to pant" (STEINGASS 331, WAHRMUND 606 "keuchen"). This root is clearly onomatopeic.

37. Ḥ - Q - Q *ḥaqqa* "rattle, clatter, buzz, seethe" (WAHRMUND 610, STEINGASS 333, BK 605). Cf. LISĀN 8218. Cf. *ḥafaqa* "to produce a whistling, hissing, clattering, creaking etc. noise; to struck, slap to produce a slight sound" (LANE 774, BK 605, STEINGASS 333).

38. D - Ẓ - Ẓ *daẓẓa* "to push aside; tear; doubt" (WAHRMUND 663, STEINGASS 362, LISĀN 1377 describes it as Yemenite). Cf. *ǧ - ẓ - ẓ* (1) above.

39. Ḏ - Ḥ - R *ḏaḥara* "save, put for the future" (WAHRMUND 704, STEINGASS 384) Cf. the lengthy discussion of *idġām* in LISĀN 1490; LANE 956 and 858 *daḥara* "to be mean, contemptible"?

40. Ḏ - Š̌ - Š *daššša* "to travel fast" is a variant (with assimilation) of the original *dašša* "to travel" (WAHRMUND 662).

41. Ḏ - Ġ - Ġ *ḏaġġa* "to lie with" FREYTAG 88, STEINGASS 386, WAHRMUND 323, BK 28) see *daġaba* below. Cf. also *ḏaᶜaġa* "to push or urge on violently, to lie with" (STEINGASS 386). There is allegedly also *ḏ - ġ - y* that occurs in *ḏā-ġiya-t-un* "a submissive woman" (Muḥīṭ 717, MATN AL-L. 499 and 708 - cf. *ṣ - ġ - w)* - cf. *zāġiya-t-un* "femme impudique" (BK 995, cf. 774) Cf. also *zaġara* "snatch with violence" (STEINGASS 45, and BK s.v. "s'emparer violemment et injustement de quelquechose"?

42. Z - Z - Z *zazza* "to touch slightly on the neck" (STEINGASS 455, WAHRMUND 831, BK 989, MATN 31). This is an onomatopoeic root.

43. Z - T - T (1) *zatta* "to adorn a bride" (**Wahrmund** 823, BK 973) is probably either an expressive or merely a graphic variant of *zayyana* "to adorn, embelish" (AL-QĀMŪS s.v., MATN III 15-16). LISĀN 1811 emphasises the incompatibility of *z-t-x*.

44. Z - T - T (2) *zatta* "to shoot, send" (WAHRMUND 823, STEINGASS 450) is not mentioned by most of the authorities. It may be onomatopoeic.

45. Z - T - Ḥ *zataḥa* "to stick firmly in the skin (of insect)" (WAHRMUND 823, STEINGASS 450, BK 973, MATN III 16) is probably due only to a graphic mistake - see *rataḥa* id. (TĀǦ VII 261 and 255, WAHRMUND s.v.) which may be original and another variant *zanaḥa* id. (TĀǦ VII 267, BK 1016, STEINGASS 465, WAHRMUND 849).

46. Z - D - R *zadara* "to return" (WAHRMUND 828, BK 982) is a variant of the original *s - d - r* id. (LISĀN 1822, STEINGASS 576).

47. Z - D - ᶜ *zadaᶜa* "to lie with" (WAHRMUND 828, BK 982, STEINGASS 453) is a variant (not accepted by some Arab lexicographers) of *ᶜazada* id. (TĀǦ XXI 145, WAHRMUND 249), *ᶜazaṭa* id. (WAHRMUND 250) and possibly also *daᶜaza* and *daḥaza* id. (WAHRMUND 664).

48. Z - D - G *zadaġa* V "to repose on a pillow" (WAHRMUND 828) is a denominal verb derived from *mizdaġ = misdaġ* "pillow, cushion".

49. Z - D - F *azdafa* IV "to be dark (of night)" is a variant of *s - d - f* IV id. (BK 982, LISĀN 1822).

50. Z - D - W *zadā* (u) "to play a game consisting of throwing balls or nuts into holes in the ground" (WAHRMUND 828, STEINGASS 992, BK 982) has a variant *s - d - w* (LISĀN 1822, WAHRMUND 889-890) and it is probably denominal being derived from *mizdā-t-un* "little hole in the ground" (STEINGASS 982).

51. Z - T - T *zatta* "to buzz (a flie)" (WAHRMUND 832, STEINGASS 455, BK 989). This is onomatopoeic.

52. Š - T - R *šatira* "to be distinguished by a red tubercle on the eyelids" (WAHRMUND 960, STEINGASS 529 BK 1191) is probably related either to *š - z - r*, cf. *ašzar* "red" (LISĀN 2255-6, BK 1225), *šuzra-t-un* "redness of the eyes" (STEINGASS 540) or to *šufr* "the place of the growth of the eyelash which is the edge of the eyelid". There is also *šatira* "to have chapped or inversed eyelids" (LANE 1502-3, STEINGASS 528, WAHRMUND 959, BK 1189), cf. also *šarita*. Cf. *šazara* below.

53. Š - T - L *šatila/šatula* "to be thick (of fingers)" (WAHRMUND 960, STEINGASS 529) has variants *šanita* id. (STEINGASS 558) and *šarita* id. which may be original (STEINGASS 535), *šatina* id., *šasina* id. (LISĀN 2195- 2196 and 2337) cf. below.

54. Š - T - N *šatina* "to be hard and rough; to be thick" (WAHRMUND 960, STEINGASS 529, BK 1191, LISĀN 2195, AR-RĀ'ID 864) is a variant of *šanita* "to be thick" (LISĀN 2337, cf. above). Cf. also *š - z - n* below and *hašuna* "to be rough and thick" (BK 1191, WAHRMUND 596, STEINGASS 325).

55. Š - D - D *šadda* "to be separated, to separate" (WAHRMUND 969, LISĀN 2619-20, LANE 1521-1522) has an original variant *fadda* "to be alone, separated" (BKK 558) which is probably denominal - see below. It is related probably to *fadda* "to divide" (AR-RĀ'ID 1122). It is probably related also to *šadara* "to disperse, divide" (AR-RĀ'ID 871), see below.

56. Š - D - B *šadaba* "to strip, to strip the bark off the tree, cut off" (LANE 1522-3, WAHRMUND 969, LISĀN 2218-9, AR-RĀ'ID 781, STEINGASS 534) is most probably denominal being derived from *šadab* "bark".

57. Š - D - R *šadara* "to disperse, go away" (AR-RĀ'ID 871, WEHR 539). Cf. *š - d - d* above. The original root may be *f - d - d/š - d - d*.

58. Š - Ḏ - F *šadafa* "to receive, attain" (WAHRMUND 969, BK 1208, MATN III 294, AS-SĀĠĀNĪ IV 500), cf. TĀĞ XXIII 490. Cf. BK 1208 *šawḏaqa* "saisir avec les doigts comme un oiseau de proie saisit avec les griffes".

59. Š - Ḏ - W (1) *šaḏā* (u) "to perfume with musk" (WAHRMUND 969) is a denominal verb derived from *šaḏw/šiḏw* "fragrance of musk, musk" (LANE 1523, MATN III 294-5).

60. Š - Ḏ - W (2) *šaḏā* (u) "to break" (WAHRMUND 969). Cf. *šadaha/fadaha/fadaša* "to break" (LANE 1519, BK 555 and 556, AR-RĀ'ID 870, 1108) which may be original.

61. Š - Z - Z *šazza* "to be very dry" (AR-RĀ'ID 877) has a variant *šassa* WAHRMUND 980) and is probably connected with *šazaba* (see below).

62. Š - Z - B *šazaba* "to be coarse, rough, crude; to become lean, emaciated" (AR-RĀ'ID 877, WAHRMUND 980) - see *š - z - z* above and *š - s - b* below.

63. Š - Z - R (1) *šazara* "to twist from left or outside, plait, to look askance at" (WAHRMUND 980 - cf. 982 *šaṣā)* is another denominal derived from *ašzar* "red, looking askance" - cf. *ʿayn šazrāʾ* "an eye that is read and with what is termed *šazar* in the glance thereof, angry, disquiet look" (LANE 1547). Cf. number 50 above.

64. Š - Z - R (2) *šazara* "to pierce" (STEINGASS 540) is a variant of *šaṣara* "to prick with a horn, gore, pierce" (LANE 1546 and 1547, STEINGASS 541). Cf. number 71 below.

65. Š - Z - N "to be hard and rough" (STEINGASS 540) probably has variants *šazza* "to be dry and hard" (STEINGASS 540), *šassa* "to be dry and whithered" (STEINGASS 540), *šaṣṣa* "to be hard, difficult; to have little milk", *šaziba* "to be hard and rugged" (STEINGASS 540), *šasiba* "to be dry and hard", *šasifa* "to be dry and emaciated" (STEINGASS 540) and *šazufa* "to be hard, rough, coarse" (LANE s.v.).

66. Š - Z - W *šazā* (u) "to be high, elevated" (WAHRMUND 980) is probably related to *šasiya/šazā* (i) "to elevate, grow up, blow up" (AR-RĀ'ID 879 and 880) and *šahasa* "to be highly elevated" (WAHRMUND 966, cf. 982). Cf. *š - s -w/y* below.

67. Š - S - B "to be dry and shrunk" (WAHRMUND 981) has variants *šaziba* (WAHRMUND 980), *šasafa/šasufa* and *šassa* "to dry". Cf. also *šazina* "to be hard and whithered (WAHRMUND 981).

68. Š - S - ʿ *šasaʿa* "to be distant" (WAHRMUND 981, LISĀN 2257: *šisʿu ʾl-makān* = *ṭarafuhu* which may indicate, perhaps, an etymological relation with *šisʿ* "fringe, rind".

69. Š - Ṣ - Ṣ *šaṣṣa* "to have a little amount of milk (cf. *šaḥṣ* "a sheep without milk" (WAHRMUND 966); be hard, difficult (life)" (WAHRMUND 981, BK 1226, LISĀN 2259) has a variant *šaẓẓa* (AR-RĀ'ID 880) and is related to *š - ṣ - b* (2), see below.

70. Š - Ṣ - B (1) *šaṣaba* "to scald, skin" (WAHRMUND 881-2, AR-RĀ'ID 878, BK 1227) may be derived from *ṣabba* "to pour, pour forth" with a *š-* prefix - cf. *samaṭa* "to remove goat's hair by pouring hot water on it".

71. Š - Ṣ - B (2) *šaṣuba* "to be hard, dry, difficult" (WAHRMUND 881-2, BK 1226, AR-RĀ'ID 878) has variants *šaẓifa* id. (AR-RĀ'ID 880), *šaṣiba* and *šaṣufa* "to be dry" (BK 1226, AR-RĀ'ID 878) which are probably older. *š - ṣ - ṣ* also belongs here (see above).

72. Š - Ṣ - R *šaṣara* "to pierce" is probably a denominal verb derived from *šiṣār* "an instrument to pierce and bind a camel's nose" (LANE 1547, LISĀN 2258-9, WAHRMUND 982). Cf. number 63 above.

73. Š - Ṣ - W/Y *šaṣā/šaṣiya* "to be high, to be fixed at (of eyes)" (WAHRMUND 982, LANE 1548, LISĀN 2269-60) has a variant *šaẓā* (i) id. (AR-RĀ'ID 880). Cf. *šaḥaṣa* "to rise, ascend, become high; to fix at (of the eye, stare, gaze" (WEHR 535, AR-RĀ'ID 869) which may be original.

74. Š - Ẓ - Ẓ (1) *šaẓẓa* "to be hard" (WAHRMUND 985, cf. LANE 1552) has variants *šaẓifa/šaẓufa* id. (WAHRMUND 985), *šaṣuba* id. (see above) etc.

75. Š - Ẓ - Ẓ (2) *šaẓẓa* "to prevent, repel" has variants *š - ṣ - ṣ* (see above) and *š - ẓ - f* - see below.

76. Ṣ - Ǧ - Ǧ *ṣaǧǧa* "to strike iron against iron making noise" (WAHRMUND 12, LISĀN 2400). This is an onomatopoeic verb. Cf. *ṣaḥḥa* which has the same meaning (WAHRMUND 15, LISĀN 2407) so that there is a possibility of a graphic error ("Verschreibung") or a "Reimwortbildung".

77. Ḍ - D - ' *ḍada'a/ḍadi'a* "to be angry" (cf. *ḍ - d - y* below) may be related to *ḍ - d - d* (BK 14).

78. Ḍ - D - D *ḍadda* "to win in a conflict, to oppose" is probably a secondary verb derived from *ḍadd/didd* "against" (WAHRMUND 83, LISĀN 2564-5, LANE 1775, BK 13-14).

79. Ḍ - D - N *ḍadana* "to improve, repair" (WAHRMUND 83, BK 14) is characterized by LISĀN 2565 as Yemenite.

80. Ḍ - D - Y *ḍadiya* "to be angry (WAHRMUND 83-84, BK 14) has a variant *ḍada'a* (see above) and it can be perhaps related to *ḍ - d - d*.

81. Ḍ - Z - Z *ḍazza* "to be unable to speak correctly because of an anatomic defect of mouth" (LISĀN 2585, MATN III 550, BK 25, HAVA 418, WAHRMUND 92, STEINGASS 610) is an onomatopoeic root.

82. Ḍ - Z - N *ḏazana* "to snatch something from somebody without compensating" (AL-QĀMŪS s.v., WAHRMUND 92, MATN III 550) is probably related to *ḏāza* (u, i)/*da'aza* "to deprive of possesion or right" (LANE 1759, 1812, BK 47, WAHRMUND 109 and 110, STEINGASS 619, 620, 602). Cf. LISĀN 2585 and MATN III 550 for a possibility of a denominal origin.

83. Ḍ - G - B (1) *daġaba* "to lie with" (Muḥīt 1248, MATN 552, STEINGASS 611, cf. BK 28) is related to *dagga* (see above) which proofs that originally /ḍ/ was a fricative (KURYŁOWICZ 1973: 20). Cf. *taḥḥa* id. (LISĀN 1490).

84. Ḍ - G - B (2) *ḏaġaba* "to howl, cry, frighten by making a crie" (LISĀN 2589, MATN AL-L. 552, BK 28). 0nomatopoeic? Connected with *daᶜb* "wolf"?

85. Ḍ - K - K *ḏakka* "to press, press upon" (LĪSĀN 2598, STEINGASS 613) has a variant ḏAKḏAKA id. (MATN III 559, WAHRMUND 98) and it is probably related to *ḏaqa* (i) III "to press" (MATN III 559, WAHRMUND 113). See also *ḏakaza* below.

86. Ḍ - K - Z *ḏakaza* "to press violently with hand; calumniate, slander" (LISĀN 2598, STEINGASS 613) is probably related to *ḏ - k - k*.

87. Ḍ - Q - Q *ḏaqqa* "sound, resound (stones)" (WAHRMUND 98, STEINGASS 613, BK 33, LISĀN 2591) is onomatopoeic and it is related to *taqqa* "produce a sound, crack, burst (WAHRMUND 146, LISĀN 2684) which is related to *taqtaqa* "to make the ground resound with the hoof, crack the fingers or joints" (STEINGASS 639), probably also *taqā* (u) "to walk" (ibid.)

88. Ṭ - T - W *tatā* "to go, depart" (STEINGASS 627, WAHRMUND s.v.; LISĀN 2641 *tata'a*). This is originally the eighth class with the infixed *-t-* since we have also *t - w - y* "to go, to travel" (WAHRMUND 171, cf. BK 125).

89. Ṭ - Ǧ - Ǧ *taǧǧa* "to call for help during a battle" (WAHRMUND 178). This is a variant of *daǧǧa* "to shout" (WAHRMUND 80).

90. Ṭ - Ṭ - ' (1) *tata'a* "mit dem Kreisel spielen" (WAHRMUND 123). This verb is denominal being derived from *tatt-un* "Spiel mit dem Kreis" (WAHRMUND 123).

91. Ṭ - Ṭ - ' (2) *tata'a* "to vomit". This root is related to the root of the verb *tasa'a* "to have the stomach ache, feel satiety and disgust) and *tasā* (i) id. (WAHRMUND 138 and 139, STEINGASS 625, 635). This is an onomatopoeic root.

92. Ṭ - Ṭ - R *tatara* "to be thick and creamy (milk)" (WAHRMUND 123, STEINGASS 627). Cf. *taffara* II "to secrete cream" which is denominal derived from *tafra-t-un/tatra-t-un* "cream, foam" (WAHRMUND 143).

93. Ṭ - Z - R *tazara* "to push back with the fist" (WAHRMUND 138, BK 80, HAVA 432, AL-QĀMŪS s.v., AṢ-ṢAĠĀNĪ III 89) has a variant *taraza* id. (LANE 1840, TĀǦ XII 429) and it is related to *ratasa* "to beat with the palm of the hand,

slap" (STEINGASS 419) and probably also to *ṭarada* "to push away, chase" (WAHRMUND 130), cf. *ṭarra* "to slap on face" (WAHRMUND 127). Cf. also *l - t - d/z* below.

94. **Ṭ - Z - ᶜ** (1) *ṭazaᶜa* "to push back, lie with" (BK 80, WAHRMUND 138) is a variant of *ṭasaᶜa* id. (LISĀN 2671, BK 81) and both are related to *ṭaᶜaza/ ṭaᶜasa* id. (STEINGASS 636) while *ṭaᶜara* (ibid.) may be due to a graphic error. Another variant is *ṭašᶜa'a* id. (WAHRMUND 139).

95. **Ṭ - Z - ᶜ** (2) *ṭaziᶜa* "to be without food and money" (LISĀN 2670, WAHRMUND 138) has a variant *ṭasiᶜa* (WAHRMUND 138, STEINGASS 635, BK 81, TĀǦ XXI 445, LISĀN 2671).

96. **Ṭ - S - M** *ṭasama* "to be affaced, blotted out" (LISĀN 2672, WAHRMUND 139, STEINGASS 635) is a variant of *ṭamasa* id. (WAHRMUND 158) and *dasama* id. (WAHRMUND 662). It is doubtful whether this metathesis is due to any incompatibility.

97. **Ṭ - Š - '** *ṭaša'a* "to lie with". Cf. *ṭasaᶜa/ṭazaᶜa/ṭaᶜasa/ṭaᶜaza/ṭaḥasa* "to lie with" (LISĀN 2671, WAHRMUND 138, 139, STEINGASS 635 and 628) and *ṭahr* "coition" (STEINGASS 628 - cf. *ṭaᶜara* above). Special investigation is necessary to explain which form has been original. On the alternation *z/s* cf. *ṭaziᶜa/ ṭasiᶜa* above.

98. **Ṭ - Š - Š** *ṭašša* "schwach regnen" (WAHRMUND s.v., STEINGASS 635). This is probably a denominal root derived from *ṭašš-un* "weak rain" (cf. LISĀN 2672).

99. **Ṭ - S - S** "to see" (characterized by WAHRMUND s.v. as "Egyptian"; cf. STEINGASS 636). Neither SPIRO nor HINDS and BADAWI mention this. It is probable that this is actually Egyptian Arabic *tass* (which has a variant *ṭaṣṣ*) "to smite, strike" since in the eighth class there is a form which occurs in the phrase *'ittasēt fi naẓar-ak?* "have you been blinded, have you lost all sense of discrimination ?" (HINDS, BADAWI 1986, s.v.).

100. **Ṭ - Ġ - Y/W** *ṭaġiya* "to exceed the bounds, swell, boil, rise" (STEINGASS 677, cf. LISĀN 4677, MATN 613). This secondary root is due to a metathesis of the original *ġaṭa* (u) "to elevate, go up, rise very high" (BK 481) which is originally biconsonantal since we have also *ġaṭġata* "to be furious, very stirred; to boil making noise" (BK 480 and 86).

101. **Z - Ǧ - Ǧ** *zaǧǧa* "to shout for help in a battle" is a variant of the most probably original *daǧǧa* id. (WAHRMUND 178).

102. **Ẓ - ᶜ - N** *ẓaᶜana* "to travel, set forth", IV to allow to travel in a litter, VIII to travel in a litter" (WAHRMUND 179, LISĀN 2648). This is probably a deno-

minal verb derived from *$za^c\bar{\imath}na$-t-un* "litter", cf. *$\underline{z}a^c\bar{u}n$* "a camel that carries load or people".

103. Ġ - Ḥ - B (PETRÁČEK 1955) *ġahiba* "to forget, miss, not to think" (WAHR-MUND 369) has a variant *$^c ahiba$* "not recognize, not know".

104. Ġ - Q - Q (1) *ġaqqa* "to boil or bubble audibly, croak, make a gurling noise" (WAHRMUND 358, STEINGASS 758) is a variant of *ḥaqqa* (see above) and it is onomatopoeic. Cf. *ġ - q - q* (2).

105. Ġ - Q - Q (2) *ġaqqa* "to croak, crow" is related to *ġaqġaqa* id. and is onomatopoeic. Cf. *ġ - q - q* (1).

106. F - Ḏ - Ḏ *faḏḏa* "to be alone, isolated" (LISĀN 3367, WAHRMUND 393, STEINGASS 780; eventually cf. *faḏfaḏa* "s'accroupir dans une embuscade" (BK 558), LANE 2355 "to concentrate to leap", STEINGASS only "to crouch in order to leap forth"; cf. WASĪT 684). It is related to *fard-un > faḏḏ-un* "single, each by itself", cf. *faḏlaka* ?. Cf. also *šaḏḏa* "to be separated, isolated, be odd, irregular, make an exception; separate" (STEINGASS 533, LISĀN 3367). Any connection with *faḏḏa* "to break of, detach, open, unseal, divide, dispense" is uncertain, though possible.

107. F - Ḏ - Ḥ *faḏaha* V and VIII "écarter les jambes, s'écarter pour uriner" (BK 558). It is related to *faḏaha* "to put the legs apart" (STEINGASS 780) as well as *fašaha* (which has a variant *fašaġa* - see AR-RĀ'ID 1120 - probably due to a graphic error) "to make a step" (WAHRMUND 412, LISĀN 3416). Cf. *ḏafḏafa* "to step along proudly" (STEINGASS 387).

108. Q - Ḥ - R *qahara* "to strike anything dry or hard against another" (BK 682, STEINGASS 821, LISĀN 3540). Cf. *qaḥal* "to dry up, to become dry" (DOZY 310, WAHRMUND 462, LISĀN 3540 also *qaḥā)* which is most probably the original root.

109. K - Ǧ - Ǧ *kaǧǧa* "to play a ball" (WKAS 70-71, WAHRMUND 560, BK 869, LISĀN 3830). This is a secondary denominal verb derived from *kuǧǧa- t-un* which is the name of the game and of the ball used for it, the same *kaǧ-kaǧa-t-un* (BK 869).

110. K - Ḥ - Ḥ *kaḥḥa* "to snore, hiss" (STEINGASS 877, BK 872, WAHRMUND 562) is onomatopoeic.

111. K - Ḥ - M *kaḥama* "to push away, chase, repel" (WKAS s.v., BK 872). Cf. *kaṣama* "to push back violently" (Steingass 887 and see *k - d - l* below).

112. K - D - D *kadda* V = VIII "to be overfull, overloaded" (only WEHR 830) has a variant *kazza* "to fill, overfill, VIII to be crammed full, be jam- packed" (WAHRMUND 887, STEINGASS 580).

113. K - D - L "to push back, repel, drive back, turn off" (WAHRMUND 580, STEINGASS 887, BK 950, WKAS 0, DOZY 0, LISĀN 0, LANE 0, BUSTĀNĪ 2090, AL-QĀMŪS 0, AṢ-ṢAĠĀNĪ 502). Cf. *kaṣama* "to push back violently" (STEINGASS 887, TĀĞ XV 423-4, WKAS 222 "retreat, flee" is given as "uncertain") Cf. also *kaḍkaḍa* "to walk fast" (WAHRMUND 580, STEINGASS 887, BUSTĀNĪ 2090).

114. L - Š - Š *lašša* "to drive away" is a variant (with metathesis) of the original *šalla* id. (WAHRMUND 635, STEINGASS 552; LISĀN 4031 does not accept *l-š-š* because of the incompatibility of *l-š-X*. Cf. *lašlāš-un* "flurried, restless" and *našnāš-un* id. (BK 1266, STEINGASS 1121, HAVA 768), *lašlaša* "to be flurried by fear" (BK 992, HAVA 685). Cf. also *laṣlaṣa* "agiter, secouer" (BK 994). Further investigation is necessary to explain whether a connection with *l - š -w/y* (see below) is possible.

115. L - Š - W/Y *laša* (u, i) "to be abased after elevation" (BK 992, STEINGASS 917, WAHRMUND 636, M. AL-WASIṬ 831, HAVA s.v. "to become vile"). This is an original biconsonantal since we have also *lāša* III "to destroy, annihilate" (HAVA 685, cf. LISĀN *lašša* 4031 and STEINGASS 539). Cf. *lāha* (u, i) "blâmer, reprendre quelqu'un sévèrement; couvrir quelqu'un d'ignonimie" (BK 979, WASIṬ 83, STEINGASS 913 "insult, vilify, blame, rebuke".

116. M - F - Ğ *mafaġa* "to be stupid" (WAHRMUND 861). This is a variant of *ṯafaġa* "to be foolish" (BDCh 1183).

117. N - R - Z *naraza* "to hide oneself from fear" (BK 1233, STEINGASS 1112, WAHRMUND 1003). Cf. *naḍira* "to see the danger and be on one's guard" (STEINGASS 1112, WAHRMUND 1002, HAVA 685) which is probably the original root that has been changed by metathesis and an alternation *d/z*. Cf. also *nazza* "to run, tremble, oscilate" (STEINGASS 1112, WAHRMUND 1003). LISĀN 4392 mentions only nominal forms and emphasises the incompatibility of *n-r-X*.

118. N - R - Š *naraša* "to reach for, take in one's hand (food)" (STEINGASS 1112, WAHRMUND 1003, LISĀN 4392). This comes from an original biconsonantal *r-š* (with a petrified *n-* prefix) as indicated by *waraša/wariša* "to snack up food and swallow it rapidly" (BK 1520, STEINGASS 1208, WAHRMUND 1176).

119. H - ᶜ - ᶜ *haᶜᶜa* "to vomit". This is an onomatopoeic root.

120. H - H - H *hahha* "to have a heavy tongue, to stammer" is obviously a secondary onomatopoeic word.

The relations between the second and the third radical:

1. B - Ḥ - ᶜ *baḥaᶜa* "to cut the throat (as far as the *biḥā'* vein". This is a denominal verb derived from *biḥā'* "posterior jugular vein" (BDCh 411-412). Other meanings of this verb like "to dig a well until water comes" (i.e. figuratively "to cut in until blood/water bursts out" (BDCh 412 are rather wrong postulating another homonymous root here), "to commit suicide", "to exert oneself, to carry on with zeal", "to blame severely, publicly" are secondary semantic developments of the main idea "to slaughter, to cut throat thoroughly, exceedingly". Cf *naḥaᶜa* below.

2. B - Ḥ - Q *baḥuqa/baḥiqa* "to be one-eyed" (BDCH 412-413, LANE 160, BK 91, *baḥaqa* "to tear out an eye" (M. AL-KABĪR 882). This is a secondary denominal verb derived from *abḥaq* (fem. *baḥqā'*) "one-eyed". The name of an illness causing blindness i.e. *baḥaq* has most probably the same source. There may be an etymological connection with *faqa'a* "to put out an eye" (LANE 2499) which is a variant of *faqqa* id., and with *fa'aqa* "to bleed" (BK 529). *b - ḥ - q* is probably connected also with *baqqa* "to come forth, put forth, empty, slit, rent (LANE 233, BDCh 755). Cf. also *baḥasa/baḥasa* "to enucleate, to tear out (eye)" (LANE 159 adds also *b-ḥ-z* that I could not find, STEINGASS 411, AR-RĀ'ID 308).

3. B - H - ' (1) *baha'a, bahi'a, bahu'a* "to know, to get to know someone, to get used to" (BDCh 861, LANE 263). This is a secondary variant of a biconsonantal root *b - h, cf. *bāha* (u) "to know, understand" (LANE 278, WAHRMUND 276). The eupehmistic usage as "to copulate" (BDCh 928, cf. *bāh* "coitus, marriage") is secondary.

4. B - H - ' (2) *baha'a* "to empty a tent or a house, to put it down" (WAHRMUND 261) is a variant of the original *bahiya* (a) "to be empty (a house), to be put down, torn (tent), IV to make empty (a house, a tent)" (WAHRMUND 267).

5. B - H - Ġ *bahaġa* "to sleep" (M. AL-KABĪR II 628, STEINGASS 147, WAHRMUND 266, BK 172 only *bāhiġ* "someone that is sleeping" and *buhuġ* "sleep"). This is a metathesis (due to onomatopoeia) of *habaġa* "to sleep" (BK 1382, WAHRMUND 1093, HAVA 813).

6. Ǧ - R - L (1) *ǧarala* "to commit a crime, to sin" (WAHRMUND 427). This is a case of a triconsonantal root variation due to *m/l* alternation in the third radical caused by assimilation of /m/ to /r/ - cf. *ǧarama* "to lead into sin, to commit crime" (LANE 412, BDCh 1455).

7. Ǧ - R - L (2) *ǧarila* "to be hard, stony" (LISĀN 603, BDCh 1452, WAHRMUND 427, STEINGASS 229) is a secondary denominal verb derived from *ǧaran/ǧaral* "hard, stony soil, ground (BDCh 1463, BK 283).

8. Ḥ - Ṭ - D (1) *ḥatada* "to remain, stay, settle in a place" (BDCh 2072, LANE 510, STEINGASS 263) is the eighth class form with infixed -*t*- of *ḥadā* (i) "to remain, stay, stick to a place" (BDCh 2287, LANE 510 and 599, STEINGASS 268).

9. Ḥ - Ṭ - D (2) *ḥatida* "to be of pure origin, race, descent", II to choose, select the best" (BDCh 2072, LANE 183, STEINGASS 263). Cf. *maḥtid = maḥfid* "origin, stock" (LANE 510 and 599). BDCh 2072 connect it with *ḥ - f - d* and *ḥ - k - d* though especially for the latter there is no clear phonetic correspondence. This root may contain perhaps the original biconsonantal **ḥ - d*, cf. *ḥadda* "to limit, separate", *ḥadd* "distinguished, separated", cf. also DOZY 260 who provides the meaning "rivaliser, défier quelqu'un, porter un défi". Another possibility is that this root is connected with denominal *waḥada* "to be unique, incomparable".

10. Ḥ - Ṭ - Š *ḥataša* "to collect, assembly" (WAHRMUND 485) is originally the eighth class (with infixed -*t*-) of **ḥ - š*, cf. *ḥ - w - š* "to collect, gather, draw together" (LANE 668-669, DOZY 336-cf. VIII) and *ḥašša* VI "to augment, multiply" (BK 429). There is also *ḥašada* "to collect, assemble, concentrate, pile up" (LANE 574, BK 431) which is a variant of *ḥ - t - š*. It is probably due either to a reinterpretation of the geminate or to an assimilation in *ḥašaš-tu* > **ḥašat-tu* and a dissimilation (voicing) of the first -*t* though theoretically there is also a possibility that the geminated root is secondary due to an assimilation (**ḥašd > ḥašš*).

11. Š - B - M (1) *šabama* "to muzzle a kid" (LANE 1499, LISĀN 2189, HAVA 350) is a secondary root derived from *šibām* "muzzle, fastener of a head veil" (LANE 1499, HAVA 350, WAHRMUND 955).

12. Š - B - M (2) *šabima* "to become cold" (LANE 1499, HAVA 350, WAHRMUND 957) is a variant (due to metathesis and assimilation) of the original *šaniba* "to be cool, cold (day)" (LANE 1604, STEINGASS 558). Cf. *šaniba* "to have fresh and beautiful teeth" (STEINGASS 558), *šanbā/šambā* "having clean teeth" (ibid.) may contain the same root or it may be different.

13. Š - Ǧ - Ġ *šaǧaǧa* "to move legs quickly" (WAHRMUND 962, STEINGASS 530) is a variant of the original *š - ǧ - ʿ* that we have in *šaǧaʿa* "to overcome, to surpass" and *šaǧiʿu'l-qawā'im* "quick in the shifting of the legs (a camel)" (LANE 1508) as well as in *ašǧāʿu* "agile, too quick" (BK 1194).

14. Ḍ - H - ' *ḍaha'a* III "to treat well, kindly; to resemble" (WAHRMUND 106, STEINGASS 607). Cf. LANE 1803 and LISĀN 2615 *ḍaha'a* III "to resemble" and *ḍahha/ḍahaya* ??? III id.

15. ^{c} - **B** - **M** ^{c}*abuma* "to be stupid, foolish, to be thick" (WAHRMUND 201, STEIN-GASS 666) is a secondary variant of the original ^{c}*abana* "to be thick, coarse and rough" (LISĀN 2790, STEINGASS 666), also ^{c}*abula/*^{c}*abila* "to be thick" (LISĀN 2789, WAHRMUND 201).

16. ^{c} - **T** - **Š/S** ^{c}*ataša/*^{c}*atasa* "to bend" (LISĀN 6798, BK 164, STEINGASS 668) are secondary eighth class forms with infixed -*t*- and they may go back to original ^{*c} - *s*. There is also ^{c}*anasa/*^{c}*anaša* "to bend" (LISĀN 3130 and 3128, WAHRMUND 314, STEINGASS 731, BK 384) in which the medial -*n*- may be due either to a graphic error ("Verschreibung") or be original. There is also ^{c}*ašša* "broncher, chopper" (DOZY 129, cf. LISĀN 3957, STEINGASS 696, WAHRMUND 257).

17. ^{c} - **T** - **D** ^{c}*atuda* "to be ready, prepared" (STEINGASS 668, WAHRMUND 204, LISĀN 2794-5). This is originally the eighth class with infixed -*t*- of ^{c} - *d* - *d* IV "to prepare, make ready", ^{c}*udda-t-un* "readiness, preparedness".

18. ^{c} - **Ḏ** - **Ṭ** ^{c}*aḏaṭa/*^{c}*aḏyaṭa* "lacher le ventre au moment du coït, avoir un écoule-ment de sperme avant le coït" (BK 202 and 280, LISĀN 2861 and 2928, LANE 1987, WAHRMUND 227). This is a secondary variant of the original ^{c} - *ḏ* - *ṭ* (see below).

19. ^{c} - **Ḏ** - **Ḏ** ^{c}*aḏaḏa* "to hit on the arm" is a denominal verb derived from ^{c}*uḏḏ* "upper arm" (STEINGASS 702).

20. ^{c} - **D** - **T** ^{c}*adata* has the same meaning as ^{c} - *ḏ* - *ṭ* (see above and LISĀN 2988, 2860-1, 3003, BK 202, WAHRMUND 268). Another variant: ^{c}*azaṭa* "to lie with" (STEINGASS 692) which has a further variant due to metathesis: *ṭa^{c}aza* id. (LISĀN 2673, STEINGASS 637) and *ṭa^{c}asa* (LISĀN 2673) as well as *ṭa^{c}aǧa* id. (LISĀN 2673) and *ṭa^{c}ara* id. (LISĀN 2673, STEINGASS 637) - the last variant is probably due to a graphic error.

21. ^{c} - **L** - **N** ^{c}*alana* "to make public, known" (LISĀN 3086, BK 351, HAVA 496); ^{c}*alina/*^{c}*aluna* "to become overt, open, manifold, public" (STEINGASS 722). This is most probably a secondary root going back to ^{c}*alima* "to know", IV "to make known, announce, inform", *i^{c}lān/i^{c}lām* "announcement".

22. Ġ - **L** - **N** (1) *ǧalana* "to attain puberty, the full development" (BDCh 496, WAHRMUND 362), This is a variant due to an assimilation of the final -*m* in *ǧalima* "to become excited by lust" (LANE 2286, BK 496, HAVA 533, WAHR-MUND 362-2). It is possible that here we have an original biconsonantal root *ġ - *l* since there is also *ġ* - *l* - *w* "to exceed the proper, due or common limit" (LANE 2287) and also "to overgrow, attain soon maturity (a boy)" (WAHR-MUND 362, STEINGASS 761).

23. Ġ - L - N (2) *ġallana* "to abate, become still (sea, wind, evil)" (HAVA 533, cf. BDCh 496) is a secondary denominal verb derived from *ġallina-t-un* "lull, dead, flat calm on sea" which is a loan from Greek galène.

24. F - T - Ḥ *fataḥa* "to open" can be compared with *fataḥa* "to make large, big" but the relation is not certain at all.

25. F - T - Ḥ *fataha* "to bend, make supple" and *fatiha* "to have soft, relaxed limbs" (WAHRMUND 382, STEINGASS 773, BK 534) is originally a derived eighth class form with the infixed -*t*- since we have also *fahh* "être affaibli et atteint d'une longeur (se dit de jambes" (BK 551). This root probably represents a case of the spirantization of the original -*q*- since we have also *faqqa* "to open; separate, set apart" (STEINGASS 798, BK s.v.). See *f - t - q* below.

26. F - T - Š *fataša* "to search, to inspect, control" is a denominal verb derived from *fattāš* "inspector, controler" which is a loan from Persian: *patiy'axš* "inspector", cf. EILERS 1971: 625.

27. F - T - ' *fata'a/fati'a* "to strike on the back; break, crush" (LANE 2414, STEINGASS 496) has a variant *hata'a* "to cast, throw down; strike on the back" (LANE 593). The final -' is secondary since there is also *fatā* (u) "to hit and smash, to kick" (AR-RĀ'ID 1124, STEINGASS 797, BK 613).

28. Q - T - D *qatida* "to eat/feed on the *qatād* (tragacanth i.e. astragalus) tree" (WAHRMUND 457, LANE 2485) is most probably denominal i.e. derived from the name of the tree but cf. *q - d - d* "to cut off, cut into strips" (I= VIII, WEHR 872).

29. K - T - Ḥ *kataha* "to eat to satiety, eat the ground bare, graze; scratch, tear off, cover with dust and then take away (of wind)" (WKAS 45-46, STEINGASS 873, BK 860). There is another related root with metathesis: *kahata* "to clean; drive away" which may be original; cf. *latah* and WKAS 45. There is also *kataha* "cover with dust and then blow it away (of wind); to take a portion according to wish" and *kataġa* "to eat enough" (STEINGASS 875, AR-RĀ'ID 1227).

30. L - B - M *labima* "to be unequeal (of shoulders)" (LISĀN 3989, BK 961, WAHRMUND 618, STEINGASS 908) is a secondary verb due to a metathesis since we have also *balama* II "to deform, disfigure" (BDCh 831, WAHRMUND 255, STEINGASS 142).

31. L - T - Ḥ (1) *lataha* "to hit, strike, hurt, throw a thing at a person" (WKAS 186 and 276 *lahata*) has variants *lataᶜa* "to hit, beat" (WAHRMUND 620), *lataġa* "to strike with a fist" (BK 964, WAHRMUND 620), *ladaġa* IV id. (DOZY 523), *lataᶜa* (WAHRMUND 620-621), *lahata* "to beat on the nose with a fist, to lash" (STEINGASS 911) as well as *lata'a* "to hit, strike, push; throw, shoot a thing at

a person" (WKAS 185), *ladaha* (WKAS 684) and *l - t - ḥ* (see below). Cf. also *mataha* "to hit, beat" (WAHRMUND 689) and *latama* "to hit with the hand" (WAHRMUND 620). A connection with *laḥḥa* "to press a person hard, to treat a thing roughly, to beset, badger a person with a thing, to force, to push a person into a thing" (WKAS 263-264) and *latta* "to crush, pound" (WKAS 184, STEINGASS 909 - cf. *latama*, WAHRMUND 620) is not clear.

32. L - T - Ḥ (2) *latiḥa* "to hunger, be hungry" (WKAS 186, LISĀN 3994, LANE 2649, BK 964) which is related to *l - t - ḫ* (LISĀN 4994) e.g. in *lathān* "hungry" (cf. BK 964). Both *-t-ḥ* and *-t-ḫ* sequences are extremely rare but this may be accidental and not phonologically pertinent. Cf . also *l - w - ḥ* "to be thirsty", VIII to suffer from thirst" (WAHRMUND 660) which may indicate that *latiḥa* should be explained as going back to the eighth class of *l - w - ḥ*.

33. L - T - Ḫ *lataḫa* (1) "to flog so as to tear the skin, wound" (WAHRMUND 620, STEINGASS 909). There is also *lataḫa* "to beat" (WAHRMUND 638, STEINGASS 918) as well as its variant *lataga* "to kick, hit, beat" (STEINGASS 919). See *l - t - ḥ, l - t - d/z* and *ṭ - z - r*.

34. L - T - Ḫ (2) *lataḫa* "to rub, smear, to throw dirt at, soil" (WAHRMUND 620, STEINGASS 909) is a variant of *lataḫa* id. (WKAS 684, AR-RĀ'ID 1274 and 1285). There is also *latta* "to smear clay, rub, smear" (WKAS 677) as well as *l - w - ṭ* (AR-RĀ'ID 1303), STEINGASS 932) and *m - l - ṭ* "to coat with mud or mortar" (STEINGASS 1055) as well as *lāta* (u) "to smear" (WAHRMUND 661), cf. *l - y - ṭ* "to befit, beseem", *layt* "paint" (STEINGASS 934) and *lahlaha* "to rub in, smear, annoint" (BUSTĀNĪ 2160) which can suggest an original biconsonantal root though this is not certain.

35. L - T - D/Z "to beat with a fist" (LISĀN 3994, WAHRMUND 620, BK 964, HAVA 964 and 677) has variants *latata* "to slap with the palm of the hand, to hit" (WAHRMUND 637) - see below, *ladasa* "to slap, throw stones" (BK 983, STEINGASS 914 - cf. also *latasa/lataša/lataha/lataᶜa* id. STEINGASS 918 and *l - t - ḥ* above), *ladda* "to fight doggedly against a person, quarrel obstinately, defeat in dispute, quarrel" (WKAS 435) and *lataᶜa* "to push on the chest, to throw at with a stone" (STEINGASS 909, BK 963) as well as *l - t - ḥ* (see above).

36. L - T - Z *lataza* "to strike with a fist, push back, chase" (WAHRMUND 620). See *ṭ - z - r, l - t-d/z* etc.

37. L- Ḥ - ᶜ *laḥiᶜa* "to be relaxed" (BK 981, *Steingass* 914) is a variant with a metathesis of the original *ḥalaᶜa* "to be free", V and VII "to be sprained, relaxed, comforted" (LANE 790).

38. L - F - M *lafima* "to veil (the face) with *liṭām"* is a denominal verb derived from *liṭām/lifām* "veil" (LANE 3011 and 3007). There is also *lāta* (u)"to wrap with a turban around one's head" (STEINGASS 931, WEHR 1034), *laffa* "to wrap, fold in a cloth" (LANE 3011, WAHRMUND 644, STEINGASS 922), *laflafa* id. (STEINGASS 923) and *laḥafa* "to wrap up" (STEINGASS 912) which are related.

39. L - K - D *lakada* "to strike with a fist" has variants *lakada/lakaza/ lakaṭa* (WAHRMUND 652) and is related to *lakka* id., *laklaka* "to strike with a fist repeatedly". There is also *wakaza/wakaza/yakaza* "to strike with a fist, crush, drive away, push" (STEINGASS 1229) and *lakama* "to strike with a fist" (STEINGASS 927). Cf. *laka'a* "to beat with a scourge, to throw on the ground" (STEINGASS 926).

40. L - H - ᶜ (1) *lahiᶜa* "to be obliging and accomodatory" (LISĀN 4087, LANE 3014, WAHRMUND 657, STEINGASS 929, cf.1180 *halaᶜa).* Cf. *lahā* (u) "to be pleased with, to be wanton", *lahā* (i) "to like, love, enjoy" and *lahiǧa* "to love passionately" (STEINGASS 929-930).

41. L - H - ᶜ (2) *lahiᶜa* "to draw out the corners of the mouth when speaking" (LISĀN 4087, WAHRMUND 657) is onomatopoeic.

42. M - T - Ḥ (1) *mataḥa* "to draw water from a well; tear out" (LANE 2688, STEINGASS 946, WAHRMUND 689) is originally the eighth class form with the infixed -*t*- since we have also *māḥa* (i) "to descend into the well to draw water" (WAHRMUND 959). See *m - t - ḥ.*

43. M - T - Ḥ (2) *mataḥa* "to drop excrement" has a variant *mataḥa* id. (WAHRMUND 689, STEINGASS 946). Cf. *nataᶜa* "to drop slowly".

44. M - T - Ḥ (1) *mataḥa* "to pull out, tear out" (WAHRMUND 691, STEINGASS 946) has variants *mataḥa* "to draw water", *matta* (cf. *madda*) "to stretch, pull the rope out of the well, i.e. to draw water" (LANE 2687, WAHRMUND 684, STEINGASS 944), *matasa* (see below), *mata'a* "to extend, stretch a rope" (LANE 2688, WAHRMUND 685, STEINGASS 2688). Cf. *matta* "to stretch". Cf.also *nataḥa* (see below together with variants) which is probably due to an assimilation of *m*- to the following -*t*-.

45. M - T - Ḥ (2) *mataḥa* "to drop excrement" (WAHRMUND 691) has a variant *m - t - ḥ* (see above). All four *m - t - ḥ/m - t - ḥ* roots may be related.

46. M - T - D "to stay, abide" (WAHRMUND 961, STEINGASS 847) is originally the eighth class form with infixed -*t*- of *madda/madā* (i) "to be prolonged, stretched". LISĀN 4126 lists also another variant: *matad* "to stay" which is considered as uncertain by IBN DURAYD.

47. M - T - S (1) *matasa* "to try to pull out" (STEINGASS 948) is most probably a variant of *m - t - ḥ* (1) and *m - t - ḫ* (1) (see above). There is also *masā* (u) "introduire la main dans le vagin de la chamelle pour en tirer le sperme de l'étalon" (BK 1107) and *masata* "to take the sperme out of the uterus" (STEINGASS 1011). A connection with *massa* "to touch" and with *m - t - š* (see below) is uncertain.

48. M - T - S (2) *matasa* "to drop excrement" (STEINGASS 994) is a variant of *mataḥa* (2).

49. M - T - Š *mataša* "to separate by the fingers, milk easily" (STEINGASS 948). Most probably this is the eighth class form with infixed *-t-* since we have also *m - y - š* "traire une femelle de manière à en ne tirer qu'une partie du lait ayant soint d'en laisser un peu dans le pis" (BK 1173) and *mašša* "to milk a she-camel only partially, to take in small parts" (WAHRMUND 803, cf. BK 1108 who provides also *imtašša*. There is most probably also a connection with *m - s - ṭ* (see below), Cf. also *mašša* "to suck the marrow" (STEINGASS 1004, BK 1108).

50. M - Ṣ - Ṭ *maṣaṭa* "to wring out washed linen" (STEINGASS 1012, BK 1116 - "serrer avec les doigts d'orifice d'une outre ou presser avec la main les boyoux pour en faire sortir peu à peu quelque chose") is a variant of *masaṭa* id. (WAHRMUND 818, BK 1105). There is also another pair of variants: *maṣaṭa/maṣaḍa* "presser la paile pour en faire sortir le pus" while the meaning "cohabiter avec une femme" (BK 1114-1115, STEINGASS 1011) is secondary. Cf. also *maṣmaṣa/madmaḍa* "to wash out or rinse the vessel, to put water into the vessel and shake it to wash it" ?

51. N - T - H *nataḥa* "to ooze from the pores (sweet), exude moisture from a wall, resin from a tree etc.)" (LANE 2761, WAHRMUND 981, STEINGASS 1099) has a variant *nataᶜa* "to well out, bubble out, trickle out, ooze out, dribble, trickle" (WAHRMUND 1106, STEINGASS 1099 IV "to perspire violently") and *natta* "to leak, let ooze" (STEINGASS 1100). It may be related to *natta* "to swell, boil, bubble, ferment" which may be, in its turn, related to *natā* (u) "to swell" (AR-RĀ'ID 1100).

52. N - T - Š *nataša* "to pull out, draw" (WAHRMUND 981, DOZY 639, LANE 2862, STEINGASS 1099) is originally the eighth class form with infixed *-t-* of *nāša* u) "to take, reach with hand", VIII "to cause to come, go forth, draw" (LANE 2867, BK 1366). See *m - t - s* and *m - t - ḥ/ḫ* above.

53. N - T - D *nataḍa* "to be diseased and peel in strips (of skin)" (LISĀN 4336, FREYTAG IV 237, BLK 1193, STEINGASS 1099) is originally the eighth class form with infixed *-t-* of *n - ḍ - w/y*, cf. *naḍā* "to take out, pull out, undress; to

fade, disappear" (LISĀN 4457, WAHRMUND 1030-1031, STEINGASS 1127, BK 1193).

54. N - Ḥ - ᶜ (1) *nahaᶜa* "to cut in slaughtering as far as the spinal marrow" (STEIN-GASS 1109) is a denominal verb derived from *nuhā'/nihā'/nahā'* "spinal marrow, brain" which is related to *muhh/nuhh* "brain". Cf. *bahaᶜa* above. Other meanings: "to have true affection; to give sincere advice; acknowledge a debt; push the dam with the head in sucking (i.e. suck ardently)" (STEINGASS 1109) can be secondary developments connected with the meaning "to do something exceedingly" but most probably there is some secondary connection (due to a graphic error ?) with *bahaᶜa* for which at least STEINGASS 109 gives also the meaning "to give sincere advice".

55. N - Ḥ - ᶜ (2) *nahiᶜa* "to grow full of sap" (STEINGASS 1109, WAHRMUND 997) is a denominal verb derived from *nuhāᶜa-t-un* "mucus, phlegm the white of egg" (WAHRMUND 997, STEINGASS 1108).

56. N - H - ' (1) *naha'a/nahi'a/nahu'a* "to be full, crammed" (LISĀN 4553, BK 1351, STEINGASS 1150) cf. *nāhi'* satiated with food and with drink" (LANE 2855, WAHRMUND 1070) is probably a variant of **n - h - y* "to finish".

57. N - H - ' (2) *naha'a* "to be insufficiently cooked (meat)" (LISĀN 4553, LANE 2855, BK 1351, WAHRMUND 1070, STEINGASS 1150) is probably onoma-topoeic or a secondary variant of *n - h - y* (a) "to forbid" (WAHRMUND 1075).

58. N - H - ᶜ *nahaᶜa* "to belch" (WAHRMUND 1074, STEINGASS 1152) is onoma-topoeic.

59. H - T - Š *hataša* "to irritate, excite (a dog or another animal)" (WAHRMUND 1095) is originally the eighth class form with infixed *-t-* of *hawiša/ hawisa* "to be excited, agitated" (DOZY 769, BK 1458, STEINGASS 1187, WEHR 1216) and *haššša* "to drive away, chase; II to cheer up, enliven, raise spirits" (WEHR 1206). Cf. *h - t - š* "to be agitated" (WAHRMUND 486) ?

60. H - ᶜ - ᶜ *haᶜᶜa* "to vomit" is obviously onomatopoeic. Cf. *n - h - ᶜ* and *qā'a*.

61. H - Q - Ġ *haqaġa* "to be weak, exhausted (from illness or hunger)" (BK 1431). This is a case of an assimilation to the preceding *-q-* of the original *-ᶜ* which still survives in *haqiᶜ* "unable to rise" (WAHRMUND 1120, STEINGASS 1178, cf. BK 1431, HAVA 831).

62. W - T - H (1) *wataha* "to give but little", *watuha* "to be of little value, be cheap" (LANE 2916, BK 1479, STEINGASS 1196). Perhaps there may be a connection with *waht* in *taᶜām-un waht-un* "food in which there is no good" (LANE 2926). Cf. *watš/wath* "little, few" (WAHRMUND 1153, STEINGASS 11965, BK 1481).

63. W - T - Ḥ (2) *wataḥa* IV "to press hard" (STEINGASS 1196). See *w - t - ẖ* below.

64. W - T - H *wataha* "to press hard, beat, hit"(BK 1479, WAHRMUND 1152, STEINGASS 1196) is a variant of *w - t - h* (2) and *wataġa* "to beat in one's skull" (WAHRMUND 1155, AR-RĀ'ID 1092); cf. *watiġa* "to feel pain, suffer" (WAHRMUND 1153, STEINGASS 1196).

65. W - T - D *watada* "to fix, firm, knock in a wooden pin, peg in the ground or wall" (LANE 2916, LISĀN 4657, BK 1479) is most probably a denominal verb (WEHR 1226-1227 gives only the second stem *wattada)* derived from *watid* "wooden pin, peg or stake" which has a variant *wadd* (LANE 2931, DOZY 778, LISĀN 4757). According to FLEISCH 1961: 243, the latter variant occurs in the dialect of Tamīm. Cf. *w - t̠ - d* below.

66. W - Ṭ - D *waṭada* "to make firm, strong, steady, plant in the ground, tread (LANE 2950, BK 1561, STEINGASS 1219), *t̠āda* (u) "prendre racine en terre" (BK 117, STEINGASS 649, LANE 1089) is probably a variant of denominal *w - t̠ - d* (see above). Cf. *waṭi'a* "to tread upon, trample (LANE 2948, DOZY 818) and *waṭu'a* "to tread upon, to level, even, smooth by treading" (STEINGASS 1219) which could influence *w - ṭ - d* though the connection is quite uncertain.

While it has to be emphasised that several comparisons included in the list are tentative and require further research, the results of the analysis show that:

1. At least at one period in addition to the rules presented by KURYŁOWICZ 1973 the following consonants were incompatible (question mark indicates, in most cases, that the non-occurence of a combination may be rather accidental than conditioned phonemically - in some cases it indicates that the results of the comparisons are uncertain):

'	followed by	q
t		ǧ
t		h, ẖ
t		š
t		š (?)
t		ṭ
t		q
t̠		t
t̠		h, ẖ
t̠		š
ǧ		t

ǧ	ṣ (?)
ǧ	ḍ (?)
ǧ	ẓ (?)
ǧ	q (?)
ǧ	k
h	ᶜ
ḥ	q
ḏ	ẓ (?)
ḍ	ḥ (?)
ḏ	z
ḍ	š
ḏ	ġ (?)
z	z
z	t
z	d (see below)
z	ṭ
š	ṭ, ḏ, z
ṣ	ǧ
ṣ̌	s, ṣ, ẓ
ḍ	d, z,
ḍ	ġ
ḍ	k, q
ṭ	t, ṯ
ṭ	s, z (?)
ṭ	š (?)
ṭ	s
ṭ	ġ (?)
ẓ	ǧ (?)
ẓ	ᶜ (?)
ġ	h
ġ	q
f	d
q	ḥ
k	ǧ (?)
k	h
k	ḍ (?)
l	ṣ̌
m	f
n	r

h	ʿ
h	h

In R2-R3 also the following combinations are incompatible:

b	m
t	ṭ
t	ẖ, ḫ (?)
t	d
t	z
t	ḍ
t	s, š
ǧ	ġ
ḥ	ʿ
r	l
ḏ	ṭ
ṣ	ṭ
ḍ	d, ṭ
ṭ	' (?)
ṭ	d
f	m
q	ġ
k	ḍ
l	n
h	'
h	ʿ
h	ġ

The alleged exceptions are either 1. later variants (e.g. original eighth class forms with infixed -t-) that originated after some incompatibility rules ceased to function or there was also an additional conditionig (e.g. /d/ occurs after z- as an allomorph of the -t- infix but verbs with z-d-X seem to be either secondary or denominal), 2. loans either from other languages or from other Arabic dialects where incompatibility rules were different (e.g. some roots described by Arab lexicographers as Yemenite) or 3. onomatopoeic words. New roots contradicting incompatibility rules could be created by poets etc. for expressive purposes. Usually verbs denoting defective pronunciation provide clues for incompatibility. Though KURYŁOWICZ was basically right that the oldest denominal nouns in the

simple stem (class I) are archaic (1973: 17), nevertheless in the alleged exceptions to incompatibility rules I have not found denominal verbs that could be safely (e.g. for semantic or comparative reasons) ascribed "to the oldest layer of the denominatives". Therefore I consider them as later innovations created in the period when at least some incompatibility rules ceased to exist. A special research would be necessary to discover relative chronology of the incompatibility rules change in Arabic. For example it is remarkable that WEHR'S dictionary of Modern Literary Arabic practically does not mention *š* - *s* - *X* and other combinations that occur in older stages of the language. It is possible that some alleged examples of consonant incompatibility are actually fictitious being due to some error committed by Medieval lexicographers.

It is quite possible that incompatibility rules were exceptionless in a given period and on a given territory. They have been changing as all the sound laws do.

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Zu dem heutigen Stand und zu den Aufgaben der Erforschung der Songhay-Dialekte.

Petr ZIMA

0. Die Songhay-Sprache wurde oft in der Vergangenheit als ein typisches Beispiel der afrikanischen Sprachgemeinschaft gegeben, die relativ kleine Dialekt-Verschiedenheit aufweist. Schon in den ersten Bemerkungen und Beobachtungen, die von HACQUART-DUPUIS, BARTH, aber auch von dem Altmeister der deutschen Afrikanistik Diedrich WESTERMANN formuliert sind, ist diese afrikanische Sprache als relativ homogen (mindestens im geographischen Sinne) betrachtet. So schreibt WESTERMANN in seinem dialektologischen Beitrag über Songhay, der auf seiner Arbeit mit einem "Saberma" Informant Alu (aus Dosso), die er in Lome in Oktober 1907 verwirklichte, beruht: "Mundartliche Unterschiede scheinen innerhalb des Songai allgemein gering zu sein..."(1920-21). WESTERMANN vergleicht ja mehr oder weniger systematisch seine eigene Materialien (die er von seinem Zarma-Informanten, der - wie ich früher bewiesen habe (ZIMA, 1985: 99) - mindestens unter stärken Dendi-Einflüssen sein sollte, soweit er nicht ein Dendi war) mit denen, die HACQUART von den Informanten vom Timbuktu und Say erhielt und meint, dass: "HACQUART's Material stammt aus Timbuktu, und es ergibt sich aus einem Vergleich mit den meinen, dass in Say und im Umgebung mit geringen örtlichen Abweichungen dieselbe Sprache gesprochen wird..." Diese Beobachtungen WESTERMANNs bieten heute ein sehr interessantes Beispiel, wie einfach ein grosser Linguist und Afrika-Kenner aus guten (und manchmal sind seine Materialen ja sehr gut), aber isolierten Materialen eine falsche vorzeitige Verallgemeinung formulieren konnte. Wie wir weiter zeigen wollen, beweisen ja sicher die geographisch so entfernte Timbuktu (Nord-West) und Dendi (Süd-Ost) Rand-Dialekte von Songhay - trotz ihrer geographischen Entfernung - einige, sehr wichtige Übereinstimmungen und Ähnlichkeiten, diese Ähnlichkeiten sind aber nicht charakteristisch für das ganze übrige Territorium der Songhay-Sprache, die zwischen diesen beiden extremen Rand-Dialekten gesprochen wird.

1. Weitere dialektologische Arbeiten, die von P. PROST, Nicole TERSIS, P.F. LACROIX, und in den letzten zehn Jahren auch von Robert NICOLAÏ und mir selbst veröffentlicht wurden, zeigen sehr klar, daß die Songhay-Sprache eine relativ reiche Verschiedenheit der territorialen Dialekte darrstellt. Robert NICOLAÏ hat in den letzten Jahren (z.B. 1987) ja eine Hypothese formuliert, die sich auf diese relativ hohe Dialekt-Verschiedenheit der Songhay-Sprache stützt, und sie zu erklären bemüht. Laut dieser Hypothese ist das heutige Dialekt-Kontinuum der

Songhay-Sprache diachronisch aus zwei verschiedenen Proto-Dialekten entstanden. Der eine, dessen Urpsrung in einer Songhay Mutter-Sprache ("Songhay, Vernaculaire") sein sollte, hat sich später in die heutigen Zentral-Dialekte und in Zarma entwickelt. Der andere (dessen Ursprung in einer pidginisierten und dann kreolisierten Verkehrsvariante sein sollte ("Songhay véhiculaire"), entwickelte sich - laut dieser Hypothese - in die drei verschiedenen Komplexe der Rand-Dialekte der Songhay-Sprache, d.h. in die Nordliche, Nord-West (Timbuktu), Süd-Ost (Dendi) Dialekte. Phonologische Argumente zeugen davon, daß ein gewisser Prozess von Interferenz und Kontakt mit den Nachbar-Sprachen für alle diese drei Dialekt-Komplexe charakteristisch war. NICOLAÏ schreibt: "Tout se passe comme si... au contact du touareg, le songhay s'était berberisé, en particulier sur les points suivants: système prosodique et phonématique ... au contact du bariba, le dendi s'était structurellement rapproché des langues kwa: développement du système tonal, tendance à disparition des consonnes liquides et nasales intervocaliques ... au contact des dialectes arabes et peuls, le songhay occidental s'était aussi differenciée: disparition du système tonal, ..." (1987: 4–5).

2. Meine eigene Materialien zur Erforschung der Songhay Dialektologie stützen sich auf meine Feldarbeit in Salaga (Nord-Ghana) dessen vielleicht südlichste Dendi-Songhay Enklave ist, laut ethnologischen und historischen Forschungen, die Abspaltung der südlichsten Dendi-Dialekte von Djougou (Nord-West von Benin, frühere Dahomey). Entsprechend, habe ich meine Feldarbeit und meine Arbeit mit den Dendi-Informanten auch in dieser Zone konzentriert, als die Salaga und Djougou Dialekten in allgemeinen sicher einen einigen südlichsten Dendi Dialekt der Songhay-Sprache darstellen. Meine Ergebnisse, deren Teile schon veröffentlich sind (ZIMA 1985, 1985a, 1986), zeigen, daß weil phonetisch und phonologisch die Dendi-Dialekten sicher unter starke Einflüssen der Nachbar-Sprachen sind, auf den grammatischen und lexikalischen Ebene, bietet die Struktur diesen Dialekten viele Übereinstimmungen mit den anderen Songhay-Dialekten. Sie stärkste Übereinstimmung besteht mit den Nord-West (Timbuktu) Dialekten, die aber geographisch sehr entfernt sind, und mit deren Sprecher heute fast gar kein Sprachkontakt besteht. Diese Dendi-Timbuktu Übereinstimmungen betreffen das Verbum sowie das Nomen.

2.1.1. Was die verbale Morphologie bettrift, neigt eine interessante gemeinsame Tendenz der Nord-West (Timbuktu) und Süd-Ost (Dendi) Dialekten zu einer Integration des Subjekt-Pronomen und der Imperfekt-TAM-Morpheme *go*. So gibt es in Nord-West Dialekten *ay + go = yo; ni + go = no* (1. und 2. Person Sg.). R. NICOLAÏ hat schon gefunden im Nord-Dendi Dialekt von Kandi (Benin) die kontrahierten Equivalenten *ay + go = oó, ni + go = úú*. Dagegen haben die südlichsten Dialekte, die ich beschreibe, die TAM-Morpheme des Imperfekts *go*

mit dem Subjekt-Pronomen völlig integriert, so daß die vokalische Quantität und Ton verschiedene Paradigmen von Imperfekt und Perfekt in diesen Dialekten unterscheiden. Im Salaga und Djougou Dendi Songhay gibt es also die folgende Symmetrie der Paradigmen des Imperfekts und des Perfekts:

	Imperfekt		Perfekt	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	áà	írî	á	írì
2.	ńǹ	nóò	ń	nóó
3.	àà	ǹǹ	à	ǹ

Die Tendenz, das Subjekt-Pronomen und den TAM-Morphem völlig zu integrieren ist also den beiden Dialekt-Gruppen gemeinsam, sie ist aber in den südlichsten Rand-Dialekten der Dendi Gruppe in seinen extremen Formen bewiesen.

2.1.2. Diese Parallelen und Übereinstimmungen zwischen den Nord-West (Timbuktu) und Süd-Ost (Dendi) Rand-Dialekten der Songhay-Sprache betreffen auch weitere Verbal-Paradigmen. Ein sehr interessantes Beispiel ist das Schicksaal des Morphemes *na*. In beiden Dialekten ist das Morpheme *na* als TAM-Morphem in negativen Perfekt benützt (an Stelle der Formen mit *yana/mana* die in anderen Dialekten benutzt werden); es ist interessant zu bemerken, daß der einzige andere Fall des negativen Perfekts mit *ná* von D. WESTERMANN beschrieben ist - ein weiterer Beweis, dass sein Gewährsmann unter starken Dendi Einfluß stehen musste.

Timbuktu - Nord West: *ay na kar* (je n'ai pas frappé);

Salaga-Djougou Dendi: *à ná bàRí dì'à šéé* (il n'a pas attrapé le cheval pour lui).

Im Gegensatz zu den Nord-West Dialekten gibt es aber im Salaga und Djougou Dendi zwei *na*-Morpheme. Der Morphem des Negativen Perfekts ist hochtonig (*ná*), weil das tieftonige *nà* in positiven Perfektformen benutzt wird, wo es zwischen dem Objekt und Subjekt in SOV Konstruktionen steht. Es gibt also in südlichsten Dendi Dialekte den folgenden Ton-Kontrast:

'à *ná bàRí dì'à šéé* (il n'a pas attrapé le cheval pour lui);

'à *nà bàRí dì'à šéé* (lit. il *NA* cheval attrapé lui pour, = il a atrappé pour lui cheval).

Dieses zweite, tieftonige *nà* existiert in Nord-West Dialekten nicht, weil es hier, wie allgemein bekannt, keine distinktive Töne gibt. Es besteht aber keine Homonymie, weil das *na* Morphem nicht als Objekt Marker nötig ist. Die SOV Konstruktion der andere Songhay Dialekte ist nämlich in diesen Nord-West Dialekten von Timbuktu regelmässig durch die SVO Konstruktion ersetzt. Es besteht also in

der Struktur von diesen Dialekten keine Gefahr der Verwechslung von Objekt und Subjekt, da die beiden Nomina durch das Verbum abgetrennt sind.

2.2. Was die Morphosyntax des Nomens betrifft, die Determination als grammatische Kategorie des Nomens (die für die Zentral-Dialekte und Zarma charakteristisch ist) besteht in keinem von den drei Rand-Dialekten (Nord, Nord-West, Süd-Ost). Die Nord-West (Timbuktu) Dialekte und die Süd-Ost (Dendi) Dialekte teilen aber wieder gemeinsame Tendenzen ein einfaches Plural-Morpheme *yo/yom* zu benützen, der mit den weiteren Morphemen des Demonstrativen Charakters die folgende "Quasi-Definiten" Konstruktionen gibt:

Nord-West (Timbuktu)	Süd-Ost (Dendi)
1 *bari* cheval	1 *bàRí* - cheval
2 *bari-yo* - (cheval - pl.)	2 *bàRí-yò* - (cheval - pl.)
3 *bari-di* - (cheval - c̀e/le)	3 *bàRí-dì* - (cheval - ce/le)
4 *bari-yo-di* - (cheval - pl. - ce/le)	4 *bàRí-dì-yó* - (cheval - ce/le - pl.)
5 *bari bi* - (cheval - noir)	5 *bàRí bi* - (cheval noir)
6 *bari-bi-yo* (cheval - noir- pl.)	6 *bàRí bi yó* (cheval noir - pl.)
7 *bari-bi-yo-di* (cheval-noir - pl. - ce/le)	7 *bàrí bi yó dì* (cheval noir - pl. - ce/le).

Die verschiedene Position der nominalen Attribute in der Konstruktion No 4 die schon von R. NICOLAÏ betont ist (1987: 3) ist also im Kontext der gemeinsamen Tendenzen beider Dialekt-Komplexe zu betrachten die Plural-Morpheme mit Adjektiv und ein Quasi-Definite Marker *di* zu benutzen. Man kann die Frage stellen, ob - und wie weit der Stand in diesen Dialekten den Abbau der Kategorien der Determination des Nomens ausdrückt (wie es NICOLAÏ versteht) oder ob es nicht die Zarma und Zentral-Dialekte der Songhay-Sprache sind, die mit ihrer Determination als grammatische Kategorie eine Spätentwicklung (vielleicht unter dem Einfluss der Voltaischen Sprachen) darstellen.

3. Auch systematische Beschreibung und Analyse des Lexikons der Dendi-Dialekte, die zur Zeit im Lauf ist, scheint viele Beweise zu bringen, daß es zwischen den Dendi und Timbuktu Dialekten spezielle Beziehungen gibt. Es gibt nicht nur viele phonetische, semantische und lexikale Varianten, die entweder nur in den beiden Dialekt-Komplexen bestehen, oder deren Vorkommen hauptsächlich für diese beiden Dialekt-Komplexe charakteristisch ist (d.h. es gibt auch einige isolierte Formen in anderen Dialekten, aber das Vorkommen des Wortes oder der Variante ist um die zwei Komplexe "zentriert"). Das betrifft auch die Distribution von dreisilbigen und zweisilbigen Varianten derselben Wörter. In diesen Fällen sind meistens die dreisilbigen Varianten von R. NICOLAÏ (1981) als mögliche Proto-

Formen rekontruiert, und es sind wieder diese dreisilbigen Varianten, die für die Nord-West (Timbuktu) und Süd-Ost (Dendi) Dialekte charakteristisch sind (z.B. *tangarí - tàarí, biriŋa - bíŋà*, etc.). Es gibt aber auch ganz verschiedene Wort-Wurzel, die wieder den Nord-West und Süd-Ost Dialekten gemeinsam sind, weil andere Wort-Wurzel fast ausschließlich in andere Dialekten erscheinen. Manchmal geht diese lexikale Dichotomie weit über die Grenze der Songhay-Sprache. Das ist z.B. der Fall der zwei verschiedenen Wurzel für RAUCH *-síìsì/dùllú. síìsi* wird in den Nord-West und im Süd-Ost gemeinsam gebraucht (in anderen Dialekten ist es fast unbekannt), weil das Wort *dùllú* in fast allen anderen Dialekten benutzt wird. Es ist interessant, dass die zwei Formen auch für verschiedene Mande-Sprachen der Familie Niger-Kordofan benutzt wird (s. ZIMA, 1989). Die systematische Integration des Dendi-Lexikon, den ich zur Publikation vorbereite, in die allgemeine Data-Basis der Songhay-Dialekte, wird vielleicht in einigen Jahren nicht nur die Songhay-Isolexen, sondern auch weitgehende Isolexen im Sahel, die über die Grenzen einzelnen Sprachfamilien gehen, klären.

4. Die systematische Beschreibung der Dendi Dialekte, die im Süd-Ost Randgebiet der Songhay-Sprachgemeinschaft gesprochen werden, bestätigt, im gewissen Sinne, daß die Nördliche, Nord-Westliche und die Süd-Östliche Rand-Dialekte der Songhay-Sprache Merkmale teilen, die vielleicht als strukturelle Züge eines früheren Kreolisierungsprozesses angesehen sein könnten, entsprechend der Hypothese Robert NICOLAÏs. Andererseits gibt es viele gemeinsame Züge, die den Nord-West (Timbuktu) und Süd-Ost (Dendi) Dialekten gemeinsam sind, und nicht mit den Nord-Dialekten geteilt sind. Manche vielleicht als archaisch angesehen werden könnten. So kann man nicht ausschließen, daß diese zwei Rand-Dialekte nicht nur Spuren einer ursprünglichen Proto-Verkehrs-Variante, die später pidginisiert und kreolosiert war, aufweisen, sondern daß wir vielleicht im Fälle Songhays auch hier die traditionelle Korrelation Peripherie mit Archaismen - Zentrum mit Neologismen finden, die von der IG Dialektologie schon sehr reich analysiert ist, und auch in vielen Fällen von afrikanischen Sprachen und Sprachfamilien dokumentiert ist.

Die Ergebnisse der Analyse der Dendi-Dialekte, und gemeinsame Dialektologische Beschreibung der Songhay-Dialekte, die vorgesehen ist, kann also nicht nur dem diachronischen Studium der Songhay-Sprache helfen, sondern es kann auch zu der endgültigen Analyse der genetischen Position dieser Sprache beitragen.

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